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CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control : 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries ; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis ; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist ; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

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2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

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10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

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CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE.

1555—1556.

Public Record Office

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE,

AND IN OTHER LIBRARIES OF

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CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

VOL. VI.—PART I.

1555—1556.

EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

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CENTRAL

PREFACE.

THE text of this the sixth volume of the Calendar of Venetian State Papers extends from the commencement of the year 1555 to the end of the reign of Queen Mary. It professes merely to record events connected with the political history of England during that period, yet it also illustrates the characters of the contemporary sovereigns and prime ministers, whose individual sentiments are expressed in their own words, a thing of very rare occurrence. I have therefore availed myself largely of the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors, which have supplied me with abundant materials not elsewhere to be gathered, the greater part of them having never been published either in the original Italian or in any other language. Those of Bernardo Navagero are especially valuable, because they describe the Court of Rome at a time when Papal supremacy was acknowledged in England, although the reigning Pontiff not only "deprived" her King of all his crowns, but waged open war upon him; and a more convincing proof of the intensity of Queen Mary's religious sentiments cannot be afforded than the patient resignation with which she endured the injuries and insults heaped by her spiritual Father on a consort she so dearly loved. The despatches of the Venetian ambassador at the court of Henry II. are also important, as they serve to elucidate the policy of that monarch, and the hostilities between King Philip and France, which were

signalized by the rout of St. Quentin and the loss of Calais.

On the 23rd of May 1555 the Neapolitan Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, was elected Pope, and took the name of Paul IV. In his 38th year, then being Bishop of Chieti, he had been sent by Leo X. as Nuncio to England, chiefly to collect Peter's pence.[1] He arrived there in the spring of 1514, and from that time until early in 1516 he was intimate with Archbishop Warham, Sir Thomas More, and Ammonius. He also corresponded with Erasmus, whom he encouraged to edit the Epistles of St. Jerome; but in August 1558 "in the holy congre-" gation of the Inquisition," as we are informed on English authority, Pope Paul IV. prohibited the sale or purchase of all copies of St. Jerome's works which contained any annotations or epistles of Erasmus, and of all other works wherein Erasmus had written anything upon St. Jerome.[2] This information was addressed to Queen Mary from Rome, three months before her death, by Sir Edward Carne, concerning whom the Pope, mindful of his own residence in England, said to Navagero, on the 8th May 1557, that "for a native " of those regions he was not presumptuous, and very " intelligent." On the same occasion, a month before the defiance sent by Queen Mary to the King of France, when discussing the general character of Carne's compatriots, and the Spanish rule, the Pope continued, "We are indeed of opinion that England will " be glad to remain at peace, for the English are not

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[1] Panvinio's Lives of the Popes, p. 684, ed. Venice, 1643.

[2] Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Mary, p. 391.

" very easily managed,[1] and we cannot believe that they " will rest under the Spanish yoke; neither is the realm " altogether quiet. There is moreover much to do on " account of their [religious ?] opinions, and should the " worst come to the worst, by an insurrection in the " country, the King of France will find a powerful ally " in Scotland, and the Scots, who are mostly a wild race " (*selvatici*), would joyfully invade England in the hope " of plunder."

The precise moment of the departure of the Bishop of Chieti from England is unknown, but he probably presented himself as nuncio to King Charles of Spain at Brussels in January 1516. On his arrival in the Low Countries his friend Erasmus (whose dedication of St. Jèrome seems to have been accepted by Leò X. in the summer of 1515) was apparently persecuted by certain theologians, " sanctioned by the Pope and the King, but " he dispersed the cloud by visiting Louvain, and partly " by the favour of the nobles, and especially of the " Bishop of Chieti."[2] This circumstance warrants a belief that down to that time Caraffa had tolerated liberal

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[1] Literally "*cooked*"—"*perchè Inglesi non sono molti* (sic) *boni da cocer.*" I find the same expression in a letter of Navagero's (p. 206 recto, date 23rd October 1557). The Pope was alluding to certain members of the Venetian Senate who defended Cardinal Pole's friend Luigi Priuli from the charge of heresy brought against him by Paul IV., who said to the Venetian ambassador, "*molti di quelli Signori sono ostinati e non molto buoni da cuocer.*" Paul IV., besides being one of the best classical scholars of the 16th century, was a great professor of coarse and abusive language. Many instances might be adduced in support of this assertion, but I will refer to one only at p. 722, where the Pope's application of the epithet "carrion" to Ascanio della Cornia shows that Dr. Johnson was wrong in supposing it to be a term of reproach reserved exclusively for "worthless" women, such as "that foolish carrion Mrs. Quickly." It must not, however, be supposed that low phraseology had never previously been heard at the Vatican. (See Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., Preface, xxxvii., xxxviii., xl., xli.)

[2] Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., p. 982.

opinions in religion, and it may also be said, considering the nature of the times, that Erasmus was fortunate in finding a champion who, amongst the many charges brought against him, was never accused of heterodoxy.

In June 1517,[1] Erasmus wrote to Sir Thomas More, from Antwerp, that he had supped with the Bishop of Chieti, who was canvassing to accompany Prince Charles into Spain, and from what he himself told the Venetian ambassador, Navagero, on the 12th October 1556, it may be inferred that his wish was granted him, although on the 23rd August 1517, Erasmus wrote to the Lutheran Renano (the corrector of the press of Froben's printing house at Basle), from Louvain, that the Bishop of Chieti, in the hope of making his fortune, had consumed his own substance and that of his friends, and had been accused to the King, by means of memorials (*litterulis*) and memoranda (*notulis*), but that Caraffa was not yet aware of this, nor did Erasmus dare communicate it to him, from fear of compromising his intelligencers.

In the account, dated 29th September 1517, given to Henry VIII. by Spinelly, of the landing in Spain of King Charles, there is a list of the great personages who accompanied him, but it does not include the name of the ex-collector of "Peter's pence."

In subsequent letters, however, Spinelly apparently alludes to him, though not by name, as "the Pope's Nuncio;"[2] and in the Venetian ambassador's descrip-

[1] In the edition of Erasmus' Letters, published in London, A.D. 1642 (cols. 394, 395), as also in the Lyons edition of 1706 (Part I., cols. 380, 381), the date of the year has been misprinted 1518. King Charles embarked at Middelburgh for Spain on the 12th August 1517, and after a dangerous voyage, landed at Villa Viciosa on the 13th of the following month of September.

[2] See Spinelly's letters of 6th January, 2nd April, 18th September, 31st October, and 18th November 1518; also a letter from Kite, Archbishop of Armagh, 8th October, same year.—(Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Henry VIII., under these dates.)

tion of King Charles's entry into Valladolid on the evening of the 18th November 1517,[1] it is stated that "after "the heralds came the ambassadors of the most Serene "King of England,[2] between whom was a Nuncio of "the High Pontiff; and then came the Cardinal of "Tortosa and the Imperial ambassador, and betwixt "them was the other Papal Nuncio; they being fol- "lowed immediately by the King Catholic alone." Of these two nuncios the first mentioned was possibly the nuncio accredited to Ferdinand the Catholic, and who remained in Spain after that King's death on the 23rd January 1516, having subsequently received fresh credentials to King Charles' Viceroy or Regent, Cardinal Ximenes, who died on the 8th November 1517. The second was undoubtedly Caraffa. On the King's entry into Valladolid, the nuncio accredited to him would of course take precedence of the one who had resided with his predecessor.

The same ambassador, Cornaro, on the 8th January 1519, wrote to the Signory as follows :—

"Dom Francesco Chieregato has arrived with the title of the Pope's commissary, to investigate about the Nuncio there in Spain [Caraffa ?] from his Holiness, who has little trust in him, from his having become quite a Spaniard. Chieregato hopes the Pope will send to him, Chieregato, the title of nuncio.

"The two English Ambassadors[3] who were there took leave of the King four days ago, to return home. They departed, having received good presents, and Cornaro accompanied them outside the town. On St. John's day [27th December] they dined with Cornaro, who gave the banquet to celebrate the knighthood conferred on him, and for the honour of our Signory it was a very

[1] Sanuto's Diaries contain transcripts of the despatches of Francesco Cornaro, Venetian ambassador to King Charles of Spain, from November 1517 to March 1520.

[2] Sir Thomas Spinelly and Sir John Stile.

[3] John Kite, Bishop of Armagh, and Lord Berners.

sumptuous one; the Pope's Nuncio [Caraffa ?] was there, and the ambassadors from France, from the Emperor, and from Genoa, and the Catholic King's silversmith,[1] M. de Chievres, was to have come, but remained at home from gout, and sent some of his gentlemen."

The next allusion made by Cornaro to a nuncio in Spain is dated 12th February 1519, when he wrote to the Doge and Senate, from Barcelona:—

"On the 12th a solemn mass was celebrated, the Pope's Nuncio [Caraffa ?] and the ambassadors from France and England being present at it, nor were any others invited, and King Charles (*quel Re*) swore to the articles stipulated between the most Christian King and the King of England, to which his Catholic Majesty has become a party."[2]

This is the last mention by Cornaro of the anonymous nuncio in Spain, and as, in date of 22nd March 1519, the same ambassador narrates conversations "with the "Pope's nuncio Domino Francesco Chieregato," it may be assumed that the Bishop of Chieti took leave of the future Emperor at Barcelona in February 1519. This conjecture is supported by the statement of Panvinio, that whilst in Spain the Bishop of Chieti became the great friend of Adrian Florent, who was elected Pope on the 9th January 1522. To form a lasting friendship the term of two years and a half does not seem more than sufficient.

In a conversation with the Venetian Ambassador, in October 1556 (p. 701), Paul IV. alleged that he quitted Spain in disgust; but if that were the case it is im-

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[1] In Sanuto's original Diaries, Vol. 26, p. 244 verso, the word is written distinctly "*l'arzentier*," but in the Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. III., Part I., p. 24, there is a letter from Spinelly to Wolsey, which mentions "*the Audiencer*."

[2] Compare this with Spinelly's letter to Wolsey on the same subject.—(Brewer, Vol. III., Part I., pp. 24, 25.)

probable that the Emperor's ex-tutor and staunch adherent, Pope Adrian, would in 1522 have desired Caraffa to come to Rome that he might help him to reform the Church, the Pope being also expected to give him the red hat;[1] still less on dismissing him would the King Catholic have conferred on him the archbishopric of Brindisi in 1518 or 1519, as asserted by Ughelli and Carraciolo.[2]

Here I must remark that as we are warranted in disbelieving this allegation of Paul IV., so must we refuse credit to the many other serious charges brought by that Pope against Charles V.; and as the Cardinal of Compostella told Paul IV. to his face (p. 542) that his violence was said to be assumed, so may posterity perhaps infer that from pretence his Holiness proceeded to falsehood.

The present volume commences with congratulations to Queen Mary from the Doge of Venice on the return of England to the Roman Catholic faith. On the 12th March, Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian ambassador, gives the first news of the Duke of Alva and Ruy Gomez being in England, and of King Philip's having sent for William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, from his country seat, desiring him to cross the Channel to superintend the fortification of Guisnes, and to give advice to the Deputy at Calais, Lord Wentworth, whose youth and inexperience might encourage the French to attack those places, should the Queen's confinement terminate inauspiciously. On the same day Cardinal Pole wrote from London to Pope Julius III. recommending three

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[1] "Che se lungo tempo vivuto Adriano fusse, pareva, che havesse dovuto senza alcun dubbio darli il cappello."—(Panvinio, Delle Vite dei Pontefici, p. 684.)

[2] See Cardella, iv. 164.

ambassadors going to Rome from England, Lord Montague, the Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne. Julius III. died on the 23rd March 1555, and was succeeded by Marcello II., who lived only 22 days, so that the obedience of England to the Apostolic See was rendered by them to Pope Paul IV., whose supremacy, during the Queen's lifetime, was thenceforth acknowledged by the statutes of the realm.

At the time of the appointment of the English embassy to Rome, a Lutheran demonstration took place at Mastricht, caused by the Emperor's gift of a number of persons convicted of heresy to Antonio Doria, as oarsmen for his galleys. Doria sent an agent to receive them, and when passing through Mastricht with his charge the populace stoned him, and 60 of the slaves made their escape.[1]

Whilst the Flemings at Mastricht were showing their abhorrence of persecution for religious opinions, the Norfolk peasantry rose in arms to save the ex-bishop of Lincoln from the stake, and simultaneously Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, wrote from Fodringham Castle to King Philip asking his protection, which he could scarcely hope to secure after the discovery of the Suffolk plot to march upon London and dethrone the Queen and her consort. In April, however, he was released, and at the end of the month Elizabeth Tudor arrived at Hampton Court, where the Queen then resided, from her prison at Woodstock. She was accompanied by three or four female attendants and the like number of gentlemen.

It is stated by Mr. Froude[2] that "on an evening in

[1] In a former volume I showed that the oarsmen who rowed the Venetian "Flanders galleys" were free-born Sclavonians, who had a burial vault in North Stoneham church near Southampton.

[2] Vol. vi. p. 358, ed. 1860.

"the beginning of July, Lady Clarence, Mary's favourite "attendant, brought a message that the Queen was "expecting her sister in her room. The Princess was "led across the garden in the dusk, and introduced by "a back staircase into the royal apartments." The same title "Lady Clarence" is used twice previously at p. 118 in the same volume, somewhat to the disparagement of its local tints, by spoiling the effect of the "holy wafer" and the "*Veni, Creator;*" and the author's fellow historian styles the same personage "*Lady Clarence,*" "*Mrs. Clarencieux,*" and "*the Queen's old maid.*"[1] I cannot but maintain that the Venetian "Report" of Giovanni Michiel, although pronounced to be "most inaccurate,"[2] serves at least in one instance to enlighten Queen Mary's English biographers. It proves that her Majesty's "Mistress of the Robes" was neither "Lady," nor "Mrs. Clarencieux," nor yet an "old maid."[3] Her maiden name was Katharine Pole, and as she was great granddaughter and representative, by the mother's side, of George Plantagenet, who is supposed to have been drowned in a butt of malmsey in the Tower, she therefore "by courtesy" bore the title of "Clarence." Her father Henry Pole had been beheaded by Henry VIII. on the 29th January 1539, leaving two daughters, his coheirs, the nieces of the Cardinal Legate; Katharine married Francis de Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon, and her sister Winifred married first Sir Thomas Hastings, Lord Huntingdon's younger brother, and secondly Sir Thomas Barrington. I give these tedious details lest the charge of "extreme inaccuracy" may prejudice my

[1] Strickland, pp. 459, 563 (Lives of the Queens of England, vol. iii. ed. London, 1854).

[2] Froude, vol. vi. p. 400.

[3] According to Collins she had eleven children.

readers against the epistolary correspondence of Michiel, whose exactness as a letter-writer may be further tested.

On the 29th April 1555, Michiel announced that on that day or on the morrow Elizabeth Tudor was to arrive at Hampton Court from Woodstock; and on the following 6th May (p. 61) he informed the Doge and Senate that when she appeared she was neither met nor received by anyone, but was placed in the apartment lately inhabited by the Duke of Alva, "where she lives in retirement, "not having been seen by any one, *save once or twice* "*by their Majesties, by private stairs.*" Now Michiel's critic asserts that the Queen's first meeting with Elizabeth after her release from Woodstock took place on "an "evening in the beginning of July;" nor is this disparity of date immaterial, as it enables the reader to compare the "accuracy" of a contemporary intelligencer with that of one whose news is given three centuries after date. I may add that my extracts from Michiel's report were made from a copy transcribed by a Venetian nobleman who was ambassador extraordinary to James I. in 1610, and who died Doge of Venice on the 6th December 1624; and the following words in it, "*Miseressa Clarentia sua Cameriera,*"[1] enable me to correct the ludicrous titles conferred by modern historians on the chief lady of Queen Mary's Court.[2]

On the 6th May 1555 Michiel writes that news had

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[1] In October 1501, when Katharine of Aragon arrived in England as the bride of Prince Arthur, her chief female adviser and attendant, Doña Elvira Manuel, bore the title of "*Camarera Mayor*," translated by English contemporaries "Mistress" (of the robes), as appears by Michiel's "Miseressa Clarentia;" and on Queen Mary's marriage to King Philip, the title was revived in the person of Katharine Pole, Countess of Huntingdon.

[2] She was also the first English gentlewoman who kept a coach in London; it was given her by Michiel, as stated at the close of his Report. In Haydn's Dictionary of Dates (p. 173, ed. 1863), there is the following

reached London of the election of Pope Marcello; also that Ferrante Gonzaga having refused to come to England, and it being necessary to appoint a President of the Council there, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, the Emperor's prime minister, would therefore assume that post. The appointment, however, did not take place, and from several entries in the fifth volume of the Venetian Calendar, especially in date of 22d April and 4th July 1554, there is reason to believe that Cardinal Pole, who was then treated with asperity by the Bishop of Arras in Flanders, did not much wish for his official fellowship in England.

Preparations were now making for the Conference at Marck, a village in the Calais Pale, to negotiate peace between the Emperor and the King of France, under the immediate auspices of Queen Mary, against whom there was circulated in London an abusive "Dialogue" in the English tongue, attributed to the Queen's Italian master, Giovanni Battista Castiglione, a Piedmontese.[1]

In this Conference, Cardinal Pole represented the Pope, and the Bishop of Arras was the Emperor's chief commissioner. At its fruitless close the Legate heard of the election of Paul IV., and wrote immediately to congratulate him on his elevation, inquiring whether he was still to follow the instructions he had received from

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paragraph, "The first coach seen in England was in the reign of Mary, about 1553." Giovanni Michiel arrived as Venetian ambassador in England, on the 22nd May 1554.

[1] In the following year, at the same time as Katharine Ashley, he was again imprisoned; and as they both confessed that they knew of some recent conspiracy, they were not expected to leave the Tower alive. The governess was, nevertheless, released in October 1556, and her accomplice at a subsequent date married Margaret Compagni, *alias* Compayne, a Florentine, who became the "mother" of Queen Elizabeth's maids. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 384.) Castiglione in that Queen's reign was living comfortably in Berkshire, at Benham Valence.

his Holiness' predecessors Julius III. and Marcello II. In France the result of this election had been foreseen, and King Henry II. told the ambassador Soranzo that the Pope had intercepted a letter from the Imperial ambassador at Rome to a Cardinal his confidant in conclave, intimating to him that the Imperial party were not in any way to favour Caraffa, but if they were compelled to desert the Emperor's nominees, they were then to support the Cardinal of Ferrara, or any other Cardinal of the French faction. At Brussels the Emperor's courtiers asserted that his Majesty was well aware of the new Pope's aversion to him on account of the Viceroy of Naples having for several years delayed giving him possession of the archbishopric of that city, but he believed that by promoting the interests of the Pope's kinsfolk in the Neapolitan territory, it would be in his power to overcome the enmity they had hitherto borne to him.

A few days afterwards, when the Papal Nuncio formally announced the Pope's election, the Emperor affably remarked that when he was a youth in his fourteenth year, Caraffa, then on his way to England, presented himself to the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries, either at Mechlin or Brussels, and sang mass, which, though forty years had elapsed, the Emperor still remembered; expressing a hope that the devout manner in which Caraffa performed that ceremony might foreshadow the policy to be adopted by him during his pontificate.

On the 6th of June, when Michiel went to Hampton Court to condole with King Philip on the death of his demented grandmother, the King told him he had that day received the news of the election of the Cardinal of Naples as Pope. The ambassador remarks that by the expression of the King's countenance "he did not evince

"much pleasure at this." On the same day Michiel saw the Queen viewing the procession to chapel from a casement, according to her daily custom. She was expecting her confinement in the course of the week, but the bedchamber women were of a contrary opinion, and they proved to be right, for three weeks later the Queen's pains were declared not to be those of parturition, and Sir George Harper and another man of quality were sent to the Tower for publicly and coarsely ridiculing them. Martial law was administered in London by Lord Pembroke; the printed works of Luther, Tindal, Miles Coverdale, and Cranmer were called in under penalty, and the usual city pageant on St. John's eve, commonly called "the setting of the midsummer watches," was suppressed. Simultaneously at Brussels, when Michiel's colleague Badoer expressed to the Emperor the Signory's good wishes for the Queen's delivery, he returned thanks, and stated that the news received there of its fulfilment was premature; and that the conclusion of the peace failed by fault of the French, whose demands were tantamount to stamping on his throat, a conceit which he illustrated by placing his right hand on his neck. As may be supposed, the King of France was amused at the disappointment of King Philip and his father, and said to the ambassador Soranzo, with regard to the negotiations for peace, that Cardinal Pole had not yet spoken to the Queen "because she was in retirement on account of her pregnancy;" adding with a laugh, "I know not whether "she be or be not pregnant."

At length, on the 5th of August, Michiel announced to the Signory that the Court had removed to Oatlands, both for the purpose of cleansing Hampton Court, which was in a very filthy state.[1] It was also desirable no longer to

[1] Erasmus, in an undated letter addressed to Cardinal Wolsey's physician, attributes the frequent plagues, and the sweating sickness in

keep the country in the suspense caused by the public processions for the Queen's safe delivery, and that the Queen should resume business, her retirement having been so close that she merely saw the ladies of the Court, who were in very great number, all the female nobility of England having flocked thither from every part of the kingdom, so that with great difficulty could Hampton Court contain them, although it was, according to the ambassador, "one of the largest palaces that can be "seen here or elsewhere." Thus also the Queen economised by giving permission to the greater part of the ladies to return to their homes under pretence of limited accommodation at Oatlands.

Cardinal Pole was now able to continue his endeavours to bring about peace between the Emperor and the King of France. His agent Parpaglia, who had accompanied him to Marck, received there a "writing" from the Constable, and on returning to England communicated a part of it by letter to the Bishop of Arras, writing at the same time to the Constable, that the suggestions in his "memorandum" were represented by Parpaglia to the Imperial prime minister as exclusively his own, so that should they please the Emperor, the King of France and the Constable might rest assured that the "writing" would remain a profound secret.

England, to the want of ventilation of the palaces and mansions there, and to the clay floors and rushes, thus:—"Tum sola fere strata sunt argilla, "tum scirpis palustribus, qui subinde sic renovantur, ut fundamentum "maneat aliquoties annos viginti, sub se fovens sputa, vomitus, mictum "canum et hominum, projectam cervisiam, et piscium reliquias, aliasque "sordes non nominandas. Hinc mutato cœlo vapor quidam exhalatur, "meâ sententiâ minime salubris humano corpori." But filth (rushes excepted) was not exclusively "an English characteristic" in the 16th century, for Soranzo, Michiel's colleague in France, wrote from Melun on the 29th May 1555, that the King had quitted Fontainebleau to give an opportunity for cleansing the palace, the Court having resided there a long while, and the stench being intolerable.

On the 27th August, Michiel announces the arrival, on the preceding day, of the King and Queen at Westminster, from Hampton Court, on their way to Greenwich. He remarks that the Queen, being very much in love, naturally felt disconsolate in prospect of Philip's departure, though she concealed it as much as she could; and that she "mourns the more when alone, and when she "supposes herself invisible to any of her attendants. "During this absence Cardinal Pole will reside with her, "lodgings having been assigned him in the palace, that "he may comfort and keep her company, Her Majesty "delighting greatly in the sight and presence of him." From Brussels, Badoer writes, that it would soon be decided whether the Emperor or his son should go to Spain, and on their meeting it was to be settled whether the adjustment of the difference between the Emperor and the King of the Romans should be arranged by Queen Maria, the Emperor's sister, or by his nephew and son-in-law the King of Bohemia, who had written to him a very humble letter, justifying himself for the second time against the charge of having favoured certain preachers of rare ability, who were accused of having Lutheran opinions.

King Philip departed from Greenwich for Dover on the 29th August, and Michiel, in the company of Cardinal Pole, witnessed the leave-taking between the Queen and the King, which he describes very minutely. A few days previously, in the Council-chamber, the King in his own and the Queen's name had appointed Pole prime minister of England, having already secured Pole's consent, for which purpose he went privately to the Legate's own apartment. Pole, as he told Michiel, did not think fit to combat the King's wish, as he felt certain that their Majesties' desire would have the approval of the Pope, which, as the Pope's representative, he was bound to obtain.

King Philip's Spanish prime minister, Don Ruy Gomez, by birth a Portuguese, preceded his master to Brussels, and there had audience of the Emperor on the 7th August, returning to England in time to recross with his master.[1] On the 28th August, while in London (being booted and spurred for his journey), he made an appointment with a Dalmatian soldier to confer with him at Brussels, where he asked his assistance for the intended assassination in Venice of Edward Courtenay, twelfth Earl of Devonshire and second Marquis of Exeter. Courtenay's death was compassed, not by steel at Venice, as was intended, but by poison at Padua, from which city Peter Vannes, the Queen's ambassador, wrote her an account of it on the 18th September 1556, commencing thus:— "The Earl of Devonshire died little more than an hour "ago." In the middle of August whilst at Venice, where he was made much of, for his recreation he happened to go to Lido to see his hawk fly upon a waste.

"There he was suddenly overtaken by a great tempest of wind and rain, so that he could not return to Venice by his gondola, but was forced to take a searcher's boat which had arrived there by chance, and so got to Venice, 'being body and legs very thinly clothed, refusing to change them with any warmer garment.' About five days after, as he told Vannes, he had a fall on the stairs of his house, but, feeling well and suffering no pain, came hither. To avoid the tediousness of the water and save horses he took the worst way and came by 'a certain waggons called *coches*, very shaking and uneasy to my judgment,' arriving on a Saturday night. Hearing of his coming, went to visit him next day, and found him very weak. After that he grew daily worse and worse, avoiding friends' visitations as a speech molest to him, and drew himself to the counsel of two of the best physicians here, and entered into a continual great hot ague, some time more vehement than at another. He was always diligently attended. Has charged his servants in her Majesty's name to take a true inventory of the small moveables he had, and especially that *all writings or letters*

[1] Such was his supreme authority that the Spaniards styled him "*Rey*" Gomez.

that he had here or at Venice shall be put in assurance to await the royal commands."[1]

Supposing the statement made to the Council of Ten by the Dalmatian soldier[2] to be true, a comparison thereof with the letter of Peter Vannes, and with the entries in this Calendar, from the 26th to the 28th November 1555 (relative to Courtenay's casket, and the sleights of policy and of hand of the Council of Ten), will perhaps convince my readers that neither the Republic of Venice, nor Queen Mary's English advisers, can be justly held accountable for the death, apparently by poison, of the Earl of Devonshire.

After his father's execution on the 9th January 1539, Edward Courtenay, being then only twelve years old, was sent by Henry VIII. to the Tower, where he remained until the accession of Queen Mary, who on the 4th of August 1553 released him. On the 2nd of October in that year, Cardinal Pole, being at Trent, wrote him a letter, the general tone of which implies the wish and expectation that his cousin might become his sovereign. To this I attribute the impediments to which the journey of the Legate towards Brussels and France was subjected by Don Juan de Mendoza, and the rude treatment subsequently experienced by him from the Emperor's prime minister, the Bishop of Arras.[3] Charles V.

[1] See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 255.

[2] See pp. 294–297 in this volume. I may add that by Michiel's letter, dated 9th September (p. 182), it appears that Ruy Gomez being at Calais (towards which place he went from Brussels about the 19th August —pp. 165–170), there was time for him to be in England by the 28th of that month. Risano's date is therefore correct, as on that day the King was at Greenwich on his way to the sea-side.

[3] The second part of this volume contains the despatches of the Venetian ambassador accredited to Philip and Mary in the years 1557–1558, by name Michiel Surian, and a passage in his "Report," made to the Senate in 1559, proves that the Bishop of Arras was no less unscrupulous a statesman than Don Ruy Gomez, and that Cardinal Pole was unpopular at Brussels, "because, having supreme authority in England, he never would use any

was bent on his son's marriage to the Queen of England, and in December 1553, the Bishop of Arras complained to the Venetian ambassador at Brussels, that Soranzo, his colleague in England, was thwarting it, in consequence of which complaint Soranzo was replaced by Michiel.[1]

Courtenay remained at liberty from August 1553 until February 1554, during which interval his character has been admirably sketched by the popular historian of that period.[2] From Michiel's letters we now learn the precise moment of his release from Fodringham Castle (in April 1555), and his immediate departure for Brussels. According to a letter from Courtenay himself to Sir Francis Engle-

" extraordinary way, as desired by the Spaniards, to make the King " absolute ; so much so, that one day, the Bishop of Arras talking with " me (Surian) about Cardinal Pole, said that he (Pole) neither knew nor " understood anything about affairs of state and court, and that he was " not good for anything in England, neither for counsel nor for govern- " ment." Whereupon Surian remarks to the Senate, "This most holy " and most innocent man is thus reproached (*imputato*), not only for what " he has done, but for what he might have done had he chosen." (*See* "Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, da Eugenio Albèri." Series 1, Vol. 3, p. 299. Firenze, 1853.)

[1] In Strickland's Elizabeth (p. 72), there is a description of events in December 1553, thus : "During that eventful fortnight a formidable insurrection had broken out of which the ostensible object was the dethronement of the Queen, and the elevation of Elizabeth to the regal office. The French and Venetian ambassadors had both intrigued with the disaffected, and supplied them with money and arms;" and then at p. 123, Queen Elizabeth's biographer gives extracts from Michiel's "Report" of England made to the Senate in May 1557, and annotates them as follows: "Such is the testimony of the Venetian ambassador, of Elizabeth's position in her sister's court, *but it should be remembered that he is the same man who had intrigued with the conspirators to supply them with arms, and that his information is avowedly only hearsay evidence.*" As Michiel did not arrive in England till May 1554, and did not depart thence till February 1557, it may be said that he is defamed by hearsay, and that he narrated as an eye-witness.

[2] Badoer's account of the life he led in the Low Countries fully confirms the following graphic sketch of him : " Since his emancipation from the " Tower he had wandered into folly and debauchery ; he was vain and

field, he was already at Calais on the 8th May,[1] and Badoer writes that he arrived at Brussels on the 17th.[2] On the 26th we hear on the same authority that it had been already proposed to him to marry the Duchess of Lorraine, the Emperor's niece, whose hand had been refused by the Duke of Savoy.[3] On the 29th of May Courtenay himself wrote to his mother, and his other correspondents in England, that on Sunday the 19th he was presented to the Emperor by the Duke of Alva;[4] and early in June he was introduced by Sir John Masone to Federico Badoer, to whom he announced his intention of residing some time at Venice; Badoer remarking in cipher, "that he was evidently in great fear for his life, "and thought of nothing but preserving it; though he "had no suspicion of the Emperor, whose audience or "him had been loving."[5] A few days later the Emperor showed himself still more gracious to Lord Paget's son and son-in-law, to whom on their arrival at Brussels he caused refreshments to be sent; and as this compliment was not paid to the Earl of Devonshire, although he was, as the English there remarked, infinitely superior to the Pagets, Courtenay felt piqued, and quitted Brussels for Louvain with only two servants. On the 13th June Mr. Basset wrote to him about "his very friend Don Ruy Gomez," and on the 30th, Badoer states that Masone had requested the Bishop of Arras to obtain permission from the Emperor for Courtenay to depart for Italy. To this request Granvelle replied that the Emperor did not interfere in this business, and that Courtenay should get leave from his Queen, but the bishop told Masone to

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"inexperienced, and his insolence was kept in check only by the quality, "so rare in an Englishman, of personal timidity."—Froude, VI., 117 (ed. 1860).

[1] Venetian Calendar, VI., p. 63. [2] *Ib.* p. 73.

[3] *Ib.*, VI., pp. 83, 84. [4] *Ib.* pp. 88, 89. [5] *Ib.* p. 99.

dissuade him from making this journey for the present, in order that he might see the war. The refusal of his request by the Emperor troubled Courtenay greatly.

In July Courtenay received a letter from his mother in London, informing him that Ruy Gomez had told her, by order of King Philip, that he had every reason to be easy in his mind, as King Philip loved him, and would soon show it by matter of fact, and therefore Courtenay was no longer intent on obtaining his passport for Italy. Moreover, several persons at Brussels had told him that should Queen Mary not have heirs, the Emperor would favour his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth. He accordingly returned to Brussels, and asked audience of his Imperial Majesty, without its being known for what purpose.

The letter conveying this intelligence to the Doge and Senate was dated Brussels, 28th July, and on the 31st July, Badoer's colleague at Richmond, Giovanni Michiel, intimated that his despatch to the Signory would be conveyed as far as Brussels by Don Ruy Gomez, who was then about to depart thither. Gomez arrived there on the 7th August, and immediately conferred with the Emperor, to whom he suggested that as Courtenay had been made to come to Brussels, so should the Lady Elizabeth be removed from England. Thereupon the Emperor held a long consultation with Queen Maria, the Bishop of Arras, and M. de Praet, and it was settled for King Philip to come over as soon as possible, bringing with him certain English malcontents, and that he was to try and induce the Lady Elizabeth to come and reside with the Queens Maria and Eleanor. This message was sent to King Philip by secretary Erasso, Ruy Gomez being then too ill to return to his master in England.

On hearing of the Spanish premier's arrival, Courtenay returned from Louvain and went to him immediately,

requesting that he would obtain from King Philip permission for him to go into Italy. Ruy Gomez replied that he was expecting his Majesty at Brussels in the course of the month, and that from him Courtenay might expect everything possible, adding all sorts of loving language. On good Spanish authority, Badoer understood that Courtenay would be compelled either to accompany the King to Spain, or else be sent under custody to Sicily; and the Lady Elizabeth would be treated like the Duke of Calabria, whom they sent to Spain, forbidding him to marry until his offspring could no longer cause the Emperor any trouble.

Whilst Ruy Gomez was on his way back to England, where he arrived in time to recross the Channel with King Philip on the 4th September (after having the brief interview with the Dalmatian soldier at Greenwich already referred to), Courtenay, when riding through Brussels, had his attendants attacked by some Spaniards on account of former disputes. He reproved the assailants, but was answered by threats, and seeing some of their countrymen coming up to reinforce them, he escaped to his lodging. On his retreat four of his attendants were wounded, as also were some of the Spaniards. He then went to the Bishop of Arras, complaining that this was the fourth assault to which his retinue had been subjected, and he was promised that these annoyances should not be repeated. The bishop attributed them to disputes about prostitutes between menials; and he invited Courtenay to accompany him to mass in the cathedral, to show the world that what took place was owing to rogues, and from other causes than lack of goodwill on the part of the Imperial ministers towards the English nation.

A few days later the Emperor received a letter from his son to say that Lord Paget had strongly urged him not to take the Lady Elizabeth out of the kingdom, as it

would cause too great a commotion. Badoer was also informed that Lord Courtenay would soon be allowed to go to Italy, and that the Bishop of Arras so honoured him in public, that he compelled him by force to take precedence and keep the right hand.

On it being heard at Brussels that King Philip and Ruy Gomez had set out from Calais, the Earl of Devonshire and Sir John Masone rode to meet them. The royal party dismounted on the 8th of September, at the Casino, near the Louvain gate; the King knelt before his father begging for permission to kiss his hand. To this, however, the Emperor would not consent, and doffing his own bonnet instead, holding it in his hand, he requested him earnestly to rise, in the act of doing which the King insisted on kissing his left arm, when the Emperor embraced and kissed him so lovingly that the tears came to his eyes. The King then called by name the Admiral, Lord William Howard, and the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and some other English gentlemen, and presented them to the Emperor, who received them joyfully, but did not allow them to kiss his hand, it being his wont never to give it to such as are not his own subjects.

Three days after these presentations, the obsequies of the Emperor's demented mother, Queen Joanna, were celebrated, and owing to the dispute for precedence between England and Portugal, Sir John Masone (according to report) was not to be invited to attend them; but Masone declared that, with or without an invitation, he intended to be present at the ceremony, together with the other Englishmen at Brussels, who determined that after the funeral they would return home; nor would they accept the lodging provided for them by the King, but requested him to allow them to select one to their own satisfaction.

Whilst the hearse was being erected in the cathedral of

St. Gudule, Queen Joanna's daughter Maria, then 52 years old, was making preparations for a hunt in honour of her nephew's arrival. The Queen Dowager of Hungary was a stateswoman, an admirable horsewoman, and took unerring aim with the cross-bow. She was of diminutive stature, of very spare frame, with a thick underlip, and was never quiet either at home or abroad. She was intellectual, and had courage enough for anything. Besides the lip, her Burgundian descent was demonstrated by her character, which, woman as she was, more nearly resembled that of Charles the Bold than that of her gentle and forgiving great grandmother, Maria of Burgundy. King Philip told Masone that this hunt was prepared "for us English" (*per noi altri Inglesi*), but Courtenay was not invited to it, the reason assigned for this neglect being that the Bishop of Arras having sent his brother to invite him to a supper at which the rest of the English were to be present, Courtenay had him told that he was not at home.

Sir John Masone's remarks about his exclusion from Queen Joanna's obsequies were expressed in such unmeasured terms that Ruy Gomez taxed him with indiscretion for presuming so strongly to urge the rights of the Queen in a city where her Consort was residing; telling Masone that he was a mere agent, and that for the future no other title would be conceded him. The Spanish prime minister also said that when Masone went to meet the King, his haughty demeanour was such, that not only did he not dismount, but made Courtenay follow his example. Ruy Gomez moreover reproached him with having written to the Lords of the Council in England that Courtenay's servants had been maltreated by the Spaniards at Brussels, the other English being no less ill looked on, which, when King Philip returned, might

induce them to take their revenge in London. On hearing of these charges Masone went to Ruy Gomez, who refused either to receive him or to obtain audience for him from the King, whereupon Masone exclaimed to the bystanders, "Oh, God! if the King treats me so ill, I, who was of "his faction, following Lord Paget in favouring the "marriage, what will he do to those who opposed him?"

On the morrow, when the King appeared in public, Masone went and apologised to him, saying that he did not get off his horse to avoid impeding his Majesty's progress, but the reception given him was cold. After listening to his excuses, the King ordered him, in terms more applicable to a menial than to an ambassador, to tell the English nobility who had accompanied him to Brussels, to hold themselves in readiness for a hunt, prepared by his aunt Queen Maria, who would send a horse for each of them, because, they having travelled postwise, it was requisite to mount them.

Of these affronts offered by Queen Mary's Consort to her ambassador, there is no mention in the Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, and respecting the English nobility who accompanied King Philip to Brussels, Masone merely wrote thence to the Council on the 22nd September 1555:—

"The lords who came hither waiting upon his Majesty intended to have taken leave to-morrow, but this afternoon his Highness has required them, on the Emperor's behalf, to tarry one day longer. On Tuesday next they mind to return to England, when doubtless they will make such report of their royal entertainment here as they have right good reason to do."[1]

It is possible that the last eight words of the paragraph

[1] Michiel wrote from Greenwich on the 7th October that Lord Howard of Effingham and the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Huntingdon had returned on the 3rd, and were much pleased with the reception given them at Brussels.

vaguely implied dissatisfaction, but as, in July 1555, Carne wrote from Rome a full and precise account of his dispute for precedence at Rome with the Portuguese ambassador,[1] it can only be supposed either that Masone forbore to make any complaints, or that Queen Mary suppressed any despatches the contents of which might render her Consort unpopular; and the like may be surmised respecting Carne's correspondence when it disparaged the policy of Paul IV. The reserve of these two English diplomatists, or of their Sovereign, is manifested by the despatches of Badoer and Navagero, which thus demonstrate clearly how the Calendars now in course of publication connect themselves one with another, and throw fresh light upon English history.

To return to Courtenay. On the 15th of October King Philip granted him permission to go to Italy, or to any other country he pleased, and he presented himself twice to the Venetian ambassador, informing him of his intention to depart in a fortnight for Venice. He apparently arrived there in January 1556, and seems to have anticipated "royal honours," for on the 8th February we find the Council of Ten apologising to him for withholding them, "for his own sake." A few days later the Ten granted him an arms-permit for 25 of his attendants, a precaution rendered necessary as an act of humanity, owing to a statement made to the Ten on the 24th December 1555, by Marco da Risano (whose presence in England in September of that year is confirmed by the ambassador Michiel), intimating that King Philip had cancelled the writ banishing him from Naples, and granted to him permission to dispose of the pension and other profits (*la provisione ed altri utili*) given him there

[1] Foreign Calendar (Mary, p. 180).

by the Emperor; with which concessions he left England perfectly satisfied.

The Foreign Calendar (Mary, p. 229) states that in June 1556 Courtenay was in the territory of the Duke of Ferrara, the ally of France. The close of his career has been already told, and it seems probable that Peter Vannes knew less about the causes of his death than the Spanish ambassador, Francisco de Vargas, and that the French ambassador, the Bishop of Lodève, was better acquainted with the contents of his casket than the representative of England in Venice, who only obtained such meagre information as is printed in this volume, from page 64 to page 255. The matters set out there are mere historical curiosities, and do not expose the political intrigues then in progress between Courtenay, the King of France, and the Duke of Ferrara.

At the time when Courtenay informed the Venetian ambassador at Brussels that King Philip had allowed him to travel, Queen Mary gave leave to her sister Elizabeth Tudor to return to Hatfield from Greenwich. During her stay at Greenwich Cardinal Pole never once saw her, although their apartments were contiguous; nor did they ever meet until the end of November 1556, when she went from Somerset House to visit him at Lambeth.

On the 25th October 1555, at Brussels, the Emperor renounced the states of Flanders to his son, in the presence of the Queens Eleanor and Maria, but the Archduke Ferdinand, his nephew, studiously avoided being present at the ceremony by reason of the claims of the King of the Romans, his father, on the Low Countries. Archduke Ferdinand came ostensibly to take leave of the Emperor on his departure for Spain, but in reality for a deeper purpose, it being evident that Queen Mary would die childless, and his Imperial Majesty was desirous that

his nephew should marry her sister Elizabeth, and thus share the crown of England. In return for this the Emperor expected the King of the Romans, and his son the King of Bohemia, to consent to King Philip's being appointed "Vicar of the Empire;" but in July 1556, at Brussels, the King of Bohemia declared that his father did not desire Charles V. to renounce the Imperial title, meaning (I infer) unless the resignation were made unconditionally; a supposition which is corroborated by the Emperor's letter to the King of the Romans dated 12th September 1556,[1] showing that the Emperor's renunciation depended on the acceptance by the Electors of his terms, which "he *hopes* Ferdinand will urge by "assisting his ambassadors." One of these was the Prince of Orange, on whose arrival in Bohemia the King of the Romans avoided seeing him.

It is also evident that the Emperor did not intend to abdicate, because on his leaving the Low Countries for Spain the powers left by him to Ferdinand for ruling the Empire were more limited than ever, and he took with him to San Yuste the Imperial crown, the mantle, and sceptre, and also an agent of the King of the Romans.[2] On the 2nd of October 1555 Badoer wrote from Brussels that the servants of the King of England complained greatly of King Ferdinand's thwarting the Emperor's wish to obtain for his son the title of "Vicar in Italy;" and a few days later Badoer wrote distinctly that, as the King of the Romans would not consent to the King of England being "Vicar in Italy," the Emperor, who had intended and promised his brother to renounce the Empire to him, would now not do so, but retire to Spain

[1] See Lanz, III., 711.

[2] See Badoer, Report of Charles V., in Albéri, series I., vol. iii. pp. 230–231.

without giving him any other "administration" than he was entitled to by his investiture.

These facts are of some historical importance, both because one of the Emperor's modern biographers makes it appear that the Archduke Ferdinand was sent by his father to deter the Emperor from renouncing the Empire,[1] whereas it now appears that the Emperor sent for his nephew, to offer him the hand of Elizabeth Tudor, presumptive heiress of the crown of England, and to resign the Imperial crown to the King of the Romans, provided King Philip were appointed "Vicar in Italy;" and as the counter-statement is based on the contemporary correspondence between the Emperor and his brother, we thus learn that the semi-official letters of sovereigns have often a hidden meaning which professional historians misunderstand, unless it be explained to them by an uninterrupted series of contemporaneous diplomatic despatches. These modify the sense of documents, which, however authentic, are but fragmentary, and often lead to false conclusions.

In Froude's History of England, it is said that Queen Mary dissolved her fourth Parliament on the 9th of September, probably a misprint for 9th December, for according to Cardinal Pole and Giovanni Michiel, the dissolution took place on the latter day. As a supplement to what Mr. Froude says about the general spirit of the House, we learn through the ambassador Badoer that Queen Mary wrote to her consort that she had urged him to come to her, because a number of violent

[1] "Il" (le Roi des Romains) "lui envoya en même temps son second "fils l'archiduc Ferdinand, *pour le détourner de renoncer à l'Empire* "et le supplier, dans le cas où sa resolution a cet égard serait inébran-"lable, de consentir au moins à ne pas la rendre publique jusqu'à la "prochaine diête." ("Charles-Quint, son abdication," par M. Mignet (p. 117, septième edition, Paris, 1868).

opposition members had been returned to Parliament, in consequence of which she did not venture to propose his coronation; and she added, that if she were unable to carry this Act (termed by her "so beneficial for the common weal"), she thought of effecting it on the dissolution of Parliament, with the aid of a number of peers (*signori*) and other personages of the kingdom. King Philip replied that as she naturally desired this result more than he did, he therefore requested her not to propose anything in this matter unless sure of success. The importance attached by the Emperor and King Philip to the ceremony of the coronation has not I believe been noticed by English historians. I therefore venture to call attention to the pages in this volume where the fact is recorded.[1] According to report, in May 1556, Charles V. had some idea of enforcing the coronation of his son by a fleet; whilst Basse Fontaine, the French ambassador at Brussels, told Lord Paget that his King would favour the people of England, were they to refuse their consent to this Act, and oppose it by force.

The notoriety of this circumstance in Flanders may be inferred from the fact that the ambassador there rarely wrote its particulars in cipher. This reminds me that at the period in question, which was that of the Dudley conspiracy, Michiel wrote a ciphered paragraph about it from London to the Senate, and as I omitted it at page 412 of this volume, where it ought to have followed the words "*between the two crowns*," I now insert it:

"But should Clinton in France, or Paget at Brussels, have other matters to negotiate at those courts, your Serenity will

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[1] Pp. 271, 281, 299, 362, 415, 416, 419, 420, 442, 444, 445, 446.

receive from thence fuller and more certain intelligence, as it is less difficult to conceal transactions in the places where they end than where they commence and originate.[1]

In April 1556, Queen Maria of Hungary was in constant correspondence with Queen Mary, whom she urged to put aside her timidity and every consideration, and to crown her Consort, who otherwise would never return to her, which advice was supposed to be interested, the Emperor's sister wishing her nephew to go to England, that she might resume the Regency of Flanders instead of accompanying her brother to Spain. It was also proposed to send the Lady Elizabeth thither, her marriage with the Archduke Ferdinand having failed to take effect. Henry II. said he had heard this on good authority, and that the Princess Elizabeth was to marry Don Carlos.

Amongst the persons arrested in England on account of the Dudley conspiracy, was a female politician called by Michiel "the widow Brocklier," but who seems to have been the relict of Sir Walter Bucler, who on a certain occasion in October 1552 befriended Elizabeth Tudor. This lady has not been registered among the political martyrs of the time, and all we hear of her from the Venetian ambassador in London is, that

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1 "*Potendo meno difficilmente occultarsi le cose in quelli lochi "dove si finiscono che là dove nascono et hanno principio.*" The truth of this political axiom impressed itself greatly on a celebrated Italian prime minister, whose official duties had prevented him from examining Pasini's decipher until the month of July 1876, when the paragraph omitted by me was perused by him in the Venetian Archives with such evident self-complacency, that it can only be accounted for, by his considering it good authority (given three centuries ago) for one of the last acts of his own wise administration, which was to unravel the tangled skein of the Eastern Question, and perhaps to take advantage of it, by accrediting the successors of the Italian crown, to the Czar, and not to the Sultan.

" although a gentlewoman, she was nevertheless fac-
" tious and had a bad name ;" so, lest search should be made for her, she determined on flight, to avoid imprisonment, but was arrested either at the sea-side or on the road, and taken to the Tower. She was joined there almost immediately by Sir Peter Carew and Sir John Cheke (son-in-law of the ambassador Masone), both of whom had been captured between Mechlin and Antwerp, on suspicion of fresh plots against the King and his consort. The English at Brussels resented this greatly, being of opinion that the suspicion was unfounded, and that King Philip would thus lose the adherents hitherto gained by him.

On the 30th May, the Emperor heard that Paul IV. intended to call a Lateran Council, for the purpose of depriving him and the King of the Romans of their dignities, because at the Diet of Augsburg the King consented that Germany should live according to the Confession of Augsburg, and to this the Emperor had submitted. This caused the chief ministers at Brussels to express hopes that his Holiness, thinking to do their Majesties harm, would thus reconcile them to each other, making them and their sons also become friends. On receiving these despatches and hearing that the Pope was sending commissioners into the kingdom of Naples, the Emperor exhibited the most violent rage. He assembled the Council of State daily, and on one occasion summoned thither his own confessor Father Soto, and King Philip's confessor De Castro, showing them letters from Rome, to the effect that if the King of Spain withdrew his obedience, the Pope would excommunicate him and deprive him of the title of King. The confessors, whose orthodoxy was undoubted, suggested that the people might yet be kept to their allegiance, as had been done on a

similar occasion ninety years previously, by the Archbishops of Toledo and Tarragona.

In the meanwhile the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, arrived at the French Court with legatine powers, it being said that amongst other things he would endeavour to make peace between the two crowns, for which same purpose a second Legate was expected at Brussels, where he never arrived. The Emperor was in favour of acting vigorously against the Pope, but King Philip deprecated whatever might lead to war.

In the second half of July 1556, there was a great rush of Flemings to Brussels, to see the six crowned heads assembled there, namely, the Emperor, King Philip, the King and Queen of Bohemia, Eleanor Queen Dowager of France, and Maria ex-Queen of Hungary. Maximilian, King of Bohemia, did not conceal his dislike of the Spaniards, and styled the ministers at Brussels "dwarf Spaniards." It was again talked of to give the hand of the Lady Elizabeth to Archduke Ferdinand, but nothing was settled about the title of "Vicar in Italy" for King Philip. On the 9th of August at 4.30 p.m. the Emperor quitted Brussels for ever, and on the 27th, at Ghent, Badoer took leave of him. His last words about the Pope were, that "he hoped he would abstain from playing his "mad pranks, which he (the Emperor) attributed to such "extreme old age that he (the Pope) might be said to "have arrived at second childhood," adding that, in the midst of so much mischief, this was a blessing. On the 29th the Emperor proceeded from Ghent towards the seaside, in a litter, and on the 16th September at 8h. 40m. a.m. he embarked at Arnemuiden for Spain. He was accompanied by his sisters, the two Queens, Maria and Eleanor, but did not put into Dover to embark the presumptive heiress of the English crown, neither did he

land troops there, to enforce the coronation of King Philip, though by a document in the Appendix to this volume it will be seen that even before Philip's marriage was consummated, the Emperor gave proof of intending him to be supreme in England, by ordering the foreign ambassadors, who were despatched with congratulations on the marriage in the summer of 1554, to remain in London, and not to go beyond, for announcement of their homage, until *after* the arrival of the King Consort.

On the Emperor's departure Ruy Gomez remained King Philip's prime minister in the Low Countries, in like manner as in England Queen Mary's cabinet was ruled by Cardinal Pole, whose official acts being sufficiently manifested by the chronological classification of his correspondence, it remains merely to allude to the recreation derived by him from literary pursuits and from the beauties of nature.

We have already seen him applying to Cardinal Gonzaga, to prevent the book trade at Mantua from publishing spurious editions of Cardinal Bembo's works. Mention has been also made of the dedication to him of Vida's "De Dignitate Reipublicæ," the scene of which is laid in the Madrucci Villa at Trent, where during the summer of 1545, after toiling for the Council during business hours, Pole took his evening relaxation in the garden there. At that time he was threatened with assassination, in like manner as ten years previously his happiness at the Benedictine Grange, in the Euganean Hills, was disturbed by the menacing efforts of Cromwell and Tunstall to convert him from the faith in which he had been born and educated.

After his return from Trent we find him in October 1546 writing to Vittoria Colonna from Padua, congratulating himself on his delight in the house there of

Cardinal Bembo, "where" (thus he expresses himself) "in the first place I enjoy as much security and mental "ease as if it were my father's; and secondly, such "convenience that I, at present, could not desire better, "most especially of two things in which I have always "greatly delighted, *a study and a garden*, both of which "I have found in such perfection here, that to my taste "I should be unable to find more beautiful ones any-"where else."

The hopes of Charles V. that Paul IV. would "abstain "from playing his mad pranks" were not verified; the Pope continued to fortify Rome, regardless of sacred edifices, secular palaces, or Farnesian gardens. In pity for the destruction of these last, Cardinal Pole wrote from England to his friend the soldier and military engineer Camillo Orsini; and he most pathetically informed Alessandro Farnese that the destruction of his trees caused him more pain than he ever could have believed himself capable of feeling for such a loss, even had they been planted with his own hands; and that although he was aware of being "very sensual" (*assai sensuale*) in his passion for gardens and trees, his grief was also caused by that which he thought must be felt by Cardinal Farnese, and because those trees seemed to him to embellish the whole of Rome.[1] In the same month of September 1556, when that letter was written, Cardinal

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[1] The years 1556, 1557, were fatal to the gardens of the Papal nephews in Rome. In 1503, Niccolò Fieschi was made Cardinal by Alexander VI., and had a garden, which, at some unknown period after his death in 1524, was purchased by Cardinal Carlo Caraffa; and on the 17th September 1557, the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, wrote a paragraph about it, as follows, when describing the inundation of the Tiber:—

"Ha affondato il giardino che fù già del Cardinale Visco (*sic*) et hora era le dilitie del Cardinal Caraffa."

Pole took Queen Mary over his own archiepiscopal gardens at Lambeth.

§

It remains for me to give account of the contents of my Appendix, which numbers 130 documents, dated from the year 1363 to 1556, and now existing in the archives of Venice and Modena, in St. Mark's Library, and in the Correr Museum. The abstracts of these documents will appear at the end of the second part of this volume.

In the supplement to my preceding volume (pp. 600–610), there were earlier notices of Sir John Hawkwood's negotiations with the Republic than those previously published by me, the documents ranging from the 23rd May to the 10th November 1376; and it will now be seen that thirteen years previously English soldiers aided the State of Venice to quell revolt in Candia. The contract was facilitated by "John the Englishman," and as Hawkwood was then in Italy defending Pisa against Florence,[1] it is possible that, during a truce, he may have come over to Venice to recommend his fellow-soldier, the "Lord Thomas," also an Englishman, but whose surname is in like manner unrecorded in the Signory's registers.

On the 10th April 1364, the Lord Thomas embarked at Lido with his 110 Englishmen, and the expedition returned in triumph on the 4th of June following, when Petrarch chanced to be at Venice, and in one of his letters describing the tournament held on St. Mark's Square in honour of this victory, he says that amongst the tilters were some English lords, the kinsfolk of Edward the Third. It is probable that he alluded to Hugh de la Zouche and Andrew de Beaumont, who both claimed royal descent, and who, in May 1364, deserted the Pisans for the Florentines.

1 *See* "Memoirs of Sir John Hawkwood" (London, 1782, pp. 6, 7).

It may reasonably be asked where Zouche and Beaumont could stable their war horses in Venice. The question is answered by the next entry, showing that at that period, on the site of the present prisons, which were built by the architect Antonio Da Ponte in the year 1589, one "John the Englishman" kept an inn, whose sign was "the Dragon," nor could it be mistaken for any other than St. George's. All the English pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land consequently patronised "mine host" of the Dragon, who in March 1365 accommodated the pilgrim Sir Henry Stromyn, his retinue, and his horses. Sir Henry's head groom, "Robin the Englishman," having struck a Venetian for defiling his charges' litter, the unclean intruder stabbed the faithful servant to the heart with a bread-knife. The account of the inquest and deposition, which is still preserved in the Venetian Archives, enables me to add a paragraph about English life in Italy in the fourteenth century, illustrating the respect exacted by a trusty servant for his master and his master's cattle. These circumstances, together with Sir Henry Stromyn's translation to the "Lord of the night watch" of poor Robin's "*get out*," by "*vade foras*," form a touching and idiomatic narrative describing exactly what took place near the "Ponte della paglia" at the vesper hour on the 3rd of March 1365.

At that period we hear less of pilgrims at Venice than of soldiers. In April 1377, Nicolò, Marquis of Este, gave Jacky (*Zanechino*) Penreth a passport for himself and ten comrades, on their way through his territory, to and from Venice; and in 1386 Dame Hawkwood wrote to the Marquis's consort, Verde della Scala, announcing the birth of Sir John's first-born legitimate son.

In the year 1866, Sir Thomas Hardy, in his "Report "upon the Documents in the Archives and Public

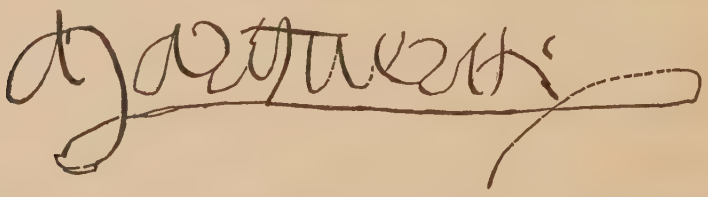
" Libraries of Venice," alluded to "the interest taken " by George I. about state papers there, required for " Leibnitz, who was writing a history *of the German* " *branch of the House of Este;* the King also applying " to the State in favour of Muratori, he being similarly " occupied by order of the Duke of Modena on behalf of " *the Italian branch;* but on second thoughts, his Majesty " delicately modified this last request, lest it should " interfere with the Signory's territorial claims."

Acting upon this hint, received from so able a pioneer, I have succeeded in connecting the Crown of England with the House of Este by an uninterrupted series of historical documents, commencing with John Hawkwood and his wife Donnina Visconti in 1377, and ending with an embassy to Queen Mary in 1554.

The four first Marquises of Este thus brought into juxtaposition with England from 1377 to 1450, bore originally the title of "Vicar of the See Apostolic in Ferrara." Marquis Leonello took for his second wife Maria, natural daughter of Alfonso of Aragon, who expelled Réné of Anjou from Naples on the 1st of June 1442. On the 30th May 1445 King Réné's daughter Marguerite was crowned Queen of England in Westminster Hall; her consort was a Plantagenet; and as an Earl of Anjou, one of her ancestors, first gave that august name to his descendants in the 10th century, no objection could be raised to the marriage on account of lineage, although her father had so recently lost the kingdom of Naples. That the first letter written from England by the Princess of *Anjou* to a foreign potentate should be addressed to the *Aragonese* Marchioness of Este, whose parent had so recently dethroned King Réné, cannot but cause surprise, which will give way to other sentiments when it is seen that Marguerite stifled all personal rancour for the sake

of an English student at the University of Ferrara. Thus early in her tempestuous reign did the beautiful young queen, then in her eighteenth year, show how warmly she espoused the interests of her new subjects, evincing at the same time that care for men of letters which developed itself yet more strongly in 1448, when she founded Queen's College in Cambridge. The name of the youth in favour of whom Margaret of Anjou wrote to her cousin Maria of Aragon, sending her a little present of "an ambling hobby," was Reynold Chicheley, who came of so good a city family that in 1411 and 1421 it supplied London with the Lord Mayors of those two years, having previously provided Canterbury with an archbishop, the exemplary Henry Chicheley, whose nephew, John Chicheley, filled the post of Chamberlain of London when Margaret of Anjou recommended his son to Maria of Aragon.[1]

The letter was written from Eltham on the 27th November, apparently in the year 1446. The date of the year is wanting, and beneath the Queen's signature, of which I give the following facsimile,



there is no counter-signature by a secretary, an omission attributable perhaps to the Queen's household not having then been completely formed, or to the fact of her consort being at Westminster when she wrote it. The water-mark

[1] John Chicheley, of Well-hall, citizen and Chamberlain of London, who died 1446, son and heir to William Chicheley, Esq., alderman and citizen and grocer of London, brother to Archbishop Chicheley. (Collins, VII. 79.)

of the paper on which it is written is a toothed wheel with a lever, thus :—

showing that the Queen's stationer was most probably a native of Holland.[1]

The gentle and endearing tone of the missive did not fail to take effect on Maria of Aragon, for on the 10th May [1447][2] Queen Margaret wrote to her cousin, Leonello of Este, from London, saying she had just heard from her well-beloved familiar John Chicheley, citizen and Chamberlain of London, that the Marquis had appointed his son Reynold to the renowned office of rector of the "alimental University" of Ferrara (*insigne officium rec-*

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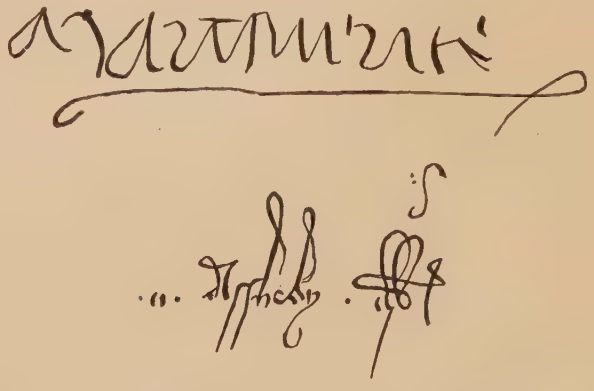
[1] See "*Essai sur l'origine de la Gravure*" etc., by Jansen (Paris, 1808) Vol. I. p 384, where this mark is described thus: "*Une Roue dentelée avec un levier,*" and the date he assigns to it is 1449.

In the "*Principia Typographica*" (Block Books and Paper Marks), by Samuel Leigh Sotheby (London, 1858), Vol. III., p. 53, Mr. Sotheby says: —"The *Registrum Commiss. Burgundiæ* affords the earliest instance "we have met with of this mark. The papers in that volume range "from 1428 to 1453. . . . In an autograph letter of the Archbishop "of Canterbury (1443–50), in the Tower of London, occurs a mark of very "similar form." Mr. Sotheby's illustration of the "toothed wheel" shows that it had a *single* circle, while the mark on Queen Margaret's letter bore a *double* one; so her Majesty and the Primate seem both to have patronized the same papermaker.

[2] This second letter from the Queen, like the first, is on paper, without any year-date, which I supply through the missive from the King, on the same subject, to the same person.

toratus almi studii in urbe vestrâ Ferrariense), for which she returned most hearty thanks.

The Queen's signature to this second letter, and that of her secretary, are here reproduced :—



This direct intercourse between the Houses of Lancaster and Este was confirmed by Henry VI., who on the same day wrote a letter of thanks from Windsor Castle to Marquis Leonello for having conferred the post of rector of his university on an English subject, alluding also to the additional satisfaction caused him by this honour from the fact of his having been christened by Reynold's great-uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Again, in 1449, when the rector brought a letter from the Marquis to the King, it was answered from London on the 29th November, cordially confirming the goodwill then prevalent between the two potentates.[1] The character of Margaret of Anjou, on her first arrival in England, is thus drawn by her own pen, and this brief correspondence also affords proof that if the soldiers of England sought renown in Italy, her students likewise succeeded in obtaining it.[2]

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[1] These two letters of Henry VI. are on parchment; they do not bear his sign-manual.

[2] I have dwelt on Chicheley's foreign dignity because, in Borsetti's History of the University of Ferrara, which was published in 1735, there is no mention of his rectorship, though by an entry in Borsetti's first volume (p. 139) it appears that in 1502 the seats of the English members

Maria of Aragon died at Ferrara on the 9th December 1449, and her consort survived until October of the following year. He was succeeded by Borso of Este, who was created first Duke of Ferrara by Pope Pius II., on Easter Day, 1471, having previously been made Duke of Reggio and Modena by Frederick III. on the 18th May 1452. In 1457 we find him, at the commencement of the Wars of the Roses, sending to England for horses; the proximity of dates rendering it probable that Queen Margaret's present had not only called attention, "in proud Italy," to the classical acquirements of one of her subjects, but also founded there the repute of her English stud. Duke Borso's letter on that occasion merely desires the Ferrarese ambassador at Milan to procure from Francesco Sforza a pass for his messenger to England, but it forms a link in the relations between the Estes and the Plantagenets.

To pass from employment obtained by Englishmen in Italy to presents received thence by our sovereigns, and which may possibly connect themselves with the art treasures so munificently collected during her present Majesty's reign, especially the numerous chests and coffers in the South Kensington Museum, painted by Italian artists of the 15th century, I have given an elaborate account in my Appendix of the sweetmeats and liqueurs, stowed in old Venetian earthenware and glass, and packed in painted chests, which were shipped on board the "Flanders galleys" bound to London.

The earliest record that I have found of these dainties

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of the University of Ferrara were repaired, they having been originally erected on the site of the Shoemakers' Guildhall; so that all we know of Reynold Chicheley's academical honours abroad, rests on the authority of his far-famed patroness Margaret of Anjou.

is dated 14th June 1458, when the Signory of Venice sent Henry VI. four butts of malmsey and two painted chests (half of their contents being destined apparently for Margaret of Anjou), the one containing forty majolica pots of syruped confections, viz., green ginger, melon, and quince, and the other twenty gourd-shaped gilt-glass flasks of "Rosolio," now called "Maraschino," and probably imported from the Republic's city of Zara, where the liqueur is at present flavoured with the cherry kernel instead of the rose leaf. The same galley conveyed two butts of malmsey for the Chancellor, William de Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester; and two butts for the Treasurer, James, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

Of the designs of these painted chests, or of their cost, I have been unable to find any record, but as on this same voyage the "Lion galley" landed a painted chest for Philip the Good at Bruges, where, in the year 1458, there were many famous Flemish artists, it may be supposed that for the honour of the State these wooden receptacles were decorated by their Venetian contemporaries, Bartolomeo and Luigi Vivarini, and by Jacopo Bellini and his sons, Gentile and Giovanni. The glass vessels were probably wrought by the Baroviero family; and the glazed majolica containing the sweetmeats was doubtless by those same Venetian potters, of whose works specimens are still visible in the church of St. Giobbe at Venice.

In 1459 and 1460, similar presents were sent to Henry VI. and to his Chancellor and Treasurer, Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Viscount Bourchier.

From the year 1461, when Edward IV. assumed the crown, down to July 1468, the Signory's annual presents,

shipped on board the Flanders galleys for the Crown of England, were continued. The painted chests, from first to last, were in number 22, and the specimens of old glass and majolica amounted to several thousands. We may hope that, with the help of these dates, the curators of the South Kensington Museum may be enabled to tell us that some fragments of these gifts are still the property of the nation.[1]

Whilst the Signory were shipping at Venice the first painted chests for Edward IV., two Venetian merchants, by name Diedo and Foscari, were publicly absolved in London from the charge of having defrauded the King's Customs, and the process is so descriptive of city manners and usages a century before the erection of the "Exchange" by the "usurer" Gresham,—for such was he styled by his contemporary, James Basset,[2] who probably knew more about him than Mr. Burgon, and says distinctly that Gresham's charge of eleven or twelve in the hundred was "intolerable,"—that the following particulars respecting an English merchant prince at the time of the Wars of the Roses require no apology.

In the year 1461, one of the great city authorities, although he had never been Lord Mayor, was Sir John Fry, whose son, Sir Richard Fry, Knight, married a Plantagenet, namely, Joan, daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset (who was slain in the battle of St. Alban's, May 22nd, 1455), and widow of Sir Robert St. Lawrence,

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[1] In the Museum Catalogue (p. 130) the coffer No. 58 is said to be "*Venetian, of the 15th century*," and we are told that "the style of the "decorations is that of the Mantovini (*sic*) in their work at Sta. Maria "dell' Orto in Venice." The height of this coffer is 2 ft. 5 in., L. 2 ft., W. 18 in., but the dimensions of the painted chests sent by the Republic of Venice to Henry VI. and Edward IV. are not given in the registers from which my entries are transcribed.

[2] See pp. 255, 256 of this volume.

Baron of Howth in Ireland.[1] Sir John Fry dwelt in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less in the city of London, his orchard-garden? ("*arcincus gardinum*"—sic) being the resort where merchants most did congregate. All the important business of the London mart was apparently transacted under the arcades "of the well-" known usual dwelling of the nobleman Sir John " Fry," where, on the 7th June 1461, the noble Venetians Diedo and Foscari were restored to fair fame. A notarial act was drawn up on the spot to that effect by John Hyde, their slanderers abjuring what they had asserted. The witnesses to the recantation were the Venetian consul, Sir Thomas Walgrave, Sir Maurice Arundel, skinner, William Woortely, and others. Such were the forms of penance, with damages for defamation, patriarchally ordained by the London merchants in Sir John Fry's garden, in lieu of sounding bell or trumpet, as was done on Gresham's Exchange at a later period.

The mode of protesting bills in London, in Sir John Fry's time, is also worth recording. The person on whom the dishonoured bill was drawn, or his agent, accompanied by a notary public and two witnesses, went with it to one of the many city scriveners, whose dwellings for the most part were situated in Lombard Street, and presenting the bill to him, after repeating that he refused payment of it, he then on the threshold of the scrivener's office inquired whether any of the bystanders would disburse the bill's amount, expressing his readiness to receive it, and no answer being given him, he "protested" against its drawer, and against all other persons concerned in the transaction; this notarial process being completed by a

[1] The marriage is recorded by Collins, I. 223–224, ed. London, 1812, but he does not date the ceremony, neither does he allude to Sir Richard Fry's father.

bill-broker's certificate, stating the number of English silver pennies required in London for the purchase of a Venetian gold sequin. The "protest" quoted by me is dated London, 17th January 1459, when the sequin was worth $44\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling, the bill having been bought in Venice on the 17th October 1458, at the rate of 48 pence per sequin, and the amount of the bill being 500 sequins, payable in London, in silver.[1]

To return to the intercourse between the House of Este and the Crown of England, I have already mentioned that Marquis Leonello of Este, the correspondent of Margaret of Anjou and Henry of Lancaster, was succeeded by Borso, the first Duke of Ferrara. In December 1467, one of his intelligencers resident at Bruges gave him the first news of the expected marriage between Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. The intelligencer, whose name seems to have been Chiexia, informed the Duke of Ferrara that the time of its celebration was uncertain, the Duke of Burgundy demanding as security for payment of the bride's dower (although it was only 200,000 crowns), eighteen personages, namely, six English bishops, six (*sic*) Irish archbishops, and six peers of the realm, to be selected by himself. By the end of the month it seems that these terms were modified, though he still insisted on receiving 50,000 crowns

1 On the 17th April 1460, the notary William Styfford protested a bill in Lombard Street *ante domum habitacionis Humphry Hayford, civis et aurifaber Londini, in vico de Lumbard strete, ubi mercatores de diversis nacionibus solent cotidie congregare.* In "The Merchant of Venice" (act 1, scene 3) Shylock describes the "Campo of S. Giacomo" (the Exchange of Venice) as the place "where merchants most do congregate," which phrase was probably derived from the formula of notarial protests in London. The site of the absolution given to the two merchants of Venice on the 7th June 1461, is described in the original, thus :—"*In quodam claustro sive circuitu circumvolvens* (sic), *sive arcincus* (sic) *gardinum, infra domum solite habitationis nobilis viri Johannis Efrai* (sic) *militis in parochiâ Sancti Bartholomei minoris civitatis Londoniensis notorie situate.*"

on the wedding day, and another 50,000 within six months from that time, the residue to be disbursed in two years at the rate of 50,000 crowns annually.[1]

Chiexia adds, that as the bride was to be sent to Bruges entirely at the cost of Edward IV., the Duke of Burgundy's regard for economy would also prevent him from giving the grand entertainments which had been expected. But the Ferrarese intelligencer also states, that at the close of 1467, Warwick and all his adherents had left the Court for their country seats, owing to the King Maker's brother, George Neville, Archbishop of York, having been deprived of the Chancellorship, and because the Wideville family then ruled despotically. It may therefore be supposed that the Duke of Burgundy, knowing how much his support was needed by Edward IV., dispensed with all complimentary expenditure when marrying his sister.

Chiexia's anticipation of turmoil in England seems to have been disregarded by Borso of Este, Duke of Ferrara, who, unlike Marquis Leonello, cared more for his stud than he did for his university, and regardless of the Wars of the Roses, sent his master of the horse, by name Biasio de Biragho, to make a second purchase of hobbies in England. On the 11th of October 1470, Biragho wrote to the Duke from Bruges, that whilst waiting at Calais for his passage, in the preceding month of September, the Earl of Warwick on the 24th[2] sailed thence with 3,000 Englishmen to reinstate King Henry VI., and having

[1] The chronicler Hall states that Margaret of York was then "a lady "of excellent beautie, and yet more of womanhode then beautie, and "more of vertue then womanhode," although at a later period, when she protected Perkin Warbeck, he called her the "pesteferus serpent Lady Margaret, Duchess of Burgoyne."

[2] I do not find this precise date (24th September 1470) of the departure from Calais of the Earl of Warwick, in Hall, Hume, or Lingard; neither do they state the amount of his forces.

landed in England, routed Edward, who on the 11th October (Biragho writes) was already at the Hague; the Earl of Warwick in the meanwhile having marched to London, "where he was received as if he had been a "God, and then, with the consent of the populace, he "went to take King Henry out of prison, and made "him King again, the whole of England shouting "'Henry' and 'Warwick' (*e tuta quanta la Ingiltera "crida Henricho e Varich*)."

Without alluding to the treachery of the Gascon Vaucler, the deputy-governor of Calais, towards King Edward,[1] Biragho merely says that Calais rebelled immediately, and shouted "Warwick," and that Vaucler tried to give him courage; but such was his fear lest Charles the Bold should lay siege to Calais that he made his escape with difficulty to Bruges. From that city he writes to Duke Borso that when able to cross in safety he would bring some good hobbies from England for him and for "Messer Hercule," adding that "as fortune "willed it thus, he would find means to form some "fresh contrivance" (*qualche trama nuova*). This closing sentence is enigmatical; it may possibly imply that Biragho's mission combined hobbies and politics, and that the dynasty of York having given way to Lancaster, he would therefore communicate certain wishes of the House of Este to Henry VI. instead of to Edward IV.

I am unable to ascertain whether Biragho realised his intention of going to England in the year 1470, but in 1471, on the death of Duke Borso, he remained in the service of his half-brother and successor Duke Hercules, who in 1479 sent him to Edward IV., not

[1] Hume, ii. 399, 400, 404, ed. London, 1762.

only for permission to purchase hobbies in Ireland, but also to obtain the Garter, he being the first member of the House of Este whose aspiration to that honour is openly avowed, though from what Biragho wrote about "some fresh contrivance" in October 1470, it is possible that Duke Borso anticipated the desire of his successor.

Biragho arrived in London on the 28th June 1479, and went immediately to Anthony Wideville, Lord Scales, to whom he confided the wish of Duke Hercules, and was presented by him to the King, with whom he conversed for more than an hour, asking him for a passport for Ireland, from which place he hoped to bring the Duke "something to his liking" (*cossa piazzarà a vostra magnificentia*), evidently alluding to "hobbies," though he omits the word. He then says that the vacancy of the Garter was caused by the death of Charles the Bold in January 1477, and that he Biragho had so "contrived" with Biasio (*tramato con Biasio*), apparently some Italian of influence in the household of Edward IV., that as the Duke's sole competitor was the King of Spain, he believed that the Duke would have the greater number of votes.

What success the Ferrarese master of the horse had in Ireland with regard to hobbies is unknown, but he "contrived" so well about the Garter that in the following year King Edward IV. sent it to Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, by Sir Lawrence Raynsford, Knight, and the letter of thanks (the original draft of which was transcribed for me in the archives at Modena) expresses due sense of the great honour conferred on the head of the House of Este by King Edward IV.[1]

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[1] It commences, "*Sacra et Serma. Regia Maiestas, Pater et Domine mi observandissime*," and ends thus: "*filius et servitor Hercules Dux Ferrariæ, Mutine, et Regij, Marchio Estensis, Comesque Rodigij, &c.*"

For nineteen years I can show no proof of direct intercourse between the Houses of York and Este, but in 1498 Biragho, being still in the service of Duke Hercules, was sent by him to England, and from the first of our Tudor kings we learn that the Ferrarese master of the horse was again commissioned to purchase hobbies in Ireland. By the King's own letter, dated Cambridge, 3rd September 1498, addressed to his "very "dear brother and friend the Lord Hercules, Duke of "Ferrara," he thanks him for his present of two choice falcons, and alludes to having given their bearer, Biragho, a passport for Ireland, and a warm letter of recommendation to his Lord Deputy there, desiring him to facilitate Biragho's purchase and exportation of hobbies (*equos obinos*). The King remarks, however, that owing to the wars of the wild Irish amongst themselves, there was a great scarcity of good horses in that island.

"The league between his Highness and Ferrara,"

like every other line penned by Shakspeare, has remained a national phrase from the day he wrote it until now, but it is less generally known that six months after the commission was given at Amiens on the 26th August 1527,[1]

"To Gregory de Cassalis, to conclude,"

there arrived in London a Ferrarese ambassador from Duke Alfonso of Este to demand compliance with the articles of that league, which stipulated for him the protection of England against any attack from Charles V. The name of this diplomatist was Ferruffino, and the only printed notice I have ever found of him may be read in Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., part II., p. 1629, No. 3624, showing that he bore credentials

[1] See Venetian Calendar, IV. pp. 87, 88.

to the King from Duke Alfonso's son, "Cardinal Hippo-
"lytus da Este, Archbishop of Milan."

No mention whatever is made of Ferruffino's being accredited to Henry VIII. by the head of the House of Este, but this entry, 3624, is confirmed by one in my Appendix, showing that amongst his other instructions received from Duke Alfonso were the following:—

"In the name of my sons" (Don Ercole II., Cardinal Ippolito II., and Don Francesco of Este) "you will kiss the hands of the aforesaid most potent King and right reverend Legate, *and in virtue of their letters of credence, and as they will have ordered you by word of mouth,* you will return due thanks, recommending them to his Majesty and to his right reverend lordship, as their most devoted servants."

When leaving Ferrara for England on the 30th November 1527, Ferruffino received from his master two papers of instructions, of one of which, relating to the welfare of his duchy and of his children, I have already given the substance; the contents of the other relate exclusively to his own personal tastes, which resembled those of his ancestors.[1]

This second paper, dated Ferrara, 30th November 1527, desired him, after having been a few days in England, to ask the King's permission to purchase in Ireland, and to export thence, eight hobby-mares and two hobby-stallions, to breed from, and to request his Majesty to desire his master of the horse (Sir Nicholas Carew), for whom he

[1] It would almost appear that the widower of Lucrezia Borgia, and the whole House of Este from the year 1445 to 1527, had never forgotten the "ambling hobby" taken by the student Reynold Chicheley to Maria of Aragon in the name of Margaret of Anjou; but that Duke Alfonso could make a handsome acknowledgment was proved in March 1515 by his sending to Henry VIII. a live leopard and a very fine horse. (See Venetian Calendar, II., p. 241.) The historian of Ferrara adds that the horse's trappings were of gold, and that this princely gift also comprised three trained falcons. (Frizzi, IV. 260.)

also gave Feruffino a letter of credence, to facilitate this matter.

On the 1st of May 1528, Duke Alfonso's falconer Ludovico, and one of his grooms, arrived in London to take charge of the hobbies, which had not yet been purchased, and when Feruffino presented Ludovico to Henry VIII., the King, after inquiring about Duke Alfonso's health, said, laughing, "Master Louis, you "are come into this country and have not brought me a "falcon."[1] He was a man of ready wit, and replied that he had brought a falcon for the King's household but not for his Majesty, who at any rate could dispense with it for the present, as it was the moulting season. The falconer remained in England until September, and then departed with Yorkshire mares, and one very handsome dark brown Irish hobby. This entire stud was a free gift from Henry VIII. to his cousin of Este, it having been impossible to purchase hobbies in Ireland, which was in the same state as in 1498;[2] but Sir Nicholas Carew assured Feruffino that the English breed of horses excelled that of Ireland. The letter containing Carew's opinion of the comparative merits of English and Irish horses is dated 17th August 1528. It also contains a paragraph connecting the non-observance of the articles of "the league "between his Highness and Ferrara," with Anne Boleyn, thus:—

"The delay in the matter of the *ratification* and *protection*

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[1] This familiar form of speech implies that "Master Louis" was an old acquaintance, and probably in 1515 he had been in the hawking field with the King, to put the three Este falcons through their volations to the best advantage.

[2] In the "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland," published in 1860, it is stated that in this month of May 1528, "Lord Delvin having "been taken prisoner by O'Conor, the Council appointed Sir Thomas "Fitzgerald to be Deputy *ad interim*."

practised by the King and Cardinal, with such manifest regard for the Pope, is owing to the new marriage, rather than to any other cause; which marriage is expected eventually to take place, and when effected, the King, after obtaining what he wants from the Pope, will do by your Excellency what is due to you."

Feruffino remained in England until the fall of Cardinal Wolsey in October 1529, and his despatches written thence to Alfonso of Este, Duke of Ferrara, printed in my Appendix, are in number 23.

The next Este document obtained by me from the archives at Modena, is dated London, 26th February 1547, and is addressed to Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, who succeeded his father Alfonso I. on the 1st of November 1534. The writer, Lodovico Montio, by birth a Ferrarese, had been in the service of Henry VIII., and I suspect him to be the individual whose name in the Household Book of Edward VI. is inscribed "Lodovico Montro, Italion."[1] Montio seems to have been a great admirer of his deceased master, but professes vassallage and adoration for his sole liege lord of the House of Este, to whom he gives account of the funeral of Henry VIII. and of his successor's coronation. It is known that the body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, but what made most impression on Montio was the waxwork figure of the King wrought to the life, and most sumptuously apparelled, its robes being covered with precious stones, of which he said he counted upwards of 500 of inestimable price. He commences his narrative by saying that he "leaves the corpse at Windsor," whither it seems to have been conveyed some days previously by Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny;[2] and he then proceeds to describe the obsequies,

[1] See Trevelyan Papers prior to A.D. 1558, p. 196 (Camden Society Publication, 1857).

[2] "At the funeral of Henry VIII., this Sir William Herbert and Sir "Anthony Denny were the only two that were carried in the chariot with

which lasted for twenty days, there being one hearse at Westminster, another at Sion, and a third, the grandest of all, at Windsor. He says that all the peers of the realm attended "the masses and offices," and at the close of the ceremony at Westminster, the waxen figure in its jewelled robes was placed on a stately chariot (*carro*) drawn by eight horses in black velvet mourning, like the pages that accompanied it. On arriving at Sion, the effigy passed the night above or beneath the second hearse, and then after being on view at Windsor from the third hearse, during the funeral there, which lasted for two days, the mass being said by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (*celebrante l'arcivescovo*), the corpse in its coffin (as known on English authority)[1] "was interred in the midst of "the choir, near the body of Jane Seymour, by Stephen "Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester."

Montio, on his return to London, witnessed the coronation of Edward VI., which took place on the 20th February. He enters into details of the ceremony, informing Duke Hercules that when Cranmer, in the act of anointing the young prince, told him, amongst other things, that he was to promise to defend his people and the Church of God with the sword, the ingenuous youth inquired "What church?" (*che chiesa?*) and when the Archbishop explained his meaning to be "the faithful "and the Gospel," the young King replied that with his whole heart would he do so.

Montio then expresses his opinion of the great importance of the new Sovereign, saying that he had offered condolence and congratulation to Secretary Petre

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"the royal corpse to Windsor, and were continually waiting there till the "interment."—Collins's Peerage, III., 116, ed. London, 1812. The authority quoted by Collins for the foregoing paragraph is "Strype's Memorials in Reposit., p. 9."

[1] See Lingard, V., 117, foot-note.

and Protector Somerset, in the name of Duke Hercules II., whose brother-in-law the King of France having hinted to the Venetian ambassador that King Edward was "very close,"[1] it is probable that anticipating no profit, he deferred sending an embassy to England until the accession of Queen Mary, when he sent congratulations on her marriage to the Prince of Spain.

The person appointed to perform this office by Hercules II. of Este, fourth Duke of Ferrara, was Count Camillo Montecucolo, who arrived in London on the 7th June 1554, and presented himself immediately to the Queen's prime minister, Bishop Gardiner, who seems to have procured audience for him at Richmond on the 11th, but I have been unable to find any account of it. His next letter, dated London, 10th July 1554, mentions the Emperor's order (to which I have already alluded at p. xxxix) for the ambassadors to remain in London, and not to go to Richmond or to any other place, to pay their respects to Queen Mary, until after Philip's arrival in England. The only additional news given by the Ferrarese ambassador is that the Regent Figueroa had arrived in London on his way to Spain, bringing with him a quantity of hangings which the Emperor had caused to be wrought at Antwerp in thread of gold, silver, and silk, as a present for the King Consort.

Here I close my account of the documents contained in the Appendix, and which illustrate the relations between the Italian branch of the House of Este and the Houses of Plantagenet, Lancaster, York, and Tudor.

The imperfections of this volume, and of the five that

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[1] See Venetian Calendar, VI., 592.

preceded it, were much diminished by the two oldest and ablest of my Venetian literary friends, the Signori "Commendatore" Giovanni Veludo, and "Cavaliere" Giovanni Battista Lorenzi. To Signor Lorenzi, now Vice-Librarian of the Marciana, I have been debtor for counsel and advice in historical matters during 40 years, and from the day his superior, the "Prefetto" Veludo, first took office in St. Mark's Library in 1849, he has always allowed me, for avoidance of error and solution of doubts, to have recourse to his classical acquirements and innate acumen, which have enabled me to form lucid conjectures about many obscure passages in the various manuscripts which it was my duty to render intelligible.

The present Director of the Venetian Archives, Signor "Commendatore" Bartolomeo Cecchetti, has shown himself no less anxious than his deceased predecessors, the Venetian patrician Girolamo Dandolo, and the Signori Gar and Toderini, to facilitate the work entrusted to me; and of their most indefatigable assistant, Signor Luigi Pasini, I will only say that he has conferred on himself a diploma—Her Majesty's placet munificently ratifying it—by explaining despatches which had remained unintelligible for three centuries; nor would the mystery have been revealed even now, had not the late Master of the Rolls, Lord Romilly, in 1866 encouraged him to attempt their elucidation; the accomplishment of which task has morally galvanized a vast mass of Venetian despatches.

To the second-class assistant in the Marciana, the noble Camillo Soranzo, I am indebted for several letters in my Appendix, addressed to the renowned apostate Pietro Paolo Vergerio, before he changed his creed, by several cardinals, including Nicholas Schomberg, whose

sister, the nun, married Martin Luther; and Vergerio's reply to the request of his correspondents, that he would intercede with the King of the Romans for the release of the English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, shows clearly that he did not deserve it, having been sent into Hungary by Henry VIII. for the sole purpose of injuring the House of Austria.

When first I commenced calendaring in 1864, I alluded to my obligations to the Signor "Cavaliere" Cesare Foucard, who was then employed in the Venetian Archives; he subsequently became director of various State paper offices in Italy, including that of Modena, and last year he considerably increased my debt of gratitude by sending to me thence the Este documents now printed in my present Appendix.

To my English assistant, Mr. R. E. Gent Kirk, whose patient and intelligent assiduity have never failed me throughout the publication of this long series of historical documents, I reiterate my very hearty thanks, and leave his ability to be judged by the method displayed in the indexes to this work.

Last of all (though not the less deep in my memory), it would be shameful ingratitude were I to omit mentioning the very great help derived by me with regard to foreign nomenclature from an indubitably English source. In the year 1861, an eminent barrister of Lincoln's Inn, Mr. William Hackett, did not disdain to cheer his leisure hours by compiling the index to the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar of the reign of Queen Mary. The discernment and accuracy of that index foreshadowed the jurist who, in 1875 (having then become Sir William Hackett), was commissioned by Her Majesty to form a code for the Fiji Islands. On his way out to the Pacific for that purpose, passing through Venice, I had the

pleasure of a visit from him; his anonymous index had been within arm's length of my writing table ever since 1872, when I commenced collecting documents relating to the period embraced by it. Daily did I bless its compiler for all the instruction he imparted to me, without knowing who he was; and when in the course of conversation it transpired that my accidental visitor had been so long my daily benefactor, to shake him by the hand and give him thanks by word of mouth for such profitable fellowship was one of those pleasant satisfactions the remembrance of which is indelible. On the 5th of January last I had again the good fortune to see Sir William Hackett, when embarking at Venice for Ceylon, he having been recently appointed Lord Chief Justice there. In the law-court over which he now presides this appreciation of his former historic toil will appear to him insignificant, but I cannot refrain from recording my sense of it, by so much the more as it reflects honour on a grand national work undertaken by the Public Record Office.[1]

RAWDON BROWN.

Cà Gussoni (now Casa della Vida), Venice,
26th February 1877.

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[1] While this Preface was passing through the press, a telegram from Ceylon, dated 18th May, announced the death of Sir William Hackett at Colombo, from cholera.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1555.

1555.
Jan. 2.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

1. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF VITERBO, Nuncio in France.

Has received his letters of the 26th ulto., delivered by the brother of the French ambassador,* both of whom came to Pole last evening and delivered to him their King's most gracious letter in reply to what Pole wrote to his most Christian Majesty, who thereby shows himself most truly deserving of his title. He also gave him a letter from the Constable in conformity with the noble and pious disposition of his master. The ambassador also confirmed the Nuncio's account of the good opinion of King Philip and Queen Mary entertained at the French Court, and also of the constant desire of his most Christian Majesty for peace and the common weal. To-day Pole narrated the whole to King Philip and Queen Mary, alluding also to what the Nuncio wrote to him about the "deputation" (*deputatione*); and after some conversation on the subject, the King told Pole he would write to the King of France about it, evincing the best possible disposition, as he does in whatever relates to works of piety. Has written about this to the Nuncio at Brussels, that he may speak in conformity with what Pole said to their Majesties, and knows that he will not fail to use his best endeavours for the desired end, according to the intention of his Holiness, and in furtherance of the common weal. Will acquaint the Bishop of Viterbo with the result, and requests him humbly to kiss King Henry's hands in his name, thanking him much for his great graciousness towards Pole, and returning due thanks to the French ministers, to whom he will not fail to write when any suitable occasion presents itself.

From London, 2nd January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 2.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

2. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA [Girolamo Muzzarelli, Papal Nuncio with the Emperor].

Conza will already have heard of the hint about peace which Pole dropped to the King of France, availing himself of the congratulations on the auspicious reconciliation of England to the Church. Pole performed the like office with the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine, and has now received their replies, as Conza will perceive by the enclosed copies. Communicated these letters to-day

* This brother of the French ambassador was François de Noailles, prothonotary, and bishop of Acqs. (*See* Mr. William Hackett's admirable Index to the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558.)

1555.

to King Philip and Queen Mary, as also what he wrote to the King of France, telling them also what else he had been able to elicit from the French ambassador when he presented him the letters yesterday, which was in short in conformity with the contents of the letter from the Nuncio in France, namely, that he considers it certain that should the Emperor assuredly be content to do the like, his King would be induced (*si redduria*) to send two personages to any neutral place to treat for peace; and when Pole asked him what he meant by a "neutral place," he said some place near Calais. Pole then inquired whether he considered England a neutral place, and as the ambassador replied affirmatively, Pole endeavoured moreover to learn some particulars, in case the project be realized, most especially as the ambassador's brother, who has now come to England, was with him, and as he is mentioned in the King's letter. They said they had no further instructions, and that the negotiation embracing many topics, it was impossible to come to any conclusion by messengers or letters, but that they hoped for a good result by means of such a deputation of persons of note and authority; saying, however, that he spoke of this particular without any commission, though he believed, etc., and showing, in short, that his King has a good opinion of the King and Queen, and places great trust in them. After having mentioned all this to their Majesties, King Philip told Pole he would write to the Emperor, nor will Conza fail to perform such offices at the Imperial Court as to his prudence shall seem fitting.

From London, 2nd January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

3. Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Viterbo, Nuncio in France.

With the Bishop's letters of the 23rd ulto. received one from the Cardinal of Lorraine, rejoicing at the auspicious return of England to the unity and obedience of the Church, and informing him of the commission received from his most Christian Majesty (as announced by the Bishop) to celebrate a public thanksgiving for it. Encloses copy of his reply. Showed the Cardinal's letter to the King and Queen, and on every account thinks it warrants fair hopes for the negotiation of the peace. He also told their Majesties what the Bishop wrote about the good disposition towards it at the French court, and hopes that the replies to his last letters will give him an opportunity for proceeding further with them in this matter.

From London, 4th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

4. Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

From the conversation held by him [at Fontainebleau] with the most Christian King, having known his wish for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England, thought it his duty to congratulate him by letter on its having been effected, and at the same time alluded to the peace, which is so much desired and so necessary for the whole of Christendom.

Wrote also to the Cardinal of Lorraine, well knowing how much he wishes to aid both matters, and was beyond measure gratified to

1555.

find himself anticipated by the Cardinal's letter of the 22nd December, written before his receipt of Pole's, expressing not merely his own ardent and pious affection, but also the great satisfaction and joy of his most Christian Majesty at this so great and auspicious an event, and that he had chosen to announce it throughout his kingdom by ordaining a general thanksgiving, in which circumstance, as in that of the prodigal son, his Majesty has not only imitated the elder brother, but when rejoicing at the recovered health of the younger, has sought the joy of the father, an act well worthy of his Majesty's great piety.

They subsequently occupied themselves with the completion of this holy work, which was terminated to-day in Parliament by the abrogation of all the laws and acts (*constitutioni*) passed at the time of the schism against the authority of the See Apostolic; re-establishing them as they were previously, and restoring their pristine and due jurisdiction to the bishops and clergy, which body has been reduced to such a state of weakness by the past misfortunes, that in the matter of the Church property and of the interests of private individuals it became necessary to make concessions,* though it may be hoped that the true foundation having by God's grace been laid, the late ruins will daily undergo further repair, to which they will attend strenuously, and their Majesties, through their piety, give great hopes of the best result. Again entreats the Cardinal, by means of his great authority, to favour the negotiation for peace, which Pole will never cease to recommend to their Majesties.

From London, 4th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File No. 20.

5. The Doge and College to Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England.

To congratulate the King and Queen on the conversion of their subjects to the Christian faith, and on the certainty now obtained of the Queen giving an heir to the realm (*et della certezza che si ha della posterità sua in quel Regno*).

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta,) File No. 20.

6. Doge Francesco Venier to Queen Mary.

The announcement made lately by her Majesty's ambassador of the return of the realm of England to its obedience to the holy mother church, was very agreeable and much desired by him, but subsequently his satisfaction increased on hearing it through the Queen's most loving letter, and by the statement of her ambassador, whom he has requested to congratulate her Majesty in his (the Doge's) name with all affection on so auspicious and desired an event, and to tell her that although many thanks should be rendered to the Almighty for this great gift conferred on the whole of Christendom, yet must its own part be assigned to the very pru-

* Che egli è stato necessario nelle cose pertinenti ai beni et interessi privati, condescendere all' infirmità sua.

1555.

dent government and to the religion and great authority of her Majesty and of the most serene King in England.

Has charged his ambassador in England to represent this and other things to the Queen, whom he requests to give Michiel full credence, as all proceeds from the Doge's respect for her Majesty.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. Original Letter Book of Agostino Barbarigo in the Venetian Archives.

7. Agostino Barbarigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Mons. de S. Sulpice (S. Sulpitio) has been sent to England to congratulate the Queen on the return of that kingdom to the true faith, and to its obedience to the Apostolic See, a thing which has caused great satisfaction to all good Christians, and should any mention be made of the peace, he is commissioned to say that his most Christian Majesty will never be averse to any fair and suitable adjustment, such having always been his wish, he neither desiring the Emperor's possessions, nor that his Imperial Majesty should have what belongs to France. According to the statement (*relation*) of a gentleman able to know the fact, it seems that twelve captains have been sent to take troops from this kingdom to Scotland, it having been previously said that Mons. d'Aumale would be sent thither, but it seemed that subsequently nothing more was said about this.*

A few days ago an envoy (*huomo*) arrived from the Marquis Albert of Brandenburg, and has had several conferences with the Constable. Has not been able to obtain any authentic account of his negotiations, but it is said that the Marquis wishes to re-enter the French service, promising to bring into the field 15,000 infantry and 4,000 horse, wherever his Majesty shall please, not excepting Italy, the stipend demanded for this service being 50,000 ducats monthly; but unless Barbarigo's memory fail him, this negotiation was on foot last year, and well nigh stipulated, the Marquis marching southwards with his troops at the time when he was routed and put to flight.†

Poissy, 9th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

8. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

Is debtor to him for three letters, to the last of which, written throughout in Morone's own hand, he will reply autographically, and for the preceding ones Morone will allow him to acquit his debt in the handwriting of others.

This last, which is throughout congratulatory, comforted him greatly, not merely from hearing, and having well nigh palpable proof of his joy, but also from seeing that it commences and ends with the praise of God and acknowledgment of his infinite mercy and providence in bringing this so important an act to such an end.

* This report is also mentioned by Dr. Wotton. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Mary, 1554, December 24, Poissy, p. 146.)

† It was also reported in December 1554 that Marquis Albert purposed marrying "the Duchess of Castro, the King's bastard daughter." (*See* Foreign Calendar as above.)

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Had Morone seen how it came to pass he would say, as is said by those who were the agents, that divine providence did everything, both by giving such pious princes as the means and instruments for bringing this holy work to an end, as also by removing obstacles from the sight of those who so promptly resumed their obedience. Certain points and doubts which were subsequently mooted caused much difficulty, as Morone will have heard, and it now appears that the providence of God did this to accelerate and facilitate the introduction of the obedience, in like manner as He accelerated the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt,* who having been let go (*licentiati*), and having already departed, Morone knows how Pharaoh, before they crossed the Red Sea, again returned to persecute them, and endeavoured with his whole host to prevent their passage. The like seems to have occurred in the present case, the common enemy not having failed by indirect means and with all his might and malice to endeavour to prevent the repeal of the laws against the authority of the Pope, which act was the passage of the Red Sea and departure out of Egypt, which were at length effected, nevertheless, by the power of God, through the piety of Philip and Mary, for which be the divine goodness praised and thanked eternally.

Pole was much pleased to hear the way in which the Pope demonstrated his joy, and yesterday, having commenced speaking about this with their Majesties, the King anticipated me by telling the Queen in detail all the various rejoicings made by his Holiness, and afterwards whilst his Majesty was reading the Roman jubilee-bull, the Queen desired Pole to repeat the narrative in English, and they were much pleased with it. After this, her Majesty commenced speaking about sending an ambassador to Rome, and after having discoursed a little about finding persons suited to this office, the nomination was deferred until after the dissolution of Parliament, which please God will take place in two days,† and then, arrangements will be made for the remedy of abuses and irregularities of late introduced into the religion, which will be done together with the Bishops, who show themselves ready to do their duty in this matter, for which purpose they wish to confer with Pole, as they must do more than once, there being so much and such great disorder, and the body of the kingdom is so infirm, that to apply a remedy *res non est parvi consilii et magni laboris*, and also requires much time; but as by God's grace the jurisdiction of the Bishops is restored, the Legate also having full scope (*corso*) to exercise every faculty relating to this matter, it is hoped that in time things will daily go from good to better, for which they must constantly pray God.

With regard to the private affairs about which Morone writes to Pole in his other letters, he will merely tell him that concerning any matters to be treated or requested for him, through King Philip, Pole will always do willingly more than he has done hitherto for himself, never having spoken as yet with their Majesties about any private business either of his own or of his kinsfolk, who crowd round him, as Morone may imagine, and also how much they are

* Exodus, ch. xiv. v. 17, 20.

† Parliament was dissolved on the 16th January 1555. (*See* Froude, vol. vi. p. 309.)

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in want; but until he sees the public affairs more consolidated, Pole is determined not to molest their Majesties about any private affair, and this he has hitherto adhered to strictly, but, as aforesaid, will always willingly break this rule whenever he can serve Morone, as he did last evening, by speaking to King Philip about the affair of the church of Novara in such a way as seemed to him suitable at the moment, dilating on Morone's personal qualities, and presenting his letter. His Majesty listened to Pole willingly, and desired him to draw up a memorial, as he will do, and Morone shall be acquainted with the result.

The other letters will acquaint Morone with the commencement given to the affair of the peace, which they must constantly pray God to grant, in like manner as he has already granted the reconciliation of England.

From London, 14th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

9. Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal of Trent.

Has received his letter in reply to the one delivered by Pole's gentleman, concerning the return of England to the obedience of the church. The Cardinal expressed himself so eloquently that it gave Pole an opportunity for speaking about him to the King, who seems to esteem and love him as his great worth and affectionate observance towards his Majesty deserve. For news of subsequent events, refers him to Messer Hercole Pagnano, from whom he hopes to have news of the Cardinal. Apologizes for merely writing these few words in reply to his long and most affectionate letter, again alluding to its extreme eloquence.

From London, 16th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

10. Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Arras.

The Bishop's letter of the 10th, in answer to what Pole wrote him by his gentleman despatched to Rome, has by so much the more gratified him, not because he had need of any testimony of the great satisfaction which he was certain the Emperor and the Bishop would derive from the auspicious reconciliation, etc., but that with regard to this matter he might be enabled to satisfy others who are not so well acquainted with the Bishop's nature, which, like that of Pole, is averse to ceremony; nor have they due consideration for his incessant occupations. The Bishop will have heard subsequently all that has taken place from day to day and the good decision formed lately by their Majesties about the Parliament (*che ultimamente quelle Maestà hanno fatto del Parlamento*); and he will have seen that the whole was done, not only with the concurrence (*correspondentia*) of their Majesties, as the Bishop says, but at their constant instigation (*continui indrizi*), they having been, as it were, throughout the chief movers of everything, and great thanks are due to God for their goodness and piety. Arras will have heard of the movement which Pole thought it opportune to make about the peace, by writing to France (with the opportunity afforded by transmission of his congratulations on these

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auspicious events), and the result obtained, which Pole having communicated to their Majesties, he is also writing about it to the Nuncio at Brussels. Does not doubt but that the Bishop, who has always shown himself anxious for peace, will perform every good office for this object, which is desired for the general benefit and welfare of Christendom ; and the sooner some positive reply is given the more expedient would it be, in order not to lose the opportunity of the moment and of the season. Pole for his own part, although he has never had any greater wish than to serve the Emperor, thinking thus to farther the common weal, at the same time ; yet should he know his service to be less acceptable than he would wish it to be, he will withdraw and turn aside, according to his custom, to serve his Majesty by praying God, whom he beseeches to comfort King Philip and Queen Mary, and all Christendom by a peace, if not altogether such as wished, at least such as may daily give hopes of something better. Recommends himself to the Bishop and requests him humbly to kiss the Emperor's hand on his behalf.

From London, 18th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

11. Cardinal Pole to Pope Julius III.

Pole's agent will have acquainted the Pope with the daily course of events in England since the reconciliation, and now that Parliament is dissolved and everything quite concluded and established, he sends him more full and particular information of the whole, together with the writings, that he may present them to his Holiness or to such person as the Pope shall appoint. The agent will also have reported what Pole did about the peace when writing his congratulations to the King of France on the auspicious events in England. The Pope will now hear, that from the reply received, and from the discourse of the French ambassador in London, and of their Majesties, Pole has thought fit again to enter upon this negotiation, for which purpose he has sent the Abbot of San Saluto to the Imperial Court, both as a demonstration of greater zeal in this matter, as also to obtain a positive reply more speedily lest the opportunity of time and season be lost. Will not weary the Pope with particulars which he can hear at his pleasure from the agent. If the peace can be obtained, as a sequel to the reconciliation of England, it will fill up the measure of the Pope's joy.

From London, 19th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

12. Cardinal Pole to the Emperor.

As by means of King Philip and Queen, the Almighty has reunited England to his Church, having also employed the intervention of Pole, according to the first commission received from the Pope, he now has greater hope that the Lord will also comfort his Holiness by the grant of the peace between the Emperor and France, for which having also been enjoined to exert himself as he did, he now again recommenced, availing himself of an opportunity to write to the French King, from whom and from his ambassador he had the reply which the Emperor will hear from the Abbot of San Saluto,

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for whom he requests audience, and prays God to open the way for so great and necessary a blessing, and long to preserve and prosper the Emperor, whose hands he humbly kisses.

From London, 19th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.

13. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF AUGSBURG.

MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in vol. 5, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc., pp. 60–62.

Together with the Cardinal's congratulatory letter on the auspicious return of England to the Catholic Church, received a certain printed libel (*libellus quidam typis excussus*) in abuse of him, which, now that he is receiving so many congratulations, so far from causing anger, was accepted by him as an antidote to the dulcet melody of praise; but with regard to the author, what Pole wrote about the supremacy of the Pope (*de primatu summi Pontificis*),* if Pole's opinion—which is not his, but that of the Catholic Church—did not please him, why did he not commence by confuting it. If he wished to render Pole odious to the reader, could he not have done so more easily by confuting in the first place his doctrine. Instead of this he extracted from the book such parts as concern the King [Henry VIII.], interpreting them in a sense quite contrary to Pole's meaning. Pole wished to lay before the King what might befall him by provoking the wrath of God, the Pope, and the Emperor, by persisting in his error. This Pole did, because he desired the welfare and safety of the King, who knew not his own danger.

This was Pole's object throughout the discourse, which the Emperor never read, Pole taking care that the King should read it, as it greatly concerned him; but as all these things are sufficiently explained, partly in the books themselves,† and partly in his intended preface, he now sends them to the Cardinal of Augsburg, with permission, should he think fit, to publish them together with the other works written by him concerning this matter, without the slightest thought of publication; but being thus induced by divine providence, through the iniquitous and malignant calumny of the interpreter, he dedicates them to Christ and the Church (*Christo, et Ecclesiæ, dedicata sunto*). He had determined to do this last summer, on receiving a certain "epistle" containing much abuse, in which, as it seems, this same person threatened to write against him, as he has now done; but as Pole heard nothing farther about the publication, he neither sent to the Cardinal of Augsburg the letter which he had written to him on the subject, nor yet the writings for publication, but now does so the more willingly, hoping that if published he may thus be saved the trouble of any farther reply. In the meanwhile they must pray Christ, the light of truth and true physician of souls, to cure that of this man and the other renegades, which are ulcerated by malevolence and hatred towards ecclesiastics, so that they may the more easily discern the truth, and be received into the bosom of the Church. Sends many salutations to Father Soto, for whom, as he is comprised in the male-

* Query, in Pole's work addressed to Henry VIII., and entitled, "De Unitate et Primatu Ecclesiæ"?

† The five books "De Unitate," etc. (*See* Beccatello, Life of Pole, p. 390.)

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dictions of that reviler (*conviciator ille*), Pole greatly wishes as assistant and co-operator in England, where that sort of crop abounds, and he is wished for by many, not only of his own country, but by Englishmen likewise, and unless he is enabled to come shortly, as hoped, Pole will have no rest.*

[*Latin*, 82 *lines*.]

Jan. 20 ?†
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

14. Brief Summary of what took place concerning the Church Property.

When Renard, the Imperial ambassador resident in England, was sent to Brussels by Queen Mary to settle with the Legate about his coming hither, he asked him, amongst other things, to state his determination. The principal matter was the restitution of the Church property held here by the laity, about which the Legate could never be induced to promise anything, from his conviction that it would be too injurious for the matter in hand (which ought to be treated with all sincerity) if they proceeded by means of compacts and obligations; so he merely announced to Renard his general intention that on the return of the kingdom to its obedience to the See Apostolic, they would know in everything the grace, benignity, and paternal will of his Holiness.

On the Legate's arrival the King, before stipulating the union, went in person to Pole, and told him in short that it was impossible to effect the return to the obedience, unless the holders of this Church property were allowed to retain its actual possession. To this, after much discussion, the Legate at length said that should the Pope have to condescend to some indulgence for the removal of the impediments to so holy and necessary a work, this would be done after the completion of the return to the obedience, and that then this indulgence might be used, "*ob duritiam cordis illorum*," but that with regard to that part of the Church property which was in the hands of their Majesties, they could not in honour allege these reasons; to which the King replied that they would occupy themselves with the conclusion of the union, and that as to the property held by the crown he believed (*teneva*) their intention was not to retain any part of it, unless it was deemed that they could do so with a clear conscience, and that they would always refer themselves to the Pope and his Legate, and thus the matter rested (*et con questo si restò*).

The kingdom having subsequently freely resumed its obedience, as known, promising to abrogate all the laws enacted at the time of the schism against the Pope and the See Apostolic, and whilst occupied with this repeal the Parliament having presented a petition to the King and Queen for that, amongst the other things, they should intercede for the renunciation (*resalattione*, sic) of the Church property; and the bishops in like manner petitioning apart to the same effect, for the sake of the common weal, although contrary

* This shows that Soto was still at the University of Dillingen on the 19th January 1555, and that he did not accompany King Philip to England, as stated by his biographers. In the printed edition of this letter, the entire paragraph about Father Soto has been omitted.

† No date of time or place in manuscript.

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to their own private interest; the Legate having first of all endeavoured by several ways to recover as much as he could for the churches; at length, being unable to do otherwise, in order not to impede the completion of so important a work, and for the public welfare and quiet of England, condescended in such a way to the retention of this property that everybody might very easily perceive that his dispensation was a mere permission* *ob duritiam cordis illorum*, as in this dispensation he never would consent to add the clause "*quod absque aliquo conscientiæ scrupulo possent hujusmodi bona retinere*,"† although he was several times urged strongly to insert it; and this he did to leave in their minds a goad (*un stimulo*) which in the course of time might move them to make some fitting and due acknowledgment, as some of them have done already.

The repeal of the acts having been passed, and Parliament being dissolved, Pole again spoke to their Majesties about the Church property incorporated with the Crown; and for conscience sake they evinced their readiness not to fail in the intention announced (*data*) by them to him, with regard to which they have referred themselves to the Pope and his Legate, as seen by their letters, a resolve which it may be well supposed met with many and great impediments; but their piety at length overcame them all; and the reverend fathers who are about the King, likewise performed every good office in this matter.

After the renunciation had been made, Pole, in order more maturely to accomplish the disposal (*dispositione*) of this property, requested their Majesties to appoint some of the chief personages of their Council to give him particular information respecting its quality and quantity, and the necessities of the kingdom (*et de bisogni del regno*), so they appointed him the Chancellor and the others who are named in the minute of the bull drawn up concerning this property, they being those suggested by Pole, persons of piety, and who are very well acquainted with these matters. There was no lack of other members of the Council who opposed this committee (*deputatione*), wishing to be comprised in it, and whose intervention might greatly have confused and disturbed the business; but Pole nevertheless contrived that the [original] number [of the committee] should not be added to; and so subsequently the commissioners held frequent conferences with their Majesties, and everything having been well examined, the business was at length concluded, as seen by the said minute of the bulls which is annexed.‡

Although the advantage thus obtained is self-evident, yet, for a full comprehension of the quantity and quality of the Church property incorporated with the Crown, will mention that in the . . . . year§ of the reign of Henry VIII. . . . . [it was decreed?] by Act of Parliament that he and his successors, for the maintenance of the crown, and of the title of Supreme Head of the

* Che ognuno poteva molto bene accorger la sua dispensava (*sic*) esser totalmente una permissione *ob duritiam*, etc.

† See 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, sec. 31. "*Et licet omnes res mobiles*," etc.

‡ This draft does not exist in the manuscript.

§ 23 Henry VIII. cap. 20.

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Anglican Church, were to levy and receive the entire first fruits of all the church benefices of the kingdom, whenever they fell vacant, and that no one could take possession of any benefice until after payment of said first fruits, or compounding for them, the sum thus raised amounting to the sum of X.*

Considering the quality of this ecclesiastical revenue, which could not be taken from the Crown without depriving their Majesties of the means of maintaining their dignity to the benefit of the religion, care was had nevertheless not to leave to the Crown that part of the property which concerns the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and dignity and interest of the clergy, such as levying the first fruits and the tenths. They therefore, in the first place, entirely annulled (*si sono levate*) the levying of the first fruits, and, secondly, of the tenths, conferring them on the clergy, but with the obligation to pay the pensions paid by the King to the regular and secular clergy who had been expelled; and as these pensions were for life, and their holders of advanced age, the clergy will soon be relieved from this burden.

Secondly, by decree of the said Parliament it was established that the King and his successors were to receive annually for the same cause all the tenths, revenues, and profits, both temporal and spiritual, of all the ecclesiastical benefices of the kingdom, amounting to the sum of X.† Thirdly, by Acts of Parliament passed in 1527 and 1531, there were annexed to the Crown all the property and rights of all the monasteries and religious houses (*luoghi religiosi*), including expressly those of St. John's of Jerusalem, by force of which decree the Exchequer (*il fisco*) took possession of all this property, including 700 church benefices attached to these monasteries and religious houses, yielding an annual rental of X.‡

Thirdly, they have recovered from the Crown (*si sono levati*) all the benefices and property annexed to the monasteries and places aforesaid, no longer leaving these titles at the disposal of laymen, and thus benefiting the people, who will be better served by their own pastors than they were by mercenaries in the time of the monasteries before the schism; and as some of the benefices in England have a very small revenue, it has been thought fit to augment them at the expense of the richer ones; and besides this, provision may also be thus made for the education of young students destined for the service of the Church. The rest of the property belonging to the monasteries has been left to the Crown, to lighten the burden of State expenditure, most especially as in this case no injury is done to private individuals, the monasteries having been completely destroyed; and this property is also renounced, with the hope that from time to time their Majesties will realise the intention professed by them of restoring the monasteries and other religious institutions (*et altri luoghi pij*).

On presenting this statement to the Pope, [Pole's agent ?] is to

* La sūma de quali ascende alla sūma de X.

† La qual decima ascende alla sūma de X.

‡ De quali ascende alla sūma de X.

§ "Et perchè i beni de' beneficij di questo Regno alcuni sono molto tenui, si è pensato di supplire con parte di quelli che sono più grassi, il che non solo si potrà fare, ma oltre acciò provedere anco alla educatione de giovani in studio, ordinati al servitio del clero."

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request him to let the Legate know if he sanctions it; in which case, after concluding it with their Majesties, a convocation will be held of the Bishops and other persons who usually attend the synods in England, that this arrangement may be carried into execution.

[From London, 20th January 1555?]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21. Original Letter Book of Agostino Barbarigo in the Venetian Archives.

15. AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Wrote lately that Monsr. de S. Sulpice had been sent to England, this information having been derived by him from the Nuncio, who repeated it, but told him subsequently that this charge was given to the Prothonotary de Noailles, brother of the French Ambassador in England, whose arrival thence at this court was announced to the Signory. [Understands that the troops sent to Scotland, as mentioned in his last, may have been for the purpose of filling up some companies in need of recruits, but it is nevertheless said that this has caused some suspicion to the Imperialists, and it also seems that some cavalry officers are now going to join their companies towards Champagne and Picardy.]*

Poissy, 21st January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24. Deliberazioni Senato (Serceta), Vol. 69, p. 79.

16. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian BAILO at Constantinople.

Our letters from England confirm the fact of that kingdom having returned to its pristine Catholic faith, and obedience to the Pontiff. The "Bailo" is to communicate these advices as usual.

Ayes, 165; Noes, 9; Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

17. CARDINAL POLE to [PIETRO] CONTARINI, BISHOP of PAPHOS.

Acknowledges receipt of his letter of congratulation on the auspicious events in England, and thanks him for it.

From London, 26th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Original Letter Book of Agostino Barbarigo in the Venetian Archives.

18. AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Conversing lately [with the Papal Nuncio, was told by him, that considering some days ago the impossibility for the Emperor or the most Christian King to take the field in these parts for the next four months, he wrote to Cardinal Pole that for this reason he should think it well for him to seek another conference between two personages in the confidence of the Emperor, as for instance, the Bishop of Arras and one of his colleagues, and for this side the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, assuring him that so far as he could see, he considered the most Christian King very well

* The portion in brackets was put into cipher in the despatch.

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disposed to that effect. Cardinal Pole replied that the government being then intent on reducing the kingdom to the obedience of the church, he did not perceive the opportunity for putting forward the matter at that time, neither did he see how he could attend to it, but on the accomplishment of the act of reconciliation, on which he relied through God's assistance, he would commence this other undertaking. Thus has it come to pass, as on the 13th instant, Cardinal Pole wrote to the Nuncio, that having spoken to their Majesties on the subject they showed themselves so well inclined towards it, that they immediately sent a despatch to the Emperor, in such wise that the Nuncio was of opinion, that were anything whatever to take place, it will be through the mediation of their said Majesties; and concerning peace, the Portuguese Ambassador told the writer that more than once King Philip had sent to and from England to the Emperor, a Portuguese gentleman (whose name he mentioned), his intimate servant and chief chamberlain, and the Portuguese ambassador believed him to have been sent for this cause.

On the day before yesterday Monsr. de Vendome, having been met with great demonstrations of honour from the nobility, arrived at the court, having come to consummate his marriage with the sister of the Duke of Nemours at Fontainebleau],* so some persons say that this also may afford an opportunity [for speaking about peace, in conformity with what was said by the English ambassador, as written to the Doge on the 11th December. The Nuncio also told the writer that some days ago, the Emperor acquainted Don Juan Manrique with his intention of coming to some understanding about the affairs of Sienna, of which they have good hopes here.]

At the close of the King's stay at St. Germain, one of the Dukes of Brunswick arrived there, Monsr. de Lansac having been sent to meet him, and from what the writer has heard, it is the one who visited the Doge at Venice. [His most Christian Majesty will be here to-morrow, and after remaining a few days, will then go to Fontainebleau with the Queen for her delivery.]

Paris, 30th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30.
Parti Secrete Consiglio X. File No. 8.

19. PETER VANNES.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The reverend Ambassador of England—not as Ambassador from his King, but in virtue of letters of credence from the Signory of Lucca—having requested our Signory to allow him to hire two ships in Venice, that they may be sent into the Levant to load wheat for the use of their city, and it being necessary to answer him :

Put to the ballot, that when said Ambassador returns for the reply, our most Serene Prince do apologize for being unable to grant his demand, making such excuses as to his Serenity's wisdom shall seem fit.

Ayes, 22 ; Noes, 3 ; Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* The bracketed passages were ciphered from the letter book, which contains no cipher at all.

1555.
Feb. 2.
Lettere dei Capi Conso. X. File No. 39.

20. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the ANCIENTS AND GONFALONIER FOR JUSTICE (*Vexillifero Justitiæ*) of the PEOPLE and COMMUNITY of LUCCA.

Their letters were presented by the Reverend Ambassador [Peter Vannes] of the King of England resident with them on the 15th ulto. He made the statement, enjoined him in their name, and most warmly urged their suit, which although the Signory greatly wishes to oblige them, nevertheless the great scarcity of grain from which they are now suffering, and the yet greater need which they apprehend hereafter, have compelled them to excuse themselves, being obliged to make use of their own ships for the need of Venice, and of the other places in the Venetian territory, which are many, and suffer greatly, as represented by them more in detail to the aforesaid ambassador, who will give particular account of the whole. The Signory feels certain they will admit that the nature of the present times, and the need in which they find themselves, are the cause of their inability to satisfy them, as they would wish by reason of their great good will and affection for them.

Lectæ Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

21. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral, Monsr. de Guise, and the Duke de Nemours departed lastMonday for Champagne and other frontier provinces, and although it may be supposed that they go for the purpose of commencing the campaign betimes, as said by the Constable heretofore, it is also heard that towards St. Lys (Ssonli) *from* 15,000 *to* 16,000 *Burgundians have mustered and are ravaging. A messenger lately sent by King Philip to his ambassador, told him* (*the ambassador*) *that on his way from Amiens to Abbeville, he heard that a certain amount of infantry was being drafted from those fortresses, and others adjoining, with orders to take with them victuals for five days. Of this, however, there is no farther confirmation; nor has anything certain been heard about the operations of the Marshal de St. André against the Imperial fortress near Hesdin.*

Since the last three days the Marquis Albert [*of Brandenburg*] *is lodged publicly at the Court at Fontainebleau. No particulars are known about his business with the King, who two days previously conferred with him whilst hunting. Will not fail to learn as much as he can on the subject, and will acquaint the Doge with it.*

The English ambassadors on their way to Rome are said to have arrived in this kingdom.

Melun, 6th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 8.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

22. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

I write this to your Lordship to give you minute information about my mind (*animo*) concerning the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, one of the chief causes for the despatch of this courier being the deprivation (*depositione*) of the present Archbishop [Cranmer], and the provision to be made for his successor.

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Your right reverend Lordship may have heard how before my coming hither I was twice requested to accept this charge, the first time on the part of this most serene Queen, who commissioned a servant of mine to tell me by word of mouth her wish in this matter; the second time, on the part of the King and Queen together, by means of the Imperial ambassador resident here when he came to Brussels; and I believe that at present their Majesties will make the same request to his Holiness; so I think it necessary to let him know through your right reverend Lordship my sentiment in this case, which in short is none other than that which by the grace of God I have always had, readily to conform (*di obedir*) to whatever God shall inspire him to command me, but in such a way that if I am to bear this burden his Holiness do liberate me from Rome for ever, and let me serve God and him here and not elsewhere. Your right reverend Lordship also knows my sentiment about the residence of bishops, in which matter if it has sometimes seemed to certain persons that I am too scrupulous, being unable to convince myself that it is fitting for a bishop to reside elsewhere than in his own diocese, and in the midst of his flock, as is the duty of a shepherd; this is a scruple which I could never renounce, and I hope that the divine goodness will never allow me to change this sentiment, which I for my own part am convinced is at the very bottom of my heart (*secretissimo*). This will suffice to assure your Lordship of what you have always known and heard me say, whenever I have had occasion to discuss this subject. But in addition to this I would wish your Lordship to know, that in case his Holiness, after hearing my mind herein, should determine, to the satisfaction of King Philip and Queen Mary, to employ me elsewhere rather than here, and not to give me this charge, I should also remain perfectly satisfied, nor could anything distress me in this business, save to see myself assigned a post in which I could not serve, and that I should consider it a great relief (*una gran libertd*) to be able to remain without similar posts, which I would never undertake (*non pigliarei*) save from mere obedience, and as I have said I should consider it a great favour the not being compelled to undertake them, although combined with all the honours and conveniences in the world, as in great measure is the case with the primacy in England. Your right reverend Lordship now knows my entire sentiment in this business, which however is not new to you, and for your more complete knowledge of the whole case, I will moreover tell you that since my sojourn here their Majesties have never spoken to me about accepting the archbishopric* though their ministers have, without however showing that they were commissioned to do so, but they indeed told me lately that the King and Queen purpose writing about this to his Holiness, and, as aforesaid, I shall be content with whatever he may determine, after being well acquainted, both with my mind and with that of their Majesties, as I never find greater repose than in God's providence when I allow myself to be ruled by it throughout, without any farther intrusion of my own,† save what conscience requires me to

* Questi Principi non me hanno mai parlato che Io accettassi lo Arcivescovato.

† Senza metterne altro del mio.

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lay before my superior, as I have chosen to do at present by means of your Lordship, and referring myself for the rest to "our" Messer Gio. Francesco, I humbly kiss your hands, praying our Lord God always to have you in his holy keeping.

From London, 8th March 1555.

[*Italian.*]*

March 10.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in vol. 5, pp. 4, 7. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc. Dated as above.

23. Cardinal Pole to Pope Julius III.

Recommends to the Pope the three ambassadors who are going to him from England.

The youngest of them, and who is the chief personage of the embassy [Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague], gave such proof of his piety heretofore in his youth, that when after his father's death,† on succeeding to his inheritance, he had to take the usual oath according to the words of the statute, which constituted the King supreme head of the Church in his kingdom, his voice suddenly failed him, nor for some time could he utter a word (*vox eum subito defecit, et aliquandiu ne verbum quidem effari potuit*), which caused him to be so suspected by the persons then in authority that he narrowly escaped the loss both of life and property (*ut parum abfuerit, quin tunc bonis simul cum vita spoliaretur*). Some years afterwards he was, moreover, imprisoned on account of religion (*religionis causâ*), but being his kinsman‡ Pole does not think fit to say more in praise of him. His colleague, the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], in those troublous times when the abrogation of the mass was discussed, opposed that measure, both in public and private; and had he not been absent on an embassy to the Emperor§ he would have been cast into prison, like so many others of his episcopal brethren. He is a good jurist, and an able negotiator. The third [Sir Edward Carne] is "*Eques auratus*," as they call him, and an able lawyer, and like his other colleagues is supposed to be well inclined towards the Catholic religion and piety (*parique ac cæteri Collegæ Catholicæ religionis ac pietatis studio tenetur*); of yore when King Henry commenced being schismatic, he sent him to Rome as Excusator,‖ and to inform the Pope of the danger of rebellion in case of his refusal to consent to the divorce. At present, the piety of Queen Mary and King Philip induces them to appoint him their resident ambassador at Rome as

* I have translated the foregoing letter word for word, because it fixes the date of the first proposals made to Cardinal Pole to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury; and confirms the opinion of one of his most distinguished modern biographers (Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester), "that it is very doubtful whether he wished for the archbishopric at all; he apparently accepted it only at the request of his sovereign and of the Pope." (*See* Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. iii. p. 298, ed. London, 1869.)

† Sir Anthony Browne, the father of Viscount Montague, died 6th May 1548. (*See* Burke's Extinct Peerages.)

‡ The paternal grandmother of Sir Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montacute or Montague, was Lucy, one of the daughters and co-heirs of John Nevill, Marquess of Montague; and Sir Anthony Browne's sister Mabel married Gerald, Earl of Kildare; so the relationship between Sir Anthony Browne and Cardinal Pole was twofold. (*See* Burke's Extinct Peerages, pp. 82, 83, ed. London, 1846.)

§ The correspondence of Thomas Thirlby (then Bishop of Westminster) during his embassy at the Imperial Court, 1546–1547, is printed in State Papers, vols. x. xi.

‖ Notices of Sir Edward Carne (Kern, or Karne), Excusator at Rome, 1530–1533, have been published in vol. i. State Papers, and vol. iv. Venetian Calendar.

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a witness of the cessation of the schism, and of the true and due obedience of this kingdom to the Pope and the Apostolic See. The King and Queen request his Holiness to reinvest them with the Lordship of Ireland, which during the schism had been made a kingdom (*inducto jam schismate in regnum fuerit erectum*); and considering the poverty of the English bishops the ambassadors are charged to ask his Holiness for "Apostolic Letters" in their favour.

London, 10th March 1555.

[*Latin, 44 lines.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

24. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Through the return from the Imperial Court of Don Ruy Gomez,* the despatch for Italy of the Duke of Alva, with the charge, as already written by me, of vicar and governor general of all King Philip's dominions, with great and extraordinary authority, such as perhaps at no time was ever heard to have been vested in any minister of a prince, is confirmed but not yet published; he in short having been given full and absolute power to do in all matters whether of law or favour (*di poter fare in tutte le cose, ò siano di giustitia ò siano di gratia*), as if he were the King in person, the only reservation being, that he may not change the warders of Naples and Milan. It is said he will depart, after the despatch of the secretary Erasso,† at the close of the present month, with a considerable supply of money, and travel post-wise, as is his custom, with very few attendants, leaving his household to accompany the Duchess his wife leisurely, she possibly delaying her departure until after the delivery of the most Serene Queen.

His Excellency purposes making use of four persons as his lieutenants, two at Naples and two at Milan, the one for the affairs of justice and of the [municipal?] government, in each of those places, the other for military matters, for which last, the persons mentioned are Don Bernardin de Mendoza,‡ and Don Garcia de Toledo,§ the Duke of Alva's cousin; Don Francisco de Toledo (now resident with the Duke of Florence), and Don Diego de Azevedo (one of King Philip's chamberlains,‖ who will accompany the Duchess into Italy), for the civil department (*per la giustitia*). The Duke of Alva retains his office of Lord High Chamberlain to the Emperor, but resigns the same grade hitherto held by him at the court of King Philip, and which, together with other honourable terms for his children, has been offered to Don Ferrante,¶ that he may come and reside in England; but as he delays his decision until

* Ruy Gomez de Silva, Duke of Pastrana, Prince of Melito. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Index.)

† Francisco de Erasso, Spanish Secretary to Charles V. and Philip II. (*See* Turnbull, as above.)

‡ *See* Turnbull, date 3rd March 1555.

§ *See* Turnbull, Index.

‖ In Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, May 17, 1555, it is stated that Don Diego Azevedo was also "*Economus pro principe.*"

¶ Don Ferrante Gonzaga. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar.)

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the return of Erasso, it cannot be known whether he accepts the post, though the general belief is that he will. On the Duke of Alva's departure, will not fail to remind him of the Signory's vicinity to the Milanese, and of the orders given to the Venetian governors for the maintenance of the peace with the Emperor and the King, as reciprocated by former Imperial ministers; and to express hopes that this good understanding may continue. Will also perform the same office with King Philip, so that besides verbal orders, especial mention may be made of this on the Duke's [written] instructions.

The King having sent last week in haste for the Earl of Pembroke, one of the chief noblemen of England, who, as usual with him, was living in retirement at his country seat, 60 miles hence; his sudden appearance in London caused a very general report of its being induced by war with France, as argued from a rumour current lately at the Court, and which circulated everywhere, that the French were at Montreuil and thereabouts, with several companies* (insegne) *of infantry, and a large supply of ladders, and other engines* (instromenti) *for scaling and breaching walls, having an understanding in Calais, and thinking to take it by a plot which was discovered by the flight of one of the Queen's chief officials there to France, by name Anthony Aucher?* (come tonio Ager) (*sic*),† *who is considered a shrewd and bold man* (persona accorta et di spirito); *and this coupled with the arrest of certain other persons, was said and universally suspected to have induced their Majesties to send for Lord Pembroke, and likewise to summon all the other peers of the realm* (li altri Signori del Regno), *to proclaim this evil proceeding on the part of the French, and have a declaration of war made against them. But having by all means in my power endeavoured to ascertain the truth, and learn the origin and foundation of this rumour, I find that as to the flight of that individual, and the plot or suspicion of a plot, the whole is vain and false; and I am assured they merely sent for the Earl that he might cross the Channel to inspect the fortress of Guisnes, which is understood to need repair, and that his authority and presence there may hasten every necessary provision. He will cross to-morrow or next day, and besides this repair of Guisnes, he will also carefully inspect the fortress of Calais, to provide them with ammunition, victuals, or whatever else they may require, as the Royal Council does not entirely rely on the judgment of the present governor,‡ although they have no doubt of his fidelity, he being young and inexperienced; and as the Queen's confinement is approaching, they are apprehensive, should it go ill* (andasse male), *which God forbid, with the French patrolling* (che

* William Herbert. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Index.)

† Pasini's Key gives the Italian words as in my text. In the Domestic Calendar, 1549–1551, I find the name Anthony Auchar; and in date 1557–1558, Mr. Turnbull's Index mentions Aucher, Marshal of Calais.

‡ Thomas Wentworth, second Lord, appointed Lord Deputy at Calais, November 1553. In July 1556, Dr. Wotton, English Ambassador in Paris, wrote to Sir William Petre, "The Deputy of Calais will rather deliver it to the French King than to the King of "England, provided he will assist these rebels." (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, pp. 27, 238).

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passeggiano) *those borders, that should the English fortresses* (le cose loro) *be weak or ill provided, an opportunity might present itself for some one to seize them.*

Owing to the diligence and industry which the King enjoined with regard to the senators, delegates (*ambassatori*), and many other private persons from Milan and the other towns of the Milanese, they have well nigh all been despatched, and in great part obtained their demands; his Majesty, so far as time and opportunity permit, not having failed to reward everybody. He has added 2,000 Milanese livres to the annual salary of the senators, but deprived them of their exemptions. To the delegates (*ambassatori*) he has remitted a debt of 70,000 ducats due from the city for unpaid taxes, and besides giving security for restitution of the money supplied lately by Milan, derived from the fund for the building of the walls, and from the charitable institutions (*lochi pii*), for the need of Piedmont, he has promised as soon as the present active (*gagliarda*) war allows him to take breath, that he will take off all the imposts extraordinary, in like manner as he has now ordered the complete cessation of the pay given to the Neapolitan men-at-arms. He has referred the dispute between the cities themselves, about the estimate and contributions, to the future governor, to whom he has also in great part referred all the suits of private individuals (*tutte le cose de' particolari di giustitia*). To the conspirators of Piacenza* he has assigned 600 ducats revenue to be levied throughout the Milanese for them and their heirs, with the exception of Count Agostin de Lando, to whom he has confirmed the donation made to him by the Emperor of the Castle of Borgo de Val de Farro, which was confiscated from the Fieschi [family] (*che fu confiscato alli Fieschi*) and given him an export permit for 2,000 measures of grain [annually] during his life; and to Count Giovanni Angussuola, according to his request, he has promised a military appointment, referring the despatch of this matter to the Governor, as he does not choose it to be published in England.†

To the Signor Giovanni Battista Gastaldo, he has conceded that his pension of 2,000 ducats on the chamber of Milan, which from inability has not been paid, be assigned him on the customs, a sure fund and very good pay (*paghabilissimo*); besides many other largesses of export permits for grain to captains, soldiers, and officials, so that now well nigh everything has been despatched.

London, 12th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Who on the 10th September 1547 assassinated Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, p. 845. ed. Paris, 1770).) Some notices of the conspirators will be found in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar of the reign of Edward VI.

† In Andrea Morosini's Venetian History (vol. 2, pp. 174, 175. Ed. Venice, 1782), it is seen that the Imperial Governor of Milan, Don Ferrante Gonzaga, was supposed to have been privy to the murder of Pier Luigi Farnese, because at the instigation of the conspirators who proclaimed liberty, he took possession of Piacenza in the name of the Emperor, who was therefore much vituperated in Italy on this account, and for King Philip to reward the murderers after a lapse of seven years would not have added to his popularity in England, so this silence on the subject may be attributed to deference for public opinion there. For a minute account of this murder, *see* Litta "Famiglie Celebri "Italiane Dispensa, 140. Farnese Duchi di Parma. Parte I[a] Tavola XI."

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March 14.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

25. Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Viterbo, Nuncio in France.

Will have heard how he sent to the Emperor the Abbot of San Saluto, who, partly from his Majesty's indisposition, and partly from other impediments, had not had audience down to the 3rd instant,* but the Bishop of Arras assured him that he should soon be despatched with a good resolution, in conformity with Pole's proposal, the Bishop, however, announcing this as an opinion of his own. This sure hope induced Pole to exhort the French Ambassador in London not to scruple detaining his brother the prothonotary a little longer. Then, on the day before yesterday, King Philip told Pole that the Emperor had given him to understand that should the King of France choose to send two personages to propose and treat the peace, his Imperial Majesty would in like manner send two others. He also hinted that should the King of France determine to send the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, the Emperor might send the Duke of Alva for one; and Pole conversing about this with the prothonotary, it seemed to them that the other might be the Bishop of Arras, he being the Emperor's prime minister. King Philip also alluded to the places which would seem opportune for the meeting, the French negotiators going to Ardres, and the Emperor's to Gravelines, saying that they might then assemble together in some intervening place (*in qualche loco medio*). Something was also said about Pole individually as the minister of his Holiness; and of the Chancellor [Gardiner] as the minister of Queen Mary. With this resolve the prothonotary took leave of the Queen to-day, and will depart to-morrow; and it was moreover suggested that if Pole and the Bishop of Winchester went, they might go to Guisnes. After this Pole received letters from the Abbot of San Saluto dated the 9th, announcing his having had gracious audience of the Emperor, and this same reply; and that he will return immediately on receiving a letter from his Imperial Majesty. Pole does not write to the King, or to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, referring himself to what he writes to the Nuncio; prays God that in this matter, which is so necessary for the welfare of Christendom, the Pope may be comforted. Monsigr. Agostini had arrived at Brussels, and after obtaining audience, will continue his journey to England.

From London, 14th March 1555.

P.S.—Urges him to take advantage of the opportunity, and not to delay the commencement of this negotiation.

[*Italian.*]

March 14?†
MS. St. Mark's Library. cod. xxiv. cl. x. No date.

26. Cardinal Pole to Henry II., King of France.

The King will have heard that after performing his duty as Legate by writing to his Majesty in favour of the peace, Pole sent the Abbot of San Saluto to perform the like office with the Emperor, and although the reply did not arrive until now, owing to his

* This account of Parpaglia's mission is confirmed in Foreign Calendar, date Brussels, from January 10 to March 3, 1555, pp. 149–157.

† No date of time or place in manuscript.

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Majesty's indisposition, it is nevertheless precisely what Pole desired, as the King will hear from the Prothonotary de Noailles and from the Nuncio, to whom he refers himself with all reverence and affection. Prays him to demonstrate by facts his readiness to obtain so great a blessing, and one so necessary for all Christendom, as expected from his piety and generosity.

[From London, 14th March 1555?]

[*Italian.*]

March 15. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

27. CARDINAL POLE to . . . . . .* [ANNE DE MONTMORENCY, Constable of France?]

Most illustrious and most excellent Lord. The Prothonotary de Noailles returning [to France] well acquainted with all that has passed at the English Court relating to the negotiation for the peace, which Pole as in duty bound endeavoured to resume, it is unnecessary for him to write anything more on the subject to his Excellency, referring him to the Prothonotary and the Nuncio, to whom Pole has written what King Philip said to him about the business, and what has been written to him by his Abbot of San Saluto, who, as . . . . [the Constable?] will have heard, was sent by him to Brussels. It remains for him to request [the Constable] to continue using his good offices and influence with the most Christian King for the desired end and the common weal, as expected from him in accordance with his constant declaration that he is in favour of the peace, which may God of his goodness grant to Christendom and long preserve his Excellency, to whom Pole recommends himself.

From London, 15th March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

28. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Was told by the Constable that the English ambassadors would go to Fontainebleau to his Christian Majesty, and on the morning of the 10th, before their departure from Melun, *the Nuncio visited them, but from what he told the writer on the subject he could not understand that they had seen or heard on their journey anything relating to war on the frontiers, they saying they were commissioned never to speak or interfere about war; and it is supposed that their Queen may have ordered them to say a word about agreement and peace. The Marquis Albert continues at the court, nor as yet is anything more known than was announced by the writer on the 21st January, namely, that the King will give him* 1,000 *crowns per month, and employment* (intertenimento) *to some of his captains. The Admiral departed without the Dukes de Guise and de Nemours, by whom Capella wrote lately that he was accompanied.*

Paris, 15th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Sig. Luigi Pasini.*]

* Blank in manuscript.

1555. March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

29. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor sent one of his chamberlains to require (*richieder*) Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] to write to the warder of [the castle of Casale] to comport himself like a faithful and valorous commander, by keeping it, promising him, on the faith of a true Emperor, that should he not fail thus to do, he would reward him most honourably. Don Ferrante, after promising to execute the Emperor's will, said he was surprised that after the loss of the town of Casale, and other great events in Piedmont, about which had be been consulted, he might have rendered his Majesty service, the Emperor had never chosen to say a word to him, nor allowed him to speak about his own affairs, sending to tell him lately, by Don Ruy Gomez, that his will was that he should never again return to the government of Milan, merely allowing him, in right of his chamberlainship, to enter his Majesty's chamber; complaining, in conclusion, that the Emperor has not acknowledged his indefatigable service and the devotion shown him by his whole family; praying the chamberlain to beseech his Majesty to grant him this one favour, namely, to let him depart speedily; and since the news of Casale his Excellency announces this wish more fully, *the Cardinal his brother having written to him especially, and sent to tell him by the Sig. Giulio Cavriano, that if ever he accepts either the title of Maggiordomo Maggiore, or similar titles and appointments from the King of England, he will no longer consider him his brother, nor worthy of having been born of the Gonzaga family.* The said Signor Giulio came to the Emperor to request him to relieve the Marquisate of Monferrat from the devastation it suffered from the Imperial troops, and asked audience solely to take leave to return to his Duke,* from whom he will, however, await orders [at Brussels] whether he is to go to England to perform the like office with King Philip. The Spaniards say the Emperor has remarked that not only did the Cardinal not choose to give notice or any account to his Majesty of the entry of the French into Casale, but did not even notify it to Don Ferrante, *who may indeed talk of going to Italy, though leave to that effect will never be obtained by him from the Emperor, who entertains a suspicion that the Gonzaga family has alienated itself from him and inclines towards France.*

The Count of Avignon, a vassal of the Duke of Savoy, has come post-wise to his Excellency, sent by his subjects in the valley of Aosta, to request him to go and provide for the common cause, and protesting that should he not go they will find a master to remedy their disasters. His Excellency, therefore, went immediately to the Emperor, and having narrated this to him, requested his permission to go and preserve what remains to him of his territories. The Emperor replied that after the Duke's last conversation with him on the subject he wrote certain things to his son, and that on receipt of the reply he would acquaint him with its results, adding that he

* Guglielmo Gonzaga, then 17 years old, the Duchy being ruled by the Cardinal Regent Ercole Gonzaga.

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(the Emperor) also knew that of no personages of these states, (both because they are incapable of commanding armies, as also by reason of the rivalry between them,) could he avail himself as general, nor would they obey any other Italian than him (the Duke of Savoy), on account of his authority and position as the Emperor's nephew. The Duke rejoined that his Majesty was aware how very necessary it was for his private interests that he should depart, but that he would obey and await the reply from the King of England. A few days ago his Excellency sent to invite me to dine with him, and subsequently invited himself to dine with me, as he did, together with the Sigr. Gio. Batta. Gastaldo and Mons. de Colegno, the Duke's vassal, ambassador from the Duke of Ferrara; and after a variety of conversation the Duke of Savoy told me he had determined to go to his territory (*allo stato suo*), which he wished me to notify to your Serenity, whose good friend, son, and servant, he chose always to be, *commending your Serenity's prudence and forces, in high terms; the Sigr. Gio. Batta. Gastaldo doing the like.*

Brussels, 15th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

30. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor has sent a courier to King Philip in England, desiring him to send immediately for Don Garcia de Toledo; some say, in order to despatch him to Sienna, as he wishes to appoint the Marquis of Marignano, at Milan, colonel of the Spanish troops in Italy; which is taken amiss by those who manage the affairs of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, to whom the intention had been announced of attaching him to the Duke of Alva; and by the agent of the Marquis of Pescara, who, before being appointed to the light horse, had been promised by the King of England this command of the Spanish infantry, of which he was desirous. The Signory of Genoa has been assigned a sum in Spain, on account of their credit with the Emperor, and the amount being small, as compared with the debt, the Genoese agent lately urged full payment or the greater part of it, and being unable to obtain from the secretary Vargas a reply in conformity with his need, he went to the Bishop of Arras at Antwerp, where having heard about the loan of 500,000 ducats, contracted for by the King of England with the German merchants, the Fuggers, and Keti (*sic*),* he purposes urging payment of the remainder of this debt, out of the sum to be disbursed by them in Spain; and he said that should this be denied him, he will go to the King of England, for whom solely, the Emperor's gentleman . . . . . told him this provision had been made.

Antonio Doria's agent, who accompanied to Mastricht the prisoners given him by the Emperor, for the galleys, has returned in very sorry plight to Antwerp; having run the risk of his life, as the people of Mastricht lapidated him for bringing these slaves, sixty

* Query Schetz. (*See* Foreign Calendar 1553–1558, Index.)

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of whom made their escape, complaining of being condemned to go and die at the oar for their opinions about religion; and he thinks that unless the others who went on, are conducted more cautiously, the like will take place with them. Yesterday the Auditor di Rota Agostini had audience of the Emperor, together with the Nuncio; *and after saying that the cause of his being sent to the King and Queen of England, was to congratulate their Majesties and thank them for what they had done in the matter of religion, and to give the King the rose and sword. He made a very serious complaint against the greater part of the bishops in Spain, that they allowed many churches to go to ruin, and maltreat the canons, reproaching them with other misdemeanours worthy of great punishment; which matter was referred by his Majesty to his son.*

Brussels, 16th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

31. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Pembroke, who is considered the chief personage in England, having more followers (*più seguito*) there than anybody, has arrived at Calais with only six servants, bringing letters from the King and Queen for the warder, desiring him to obey the Earl's orders. He has not said a word about the cause of his coming, which there and here has caused much comment. Some say that it is because the French have mustered in great force at Montreuil; and that from fear of their usual plots, he has been sent to make provision on that frontier. Others are of opinion, as before leaving England he engaged several captains, giving them pay, that King Philip has persuaded the Queen to make war on the King of France. Many suppose, that to facilitate the peace with his most Christian Majesty, the Emperor induced the Queen to send Lord Pembroke because the French hold him in great esteem. The Florentine Ambassador has received two autograph letters from his Duke, one addressed to the Emperor, the other to the King of England; the former to be delivered immediately with a mere verbal compliment; the latter to be forwarded express. Thus did he, and being unable to obtain audience as soon as he wished, he gave the one destined for the Emperor to his chamber attendant Messer Adriano; telling other persons that he was unacquainted with its contents.

Yesterday, the Emperor wrote for a long while with his own hand, retracting certain promises of audience; and despatched three couriers, one after the other in rapid succession, to England.

Brussels, 17th March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

32. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Abbot of San Saluto, who left Brussels on the 13th instant, arrived here on the 16th with very favourable letters from the Emperor to Cardinal Pole, in accordance with the verbal com-

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munication made to the Abbot, *not merely approving the determination to hold the proposed conference, but with regard to this business referring himself entirely to the authority and judgment of his Right Reverend Lordship, who was to disregard inconvenience, nor fail, despite any fatigue or trouble whatever, to persevere in bringing the matter to a close; the Emperor giving it almost openly to be understood that such was his wish and desire. Contrary to general belief, the Abbot says that this goodwill and disposition was evinced by the Queen of Hungary, who expressed regret at being prevented by her sex from attending the future conference and being employed in it, and throughout this negotiation, as she earnestly desired.* With this resolve being therefore assured of the Emperor,* Cardinal Pole wrote immediately to France, and for some unknown cause, the Prothonotary de Noailles not having yet departed, he had him despatched forthwith with a promise from him to send back a courier instantly, with the most Christian King's reply and decision, in order that his most illustrious Lordship may know at what time to set out, on his way across the Channel; so they await the courier, who is not expected to remain there more than 10 days or a fortnight. *In the meanwhile the Cardinal hopes if not for peace, at least for some sort of truce, perceiving that both sovereigns (perhaps solely from finding themselves weary and exhausted) seem thus inclined. Has been told that this reply from the Emperor rejoiced them the more, as they apprehended and expected the contrary, fearing that besides other causes and respects, the news of the capture of Casale† might not only have hardened the Emperor's heart, but cause him entirely to retract the reply given by him to the Abbot (ogni risposta et risolutione data invasi* (sic) *questa nova all' Abbate).‡* His intelligencer also told him of the persons suggested by Cardinal Pole as negotiators at this conference, and that he counselled the Emperor to send persons the most intimate with him, and of the highest authority, much time being gained and much labour spared by negotiating with the like, rather than with inferiors; so his Right Reverend Lordship is of opinion that should the King determine on accrediting two personages, he might send the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Emperor to appoint the Bishop of Arras, and Mons. de Praet, should his health admit of it;§ if not, some one else of the chief intimates, and perhaps Don Ferrante.

* Of this celebrated stateswoman there is a sketch by the Venetian Secretary, Guidoto, who resided at her court in Hungary in 1525. It exists in his "report" to the Senate, of which I have a contemporary transcript containing an account of the masculine habits of Maria of Austria, thus:—

(1525, August.) "The most Serene Queen is about 22 years old, of diminutive "stature, long and narrow face, rather comely (venusta), very spare (magra molto), with "a slight colour, black eyes, her under lip rather thick, lively, never quiet either at home "or abroad. Rides admirably, and manages a horse with as much address as the best "horseman (et cum uno cavallo fa quello, che ogni bon cavalcador potria far). She is a "good shot with the crossbow, is intellectual (e ingeniosa), and has the heart to do "anything. It is generally supposed that by reason of her natural volatility (?) (natura "fluxa), and from too much exercise and motion, she will have no posterity."

† The town of Casale was taken by the French in February 1555. (*See* Pere Daniel, Histoire de France, vol. 9, p. 779. Ed. Paris, 1755.)

‡ The signs which, according to Pasini's key, represent the letters i. n. v. a. s. i., were evidently made incorrectly.

§ Mons. de Praet died at Brussels early in October 1555. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date 8 October 1555.)

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This news of the capture of Casale has made them at once proclaim the departure and despatch to Italy of the Duke of Alva, as already written, King Philip choosing him to depart forthwith; nothing but this despatch being now attended to, he will set out post-wise in the course of the present week, and being always accustomed to travel quickly, and not intending to stop long at Brussels, he may be expected to arrive at Milan very soon. He has already commenced exercising his authority, having appointed his eldest son Don Federico, a young man 20 or 22 years old, General of the Spanish troops in Lombardy, to start him with repute in the military profession.

According to the intention mentioned in his last, said what was necessary both to the Duke and the King, who with his usual graciousness said that both by word of mouth and in writing, he had given orders, which should now be repeated, for the Signory's ministers and affairs to be treated with such respect as he knew was the wish of the Emperor and of himself, in conformity with the friendship which had long subsisted between one and the other; and he told me that he considered the friendship of your Serenity one of the chief bulwarks of his Italian territories.

The Duke spoke at great length, saying that he knew better than the others what became his office, as for a long while, both in public and private, he had been aware of the goodwill both of the King and of the Emperor towards your Serenity, and in what account your interests were held by their Majesties, so that neither he nor his ministers would fail to have the greatest consideration and respect for them.

Secretary Erasso departed two days ago, having been despatched sooner than intended for pecuniary supply, and to hasten all the Emperor's instructions for the Duke, in order to shorten his stay; and he is also said to be the bearer of the decision about the coming to England [as Lord Chamberlain of King Philip] of Don Ferrante, in case he choose to accept it. The broker Pinelo has also come from Antwerp, to obtain, as he did, the confirmation and signature of King Philip (*da questa Maestà*) to a loan of 500,000 ducats made lately by the Antwerp merchants, who for their greater security chose him likewise (*anco essa*) to put his hand to it. The bargain purported, that the Emperor being debtor for that amount, now due in Spain, the creditors, receiving their usual interest, consented to prolong the payment for another year, their Majesties, on the other hand, binding themselves on the expiration of that term to give them the value in Antwerp at the rate of 80 pence per ducat, they holding securities to that amount in bonds (*obligbi*) and transfers (*assegnamenti*) from those towns (*quelle terre*) [in Flanders?]. By this prolongation their Majesties are enabled now to avail themselves of the supply, which had to be made, or was perhaps already made, for payment of that debt; and Don Juan Figueroa has already come hither, being sent by the Emperor to take his passage for Spain, and to bring thence as much money as he can from the fleet lately arrived [from the Indies], and from the rest which is expected (*et del resto che si aspetta*); and he is on the eve of departure.

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As already stated, Lord Pembroke crossed the Channel to inspect the English fortresses; many persons say that he is also charged to dismiss many of the principal officials of the crown at Calais, whose religious opinions being evil (*li quali sentendo male della religione*), their Majesties doubt their fidelity, it being feared they may make some change; and it is said that even the soldiers and populace (*popolari*) there exceed their office (*escono dell' officio loro*), having comported themselves insolently about this matter of religion, being unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to the Catholic creed as they ought to do. The Queen is intent on its augmentation and diffusion here, having sent for many English friars of the orders of St. Dominick and St. Francis, who, to escape the past persecutions, withdrew beyond the sea, and lived in poverty in Flanders, in order to give them monasteries and the means of subsistence; and, they, showing themselves in public everywhere, are tolerably well received and kindly treated (*li qual frati comparendo per tutto publicamente sono honestamente ben veduti, et carezati*). Sixteen Benedictine monks have also reassumed the habit and returned to the order spontaneously, although they were able to live, and had lived out of it much at ease and liberty, there being included amongst them the Dean of St. Paul's,* who has a wealthy revenue of well nigh 2,000; notwithstanding which, they have renounced all their temporal possessions and conveniences, and press for readmission into one of their monasteries. The entire 16 last week appeared in their habits before the Queen, who from joy, immediately on seeing them, could not refrain from shedding tears; and for [the adjustment of] this matter she has appointed six of the leading members of the Council, including the Chancellor [Gardiner], the Treasurer [William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester], the Comptroller [Sir Robert Rochester], and Secretary Petre, so that together with the Legate, they may, according to their judgment, decide what is most fitting and beneficial for the realm, both about these monasteries and all the church property in possession of the Crown. Her Majesty wishes it to be entirely restored to those who were deprived of it, should any of the original possessors be alive; and accordingly two delegates having already made their appearance on behalf of the order of Rhodes, there will be consigned to them without delay all the revenues of the commanderies held by the Crown, both in England and Ireland, though nothing is said of those which have passed into the hands of private individuals, and constitute the chief amount. With her Majesty's example, it is hoped that many others may do the like; and already in the city of Oxford a gentleman has announced his intention of restoring 200 marks rental derived from their monastery, to the Franciscan friars.

On the other hand, the Londoners, however, do not desist from

* John Howman, of the Forest of Feckenham, by which last name he is commonly known. In Machyn's Diary, p. 118, date 21 November 1556, there is the following entry:—"The same day was the new abbots of Westmynster putt in docthur Fecknam, "late dene of Powlles, and xiiij moo monkes sworne in." March 1555. The Venetian Ambassador writes distinctly that they were sixteen in number.

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daily outrages against the Catholic religion, having not only again mutilated the statue of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which had been restored and put back in its place,* but even robbed several churches of the tabernacles of the sacrament; nor, at least at this commencement, does the government think fit to act with such rigour as becoming, hoping that by address and leniency, time, rather than severe punishment, may mitigate this their rage and fury.

After many days illness the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Bedford,† has departed this life, his vacant post being talked of for the Bishop of Ely,‡ ambassador to Rome, or Secretary Petre.

London, 19th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signôr Luigi Pasini.*]

March 21. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta) Vol. 69, p. 104, tergo.

33. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By the last advices from Brussels, the Signory is informed that the Emperor was expected at Antwerp, and in those parts, to provide money; and the military forces were ordered to be in readiness. In those borders French troops had shown themselves, and according to the advices from France his most Christian Majesty had ordered them to attempt the recovery of "New Hesdin," lately built by the Imperialists. The King was intent on providing money, and purposed going to Fontainebleau, where the Queen is expecting her delivery; and the most serene Queen of England is in like manner near her time. Is to communicate the advices as usual.

Ayes, 198. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Original Letter Book of Agostino Barbarigo in the Venetian Archives.

34. The BISHOP of VITERBO, Papal Nuncio in France, to the Venetian Secretary, PHEBO CAPELLA.

It has been at length settled that a conference is to be held between the chief ministers of both their Majesties, as negotiated since some while by Cardinal Pole, and alluded to by him, the Nuncio, to Capella at Poissy. Received this intelligence yesterday, through a letter from Cardinal Pole, and proceeded immediately to Montereau-Fault-Yonne (*Monterio*), where he arrived at the sixth hour, when it was nearly night, and had immediate and most gracious audience of the King. The final arrangement is, that on the 20th or 26th April the Duke of Alva and the Bishop of Arras will be at Gravelines on behalf of the Emperor, the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine representing the King at Ardres, and the Bishop of Winchester will be at Guisnes in the name of the Queen of England, as also the Cardinal Legate Pole; and by means of

* In Machyn's Diary, date 14th March 1555 (pp. 82, 83), there is the following entry:— "In the nyght, ther serten veleyns dyd breke the neke of the ymage of Saint Thomas of Cantrubere, and on of ys arms broke." The first mutilation of the *freestone* image of St. Thomas is noted by Machyn, 17th February 1555, p. 82.

† John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, died at his house in the Strand, London, 14th March 1555. (*See* Collins, vol. 1, p. 269.) Also Machyn, pp. 83, 84.

‡ Thomas Thirlby.

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such good ministers it will perhaps please God to grant peace, about which he can say that he found his Majesty and the said ministers so very zealous and anxious to terminate the quarrels justly, that he has great hope it will be effected; and this day his Majesty has despatched Robertet hence to England. This morning, when on the eve of departure from Montereau, a courier arrived from Monsieur de Brissac with news of the capture of the castle [of Casale].

Melun, 23rd March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

35. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Pembroke having left Calais with 15 posters, went to Guisnes, and here the reason assigned is that the King and Queen of England sent him thither because they doubted the [good ?] faith of the Marshal of Calais. The French were then victualling Ardres, which is within sight of Guisnes, and did the like at Montreuil and Marienburg, some of their forces marching more towards Liege and Luxemburg, in which places they burned two abbacies and some villages; and part went to Namur, burning everything of value in the territory. All the inhabitants of the town took flight, as it is not strong, and had only 100 foot soldiers for its defence; and many of the people of Nivelles, near Brussels, have sent much property hither.

Brussels, 23rd March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

36. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letter about Don Ferrante Gonzaga, the Duke of Savoy, &c.

Yesterday Don Ferrante's secretary told me that the Secretary Erasso was come back from England with the decision about his Lord's business, and told him (Don Ferrante), in course of conversation, that it would be very difficult for him to have the post of maggiordomo maggiore, as the Duke of Alva did not choose to deprive himself of it, but that the King would make him chief of the Council, and captain general whenever his Majesty takes the field in person; to which Don Ferrante replied that he humbly thanked the King for these very loving offers, which he did not desire, but wished for and solicited a written declaration from the Emperor that he considers him an honest man (*huomo da bene*), as he had repeatedly caused this to be said to him, and immediate permission to go to his home (as he has hitherto expended here 50,000 crowns), and receive payment of 80,000 for which he is creditor, having for his Majesty's service in the war of Piedmont, pledged his word, his plate, and moveables. The Secretary Erasso having made this statement to the Emperor, and returned to his Excellency, told him he was commissioned by his Majesty to go and give account of his demands to the Queen [Maria of Hungary] at Antwerp, as she had with her the last process (*processo*) sent from Italy, of which the Emperor had not received information, and that then his Excellency would be despatched. Don Ferrante's secretary, both by

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speech and gesture, evinced apprehension that his master will again receive but words, and the members of his household say openly that neither the past services of Don Ferrante, and of the entire Gonzaga family, nor this fresh one on the part of the Cardinal, by declaring himself a most staunch imperialist (*imperialissimo*), and that by means of the Montferrat territory he will make a shield for the Emperor's interests, will avail to change his Majesty's will. After the arrival of Secretary Erasso the Emperor told the Duke of Savoy positively that he does not choose him to go into Italy, because his Excellency, not having sufficient forces to keep what territory remains to him, he and all his vassals would be compelled to turn French (*a farsi Francese*), and that, remaining here, besides the grade of general, he will have the command of the 5,000 Spaniards in these parts, their colonel having had leave to go to Spain on account of the death of his wife; which troubled him (the Duke) more than ever, *and well nigh in despair he two hours afterwards mounted his horse* and went to a monastery near Brussels to keep Lent. The Signor Giovanni Battista Gastaldo, who has often had hopes from the Bishop of Arras and the Duke of Alva that the King of England would reward him for the services rendered to his father during so many years, and give him some honourable appointment, is much grieved to hear that the Duke of Alva is going as lieutenant-general in Italy, the charge of state affairs at Naples being given to Don Francisco de Toledo, and that of military matters to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, whilst at Milan the affairs of state are entrusted to Don Diego de Azevedo, and those of war; *and he said in public . . . . that it was evident that neither the Emperor nor the King of England will trust any Italian, and he prayed God to grant that the Italians united, may not cause their Majesties to lose their Italian possessions,* and that after paying all his debts at Brussels he will go to his marquisate of Cassano, and perhaps into the Brescian territory, whither his wife and sons write to him that they have sent all the best of his effects.*

Brussels, 24th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

37. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

These Lords of the Council, either through the accusation or revelation of some one, have lately had suspicion that certain inhabitants of Cambridge, more daring and licentious than the rest, not choosing to inconvenience themselves (incomodarsi) *by living according to the present religion, had leagued together and privily collected a large supply of arms* (una grande munición di arme) *for a rising* (per uscir) *when the moment should seem fit to them,† not*

* In the original, "chiaro si può comprender, che nè l'Imperator nè Re d'Inghilterra "vogliono haver fede in alcun Italiano, et che Dio faccia, che tutti questi non vadino a "perder alle loro Maesta i Stati di Italia."

† Machyn alludes to this conspiracy as follows: "The XVIII day of March was "browth to the Towre owt of Cambrydge shyre Master Bowes, Master Cutt, and "Master Hynd and dyvers odur, for a nuw conspyrase, the wyche shuld have byne don in "Suffoke and odur plases." (*See* Diary, p. 83.)

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merely to conspire against the faithful and Catholics (li fedeli et Cattolici), *termed by them Papists, but, with the numerous adherents whom they expected to have, march upon this city, hoping* (sperando) *with the assistance of the Londoners who share their opinions, not merely by slaughter and maltreatment to expel all strangers hence, but even to attack their Majesties, and, under the pretext of religion, kindle such a flame and cause such confusion as in their power, to the detriment and perhaps utter ruin of the King and Queen, as the authors of this return to Catholicism.*

In order to convince themselves and verify the suspicion and danger, the Lords of the Council immediately caused the arrest and removal to the Tower of many of the inhabitants of Cambridge, including an individual considered one of the gentry of the place (uno delli Signor de lì), *by name Anthony Bowes* (Antonio Boos), *a man utterly averse to religion; and other arrests are made daily in this town, the prisoners being strictly examined to ascertain the origin and basis of the plot, and detect the conspirators; so some severe demonstration and act of justice is expected, it appearing to everybody that the graciousness and clemency hitherto exercised by their Majesties in pardoning everybody, and especially the Ipswich people, who laid a similar plot last summer, merely give cause, through the hope of pardon, for the daily perpetration of fresh excesses, instead of mitigating or eradicating the ill will of persons of this sort; it having been as it were discovered* (come scoperto) *that a few days before* [the intended outbreak at Ipswich], *in the county of Norfolk, whither one of the condemned heretics by name Dr. Taylor had been sent to be burned,* the country-people there† (part of whom were subsequently arrested) resenting this execution, had agreed that on the day and at the hour when it was to be done they would set fire to a number of houses, and raise a great tumult; not merely to release that Doctor from the stake, but to punish and revenge themselves on those whose religion was opposed to their own.*

A few days ago, the Earl of Devonshire [Edward Courtenay] *through a friend of his, wrote a letter in English to the King, being induced to take this step and confirmed in it, by the great graciousness and benignity which he understood the King exercised, by interceding for every one with the most Serene Queen, having sought and obtained the release* (la deliberatione)‡ *of many persons. When the King received the letter and saw it written in this language, he had him answered, that he was to write in French or Latin, that his Majesty might not have to employ an interpreter, but hear from himself without having to confide his letters to any one, thus showing that he did him the favour to bear him the same good will as demonstrated by his Majesty towards all the others who had recourse to him?* (alle

* In Machyn's Diary, date 6 February 1555, there is the following entry :—" Doctur " Tayller was sent in-to Suffoke, and to be brentt." Doctor Rowland Taylor had been Bishop of Lincoln, and was burnt on Aldham Common, in Suffolk, on the 9th February 1555. (*See* Froude, vol. 6, p. 323.)

† Nel paese di Norwich dove fu mandato ad abbrugiar uno delli heretici condennati ditto il Dottor Teler, quelli paesani, etc.

‡ " Deliberar per liberar." *See* Boerio, Venetian Dictionary.

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irudee) (sic). *The Earl wrote a second time in French, recommending himself to his Majesty, and very submissively beseeching him to be his protector and deign to take him into his service* (et dignarsi di accettarlo nel suo servitio). *The friend who delivered the letter is now very anxiously awaiting the result of this office* (il frutto che haverà questo officio), *but fears that the discovery of this plot and conspiracies may greatly delay his Majesty's favour.*

Three days ago there arrived here Monsignor Antonio Agustini, "Auditor di Rota," sent by the Pope to visit and thank their Majesties for the auspicious events of the religion (*delli felici successi della religione*), and to present them with the rose, sword, and hat (*capello*), which his Holiness is in the habit of sending to one prince or another; and so yesterday, the day of the Annunciation and commencement of the year according to the English style, the ceremony was performed in the private chapel of her Majesty's palace, there being present the most illustrious Legate, all the ambassadors, and the lords of the Court. Monsignor Agostini, after the mass, presented the rose to the most Serene Queen, and the sword and hat to the most Serene King; accompanying the present with a brief from his Holiness which was read in public, replete with praise of their Majesties and his Holiness' great love and affection [for them ?]; and the most illustrious Legate in his episcopal habit, with mitre and cope, having recited certain prayers over the presents, and given the usual benediction, the most Serene Queen evinced the utmost delight at hers, for after a short prayer, she carried it in her own hand and placed it on its altar. In the afternoon, they made the joust destined for the close of carnival, but which was delayed until that day, owing to the absence of Don Ruy Gomez, who, in company with Sir George Howard, an English gentleman,* was the maintainer (*mantenitore*) [challenger ?] making a stately appearance, bearing themselves bravely, as did the King and all the other jousters, in number twenty, both with regard to their liveries and their tilting; all ending well, and causing great pleasure and consolation, especially to the Queen, who, however, could not conceal her fear and disquietude (*gelosia*) about the King, sending to pray him (having done his duty, and run many courses (*et havendo corso assai*) as in truth he did) not to encounter further risk, which request he gratified.

The Duke of Alva is still here, but according to report will depart in the course of this week, taking the Duchess with him across the Channel, and then leaving her, will proceed postwise.

Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] has sent all the correspondence between himself and Don Francesco of Este,† to convince King Philip and

* I can find no notice in Collins' Peerage of Sir George Howard, who was evidently in favour with Queen Mary. Shortly after this joust, she sent him to Brussels with letters to the Emperor and to the Queen Regent of Flanders. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 8–9 June 1555, p. 174.) There is an account of this joust, "at the tylt at "Vestmynster," in Machyn's Diary, date 25th March 1555, p. 84, "Ser George Haward" being mentioned, but the name of Ruy Gomez is omitted.

† Don Francesco of Este, second son of Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara and Lucrezia Borgia, was in the French interests, and had sent a challenge to Don Ferrante, for which he apologized by letters addressed to the Emperor, the Queen Regent of Flanders, and Bishop of Arras, as stated by the Venetian Ambassador Badoer, in a despatch dated Brussels 4th August 1555.

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the whole Court that Don Francesco has unjustly slandered him; but he has not yet sent the reply to the letter lately addressed to him, which will more clearly elicit the opinion of this Court, though everybody will speak very cautiously on the subject by reason of his friends and supporters here, notwithstanding which, I shall not fail to write freely what is said about him.

London, 26th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 27. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

38. Cardinal Pole to the Emperor.

Received his Majesty's letter from the Abbot of San Saluto, who narrated to him the gracious audience received and what the Emperor answered him about the proposal for peace. The brother of the French ambassador departed with this reply, and subsequently the English ambassador in France wrote to the Queen that the King of France approved what her Majesty designed about the place of meeting for the deputies on both sides, and had also named those whom he purposed sending. Prays the Emperor to do the like with regard to the persons to be sent by him, and the time of meeting; about which Pole is writing to the Nuncio, in order not to molest his Majesty farther.

From London, 27th March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

39. Cardinal Pole to the Archbishop of Conza, Nuncio at Brussels.

Yesterday the Queen sent to show him a letter from her ambassador in France, dated Peronne the 20th, telling her that when speaking with the King about the affair of the peace, and the places proposed by the Queen for the deputies, namely, Ardres and Gravelines, and Calais and some other neighbouring place for the mediators, his Majesty seemed to approve of them, and said he had determined to send in his name the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable; and the Queen wishing Pole to write this to the Emperor, he does so by the accompanying letter, to which the Nuncio will obtain the speediest possible reply, to make amends for the delay caused by the Emperor's indisposition. It is not requisite to await any farther reply from the prothonotary, as this was received from the King's own lips, who moreover told the English ambassador that he could but anticipate a good result from this negotiation, as the Queen, its mediatrix, has been elected by God to accomplish great things to her own honour and to the comfort of Christendom, as she had already commenced doing by the reconciliation. The Nuncio can communicate with the English ambassador at Brussels, who will most assuredly perform every good office for this end.

From London, 27th March 1555.

P.S.—Conferred to-day with their Majesties, and, discoursing about the affair of the peace, the Queen informed him that she is writing to the Emperor about it, urging him to appoint the commis-

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sioners as soon as possible, and desiring her ambassador to do the like, and to send the answer instantly ;* so it is evident that in this matter likewise her Majesty does not fail to do all that can be expected from her piety. Hopes that this fresh affair of Casale will not alter the Emperor's good disposition in this matter, and that, besides his regard for God and the common weal, he will be greatly influenced by a desire to gratify the pious wish of this most serene and most holy Queen his daughter.

To-day Monsignor Agostini† presented the Pope's other gifts (*munusculi*) to the Queen, who received everything with such devotion as becoming her great piety.

28th March.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

40. Cardinal Pole to the Archbishop of Conza [Girolamo Muzzarelli], Nuncio at Brussels.

Wrote to him on the 27th and 28th what the King of France had said to the English ambassador about the affair of the peace. Then, last evening, the French secretary Robertet arrived, having been sent express by the King, and after confirming his determination about the places and the two personages to be sent, added much concerning his Majesty's readiness and good disposition in this business, and the hope of a good result. As to the time, he says the King did not think he could send his representatives before the 20th to the 28th April, having to await the return of Robertet, and the reply and total resolve of the Emperor; and with regard to this matter of the time, he refers himself to what shall be deemed most expedient in England. This morning, when Robertet, accompanied by the French ambassador, came to Pole, they had not yet had audience of the Queen, who, Pole is sure, will not fail to write and perform every good office, as she has done hitherto. The Nuncio thus sees the present state of the matter, and how desirable it is to gain time. Is very sure he will gladly do whatever is necessary for the common weal, and when everything is settled about the going, they will be able to learn from the ministers of the sovereigns their will about the attendance of the Nuncios, and Pole will also write in this sense to the Bishop of Viterbo [Nuncio in France], who has asked him for instructions on the subject. Robertet will await the reply and orders of his Imperial Majesty, that he may take them back with him to France.

From London, 31st March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

41. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The news of the Pope's death was brought to the Emperor by a courier from the Cardinal of Trent, so his Majesty desired the Secretary Vargas to go to Antwerp to consult the Queen [Maria of Hungary, Governess of the Low Countries] and the Bishop of Arras

* For the reply, *see* Foreign Calendar, April 11, 1555, p. 162.
† Antonio Agostini. *See* Foreign Calendar, March 9, 1555, p. 159.

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about what is to be done, both with regard to the creation of the new Pope and the preservation of the imperial dominions in Italy. The Emperor wrote also to the King of England to despatch Cardinal Pole immediately, and he has already sent a gentleman to the Cardinal of Burgos, who is at a monastery at a short distance from Brussels, to set out immediately; and he wrote in like manner to the Cardinals of Augsburg and Trent. The Queen and the Bishop of Arras are also to decide who is to go as governor to Naples, so that Cardinal Pacheco may proceed to Rome, and whether Don Juan Manrique should quit Sienna and go to Rome.* They are to make as good a bargain as they can with the Fugger and Schetz firms for pecuniary supply for the going to Italy of the Duke of Alva, who, as told me by one of his gentlemen, wrote freely to Queen Maria that he would not set out without the necessary pecuniary supply, and unless the ammunition promised him from Germany was sent in advance, and that he could have an army in the field, giving it to be understood that the Siennese territory must be evacuated [by the French?], and saying that all the authority given him by the Emperor and King Philip is not sufficient to enable him to serve them well and to preserve his own honour.

The Grand Master of Rhodes writes to the commander (*commendator*) who negotiates his affairs with the Emperor, desiring him to inform his Majesty that the Order is well nigh determined to disarm its four galleys, not being able to avail themselves of grain and biscuit from Sicily, according to their usual custom, by reason of the unbearable duties laid on them by the Viceroy, who evinces hatred towards the Grand Master, both on account of his being a Frenchman, as also because he would not give the Viceroy's son a commandery, yielding an annual revenue of 3,000 crowns, instead of doing his duty to the Emperor.

The ambassador from the Queen of England has this day received a courier, with a commission to obtain from the Emperor permission for her to draw from Spain (*di poter trazzer dalla Spagna*) 50,000 crowns, in addition to the 300,000 which she took from the merchants; but he could not obtain audience, nor yet the ambassador from Florence, who presses for it greatly; both one and the other being told that his Majesty is very . . . . [unwell?]

Brussels, 31st March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

42. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Besides what was heard four days ago by letters from the English ambassador in France† of the 20th ulto. about the most Christian King's appointment (immediately after the arrival of Prothonotary Noailles) of the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine to attend the proposed conference, the Secretary Robertet arrived here two days

* In the Foreign Calendar, date 16 July 1555, it is shewn that Don Juan Manrique was then Imperial Ambassador Extraordinary at Rome. Badoer writes the name *Merick*, which I am enabled to correct by means of the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1553–1558.

† In Mr. Turnbull's Calendar there are no letters of this date from Dr. Wotton.

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ago, having been sent express for this purpose, confirming the fact, and saying that the personages aforesaid will delay their departure until the Queen and the Legate shall have minutely arranged and established the day of the conference, adding that his most Christian Majesty's successes in Italy did not render him so proud and elate as to prevent his having more regard for the universal interest and benefit of Christendom than (*et*) (*sic*) [*che ?*] for his own personal and particular advantage, with many other words of this sort, which give assurance of his most Christian Majesty's good disposition in this matter; reminding the Queen and Cardinal Pole that they should urge the Emperor to make choice of persons such as those of his King, so that, knowing the mind of their Prince, and being very sure of it, they may by their authority, without delay, solve many doubts and difficulties which others could only do after a long interval. They therefore sent immediately to the Emperor about this nomination, urging him to make his own, in order that the conference may be held as soon as possible, the Queen in the meanwhile detaining the secretary until the reply arrive, though, as to the conference, however much it may be hastened, they do not think it can take place until after Easter, as it is so near at hand.

During this interval they do not fail providing as much as possible, chiefly by money, for the affairs of Italy, bad news of some sort being received daily, such as the loss of the castle of Casale, received three days ago, and, although foreseen by many persons, it nevertheless greatly disquiets everybody, *and they are afraid of worse, Colonel Cesare of Naples, who is in Volpiano,* having sent to protest that unless speedily succoured with a large supply of money and other supplies of which he is destitute he shall be compelled to make terms from inability long to hold out, and the senate of Milan writes that the affairs of that state are in a bad way.*

The Duke of Alva therefore solicits prompt supplies, not choosing to stir without a certain and secure pledge in hand, as therein consists the entire remedy for all the irregularities (*disordini*) and losses hitherto incurred; so until he hears what has been done by Erasso and King Philip's treasurers (*et gli thesorieri di questa Maestà*), who were sent across the Channel for this purpose (nor can their report be long delayed), he will not set out. Don Alonso de Pimentello was immediately sent hence to Spain to embark and bring by way of Genoa the 6,000 Spaniards, of whom the levy which was ordered some months ago is supposed to have been effected, and which on his arrival, he having been appointed colonel of a part of this force, may be marched towards the coast, King Philip (*questa Maestà*) having determined to increase the amount of the Spanish soldiery in Italy to 14,000 or 16,000 men, for distribution in his territories, thinking that they will serve him more faithfully and advantageously than those of other nations.

With regard to the suspected conspiracy at Cambridge, the Lords

* A town in Piedmont, 5 leagues N.E. of Turin.

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of the Council are proceeding to the examination of the prisoners (procedono alla examinatione delli incarcerati), *and it is said that fresh arrests are made daily; but, as usual with them, everything is done very privily, no one daring* (non havendo alcun ardire) *to speak about it, so that with difficulty can the truth be ascertained, save at the end, when on the sudden we shall witness either the punishment or the acquittal; wherefore, as yet, opinions about this case vary, some persons representing it as very momentous, anticipating great discoveries* (con expettatione di grandi cose), *whilst others treat it very lightly, as mere suspicion, which, if of usual occurrence elsewhere, may here be said to have dominion* (la qual se in alcun' altra parte suole haver luogo, quì si può dire che sia nel regno suo).

To comfort the Queen, and give her heart and courage, three most beautiful infants were brought last week for her Majesty to see, they having been born a few days previously at one birth, of a woman of low stature (*picciola statura*) and great age like the Queen, and who after the delivery found herself strong (*è rimasta gagliarda*) and out of all danger; and the sight of this woman and her infants greatly rejoiced her Majesty.

London, 1st April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

43. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Ferrante has just been to visit me, saying that his affair being settled favourably, and having determined to return to Italy, he wished to acquaint me with the whole for your information; and he said that not having chosen to obtain (*che per non haver voluto ottener*) the charge of "*primo cavaliero*" of the King of England, a newly-invented grade, and so many difficulties having been made about giving him the others, he resolved to return to his own country, to which the Emperor had consented, having given orders for his good-service certificate to be made out for him,* and giving him 4,000 crowns annual revenue, derivable from feudatories (*vassalli*) in the kingdom of Naples, and the expectancy for his son Andrea of a commandery yielding from 1,500 to 2,000 crowns, as also 20,000 ready money for the expenses incurred by him at this court; and that with regard to the 90,000 crowns for which he is creditor, the Emperor sent Secretary Erasso to tell him that he would provide for it subsequently, Don Ferrante remarking to me, that this might be, either for the purpose of keeping a curb upon him, or from inability to make the payment at present.

The Emperor has despatched the Flemish Secretary Bave (*Baves*) to Antwerp, to Queen Maria, to let her know what the English ambassador had said to him about the peace, sending her also a letter from Cardinal Pole, which was delivered by the Nuncio's

* Che le fosse fatta la carta di bon servir.

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secretary to the chamberlains, the Nuncio having been prevented going by indisposition; and his Majesty gave the secretary orders about the choice of commissioners, the election of whom seems difficult to everybody, the Emperor having need of the Bishop of Arras about his person, whilst Mons. de Praet is grievously ill, and his Majesty has desired the Duke of Alva to come to Brussels immediately; for the purpose it is said of proceeding to Italy. Some of the chief personages have asserted that his Majesty might avail himself of Don Ferrante, and of Gio. Battista Gastaldo, and that he ought to do so.

Encloses a list of Cardinals made for the Imperial Government, and showing how they may be expected to vote at the coming election.

Brussels, 2nd April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

44. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador has sent his secretary to me to say he has had a courier from the Queen with commission to go immediately to inform the Emperor that by the reply received from the King of France, he says he is content to send to negotiate the peace, and that he has appointed as his commissioners the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, whom he will send to Ardres, as soon as he hears that the Emperor has made choice of his commissioners and sent them to Gravelines, and that the Queen would send her commissioners to Calais, that they may confer, first with one side and then with the other, to adjust matters; and that his most Christian Majesty gave him to understand that the affairs being so entangled as they are, he thinks it will be difficult to arrive at any adjustment, yet he believes that the Queen having it may be said effected miracles concerning the matter of religion in her own realm, the like may possibly be witnessed through her Majesty's medium in this negotiation. The English secretary has asked for audience of the Emperor, as the ambassador wished to speak with his Majesty on the subject, and they gave him hopes of obtaining it, although the Emperor is in bed and seriously indisposed, as he is to urge the speedy nomination of the commissioners.

The Mantuan ambassador Signor Giulio Cavriano departs to-day, on his way back to the Duke, and to wait upon the Cardinal in case he require his attendance for the journey to Rome, and in the most loving terms possible he vowed to me that the Cardinal, the Duke, Madame, and Don Ferrante, have for their true aim, always to be considered the good servants of the Republic, adding that Don Ferrante, as a prudent personage, *for the security of his affairs, is solely intent on not giving umbrage to the Emperor and the King of England, with regard to his failing* to serve their Majesties; telling me that he really did not know what the Emperor would determine with regard to sending his Excellency to England, as there was he knew not what difficulty, on account of the Duke of Alva, which

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impedes the whole affair. In the course of the conversation he complained of the very great . . . . . [calumnies to which?] Don Ferrante . . . . . [had been subjected?] for the reason which he sent to tell *the Cardinal* [Ercole Gonzaga], *namely, that he had served the Emperor more fervently than he had served God,* and that he [Giulio Cavriano] having spoken to the Emperor on the subject, after telling him why he had been sent to his Majesty, requested him to make better acknowledgment for the service of his Lords, and to punish those who had calumniated them; and when the Emperor asked him who these enemies who had slandered his Lords were, he replied that his Majesty might well know them, *meaning to imply the Bishop of Arras.* The Emperor rejoined, that as for the Cardinal, his slanderers needed no other punishment than to be stigmatized for their French bias, as the Cardinal's deeds might have convinced every one, and that towards Don Ferrante he would shew himself loving in what he could.*

The messenger who came hither in five days from Trent, having brought from the Cardinal the news of the Pope's death, was sent off immediately by his Majesty to the King of England. The Cardinal of Burgos says he will go post-wise, but will await more certain news than was brought by the messenger of the Cardinal of Trent, who wrote that the Pope was at the extremity, but that, according to an advice received by the Cardinal of Mantua, he had expired. From what is said by the chief personages of this court the Cardinal of England will not go to Rome, even should he see the Emperor persist in this opinion.

Postscript.—The English ambassador sends me word that he has had audience of the Emperor, who first made him wait a long while in the antechamber, and having found him in bed, his Majesty apologised for the delay on account of his great indisposition, and that he could scarcely move or speak, and in reply to what the ambassador said about sending commissioners, promised an answer in two days.†

Brussels, 2nd April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

45. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday, betimes, Don Ferrante departed, having given out that he was going away in the afternoon, so that no one might pay him ceremonious compliments, as told me by Misser Nadal Busi, his Excellency's agent, who came to me in his Excellency's name to acquaint me with the conversation which took place with the Emperor when he took leave of his Majesty, saying that Don Ferrante told the Emperor that, as he was no longer fit to serve either him or the King of England, his lord, he would, with his

* Et che verso il Sigr. Don Ferrante si dimostreria amorevole in quello che la potesse.

† Sir John Masone gives a full account of this audience in his letter to Queen Mary, date Brussels, 11 April 1555. (*See* Foreign Calendar, p. 162.)

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Imperial Majesty's good leave, go and reside at Mantua, assuring the Emperor that he should always continue to serve him mentally, in like manner as he had done practically during 33 years; adding that he had no hope of ever seeing his Majesty again, both because his Excellency himself was old and indisposed, and also because he thought the Emperor was going to enjoy the repose of life in Spain. He thanked his Majesty infinitely for the reward conceded him, which he held most dear, both as it would enable him to render testimony to the world of his being in favour with the Emperor, and because he should thus defend himself better against the treachery of his enemies, and especially from the Duke of Parma, which he had acquired for having served his Majesty well; and he requested him to have payment made him for the guard and his other stipendiaries, who were creditors for nine arrears (*nuove paghe*). Then kneeling before the bed, beseeching permission to kiss his hand, the Emperor replied, putting an arm round his neck, and his words being choked by a flood of tears, said that he also thought they never would see each other again, both on account of age and by reason of their ailments, which gave them cause to be weary of this world, showing his hands crippled with gout, saying he had now the worst of life,* and that he considered himself so well served by Don Ferrante that he could not but greatly commend him for fidelity (*fede*), courage, intelligence, and counsel, but that he (the Emperor) would tell him freely that, what with his long malady and constant occupations of late, which had prevented him from examining and acquainting himself with his affairs, as was his wont, and what with Don Ferrante's great calumniators, he had conceived some doubt of him in his mind, but that was entirely dissipated, and that the cause why the King his son had not given him the charge of *maggiordomo maggiore* was attributable to the interests of his dearest ministers, who did not let him know Don Ferrante's great worth; but as they were nevertheless his good servants, they will at some future period remind his Majesty that he should make use of him, which he (the King) will perhaps not be able or willing to do;† and that although he might have given this command to his son, he had not chosen to compel him, in order not to disturb the current of his thoughts (*per non interromper i suoi pensieri*), and because nothing good could have been effected unless both had been of the same mind; apologising for his son greatly, and blaming his ministers greatly, and, putting his hand to his heart, he swore on the word (*sopra la fede*) of a true gentleman and prince that he intended (*che haveva in animo*) severely to punish those who had calumniated Don Ferrante; and that, as a greater mark of the love he bears him, he gave him, besides the other rewards, a life annuity of 6,000 crowns, payable in Genoa, so that it could never be impeded by the ministers; promising to cancel his bond, as soon as possible and release the effects given by him as security for the 90,000 crowns which he spent for the need of the war in Piedmont, and

* Esser al presente peggio della vita.

† Li quali però per esserli buoni servitori vorranno a qualche tempo ricordargli che se ne serva de lui et ch'egli non potrà ò non vorrà forse.

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that he would readily oblige him by paying his retinue and the guard for his escort into Italy. On his departure he said to him that, although he, the Emperor, did not believe that any other resolve would come from the King, he nevertheless requested Don Ferrante to remain some days at Antwerp, so that in case he sent him the grade of *maggiordomo maggiore,* he might be pleased to go and serve him, according to the promise given. This his Excellency assured the Emperor he would do, and departed, the tears in his eyes; and in the antechamber, turning to the persons there present, he said aloud that he thanked God that his enemies had not had the power to make him lose the Emperor's favour. The agent told me besides, as of himself, that he knew *Don Ferrante to be very anxious to serve the Republic, and that it would be advantageous both for himself and the State,* but that having now received such great reward from the Emperor, he, the agent, suspected he would be inclined to repose instead of any longer subjecting himself to the fatigue of the military profession, commencing a long discourse about his great valour, experience, and sincerity, so that it seemed as if he had come on purpose to make it; and he said that his Excellency would then go with speed to Italy, without stopping more than two days with the Elector Palatine, with whom he is slightly connected, and who has invited him; and another day at Augsburg, to pay his respects to the King of the Romans.

The English Ambassador, by command of his Queen, is urging the Secretary Vargas to obtain a speedy reply from the Emperor about the choice of commissioners [for the conference]; and his Majesty having heard the opinions of the Queen [Maria of Hungary] and the Bishop of Arras, with regard to the orders to be given to the Ambassador at Rome touching the election of the Pope, has determined to send him his instructions by the Abbot Brisegno [Trissino ?], who is one of those who made out the list of Cardinals sent by me, and is said always to have served the Emperor by discovering the opinions of such as are inclined towards his Majesty or opposed to him. The Emperor has promised to remunerate him handsomely at the first "*Consulta,*" and he will depart post-wise. Don Garcia [di Toledo] has come from England, and will not go to Milan until the arrival here of the Duke of Alva.

Brussels, 6th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 6.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), vol. 69, p. 108, tergo.

46. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople.

Have heard through several advices, that the Emperor and the most Christian King were to send commissioners to the borders of Picardy, to treat a certain composition between their Majesties; with the intervention also of the agents of England, which news he is to communicate to the Porte.

Ayes, 135. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

1555.
April 6.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. 69, p. 108 tergo.

47. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the Conference of Marck.

As we are expecting shortly, from the Imperial and French courts, and also from England, letters announcing with greater certainty and foundation the result of this conference and negotiation for peace or agreement:

Put to the ballot, that the present matter about writing to Constantinople be deferred until the arrival of the letters aforesaid, so that the news to be despatched thither may be pondered exactly (*integramente*).

Ayes, 63. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

48. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot Brisegno [Trissino ?] departed this morning post-wise for Rome, and the Emperor, after having had many letters given him addressed to Cardinals, sent to say that when mounting on horseback, he was to go to his Majesty, who chose to tell him by word of mouth on what persons his Ambassador may rely, with regard to their exerting themselves well, to rule the others in their election of the Pope; and whom he is, in fact, to support without causing suspicion, they being (I have heard) Morone and England. The Emperor sent the list of these Cardinals to his son, and to his [the Emperor's] brother, that they may write in conformity.

The Queen of England writes to her Ambassador, and Cardinal Pole to the Emperor, that the King of France informs him that he is content to send his commissioners, on the 20th or 25th instant. When this was announced to the Bishop of Arras, (who returned from Antwerp last evening,) with a request that he would communicate it to the Emperor immediately, that he might decide forthwith, the Bishop replied that the Emperor had sent for him, for no other purpose than to decide about the commissioners for the conference; saying that to-morrow he would give him the reply; adding as it were with a laugh* that the term which the King seemed to desire, was too brief; and that would to God he wished for peace as truly as the Emperor does. Monsr. Benincourt [Bugnicourt], Governor of Artois, after being despatched by Queen Maria, with the hope of having speedily to make the necessary preparations, has returned post-wise to the Emperor to let him again know that the French are so increasing their forces everywhere, and have so many means, that unless he speedily strengthen his garrisons and send to pay the soldiers, he will lose many places; the governor exonerating himself from any disaster which may occur hereafter; and that the Spaniards in Hesdin had demanded the three arrears of pay which were due to them *within six days, as otherwise they would mutiny.*

Will not ask for audience, not merely because the Emperor is ill in bed, and refused it to the Ambassador from Florence, who demanded it most earnestly for many days to speak to him about

* Aggiongendo con un modo di rider.

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the provision to be made for the affairs of Sienna, but because it was denied thrice to the English Ambassador, who wished to speak to his Majesty about the peace, and had orders from the Queen not to allow himself to be referred to the ministers, and also because Don Pedro de Vargas told him, Badoer, that many maladroit Ambassadors, and others, regardless of the Emperor's serious indisposition, and great present anxieties, complain of not being able to have audience of him.

Brussels, 7th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

49. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Wrote last on the 4th instant,* on which day they heard the news of the Pope's death, as transmitted express from Augsburg by the most Serene King of the Romans, and confirmed subsequently by Monsignor Bia, a gentleman in the service of the Cardinal of Trent, who despatched him in haste to the Emperor and King Philip. Though as yet neither the King nor the Legate have any news or certainty from Rome, yet do they not doubt the fact.† Cardinal Pole, being utterly devoid of all ambition and desire, (*lontanissimo da ogni ambitione et passione*) will remain here, as intended by him, he being also indisposed with catarrh causing a little fever, which has confined him to his bed for the last two days, though thus far it is not considered a thing of any importance. It is not thought that the King and Queen will urge him to move, even should the conclave be prolonged, and that he could go thither conveniently. Nor is it supposed that the conference appointed to be held on the other side of the Channel will on account of this death, be impeded or delayed by the Emperor, the nomination of whose plenipotentiaries is expected hourly; but on the part of France they rather anticipate delay, not only by reason of the absence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, one of the negotiators, appointed by the King, and who is expected to set out for Italy immediately with the other Cardinals, but also because his most Christian Majesty will perhaps choose to delay and await the election of the new Pope. So as soon as the Emperor's nomination is known it will be sent off to France immediately, and as the Secretary Robertet is waiting here for the purpose, he will soon dispel this suspense.

I am assured that the Duke of Alva, besides the other causes and considerations assigned by me, is detained here by the Emperor until the decision of Don Ferrante be known, it being contrary to his Majesty's custom, and indecorous for Don Ferrante, to await the Duke's removal before succeeding to his post, unless he be first provided for (*se prima non e provvisto et rissoluto ciò che habbi esser di lui*). This decision must by this time be manifest, for two days ago King Philip sent back the courier Portiglio with his answer to

* Letter not found.

† Pope Julius III. died at Rome 23rd March 1555. (*See* l'Art de vérifier les Dates.)

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the Emperor's letter on this subject. *From what I hear on good authority, it is not at all in accordance with the will* (al voler) *either of Don Ferrante or of the Emperor, for* (perchè), *although his Imperial Majesty* (sua Cesarea Maestà) *by an autograph letter* (bollettino), *insisted on his being requited* (compiaciuto) *with the post of Lord High Chamberlain* [*of King Philip*], *and Don Ferrante announced his acceptance of it during the Duke's absence, binding himself to give it back to him should he resign his governments of Italy, provided he* [*Don Ferrante*] *were then given the government of Naples; yet notwithstanding this, all the Spanish noblemen of the Court made strong suit* (gagliarda instantia) *against Don Ferrante, having risen to a man, though not one of them had the courage to remonstrate with the King by word of mouth, but through his confessor** (*to whom they had recourse as to a person who is active and busies himself much in negotiations and speaks freely*) *they let his Majesty know, that were he to confer this office, they would all desert him and go back to Spain, making a semi-protest* (con un mezzo protesto), *that they would not receive commands from Don Ferrante, laying to his charge so many acts of rapine, infidelity, insolence, and other crimes, that it would be more to the honour and service of his Majesty to have him beheaded as an example for other ministers, instead of keeping him about his person in such a capacity. This announcement made by the Friar† greatly disturbed and irritated the King, who thus perceived the opinion entertained by his courtiers of Don Ferrante* (vedendo in qual opinione delli sui, esso Signor si trovi), *and how great a commotion would take place here in his court were the post of Lord High Chamberlain to be conferred on him, so that although at first he was inclined to obey the Emperor, he has now determined* (*as told me on excellent authority*) *by no means to gratify Don Ferrante* (a modo alcuno compiacerlo), *persisting in the first offer sent to him through the Secretary Erasso, of* 40 . . . . *crowns* (scudi) *annual revenue, on feudatories* (vassali) *in the kingdom of Naples, and* 20,000 *crowns* (scudi) *ready money as a gratuity whether in or out of service* (servendo ò non servendo). *Requests these particulars may be kept secret as they deserve to be.*

Whilst writing this letter, is informed that [Edward] Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, has at length obtained his entire release ‡ through the graciousness and clemency of their Majesties, and is to

* Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar. (*See* Fox's Martyrology, Part II. p. 145; in Strickland's Mary, p. 547.)

† Alfonso de Castro, whether right or wrong with regard to Don Ferrante, was a conscientious and free-spoken churchman, for early in February 1555, after the burning of prebend Rogers, the rector Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Bishop Hooper, "he preached "before the Court a sermon, inveighing against the wickedness of these executions, "boldly declaring the truth, that the English Bishops learned not in Scripture to burn "anyone for conscience sake. This truly Christian sermon produced an order from "Court, whether from the Queen or her husband is not known, to stop the burnings for "upwards of five weeks." (*See* Fox's Martyrology; in Strickland, as above.) Francisco Alfonso de Castro was a native of Zamora; he accompanied King Philip to England in 1554, and died at Brussels, 13 February 1558, aged 63 years. (*See* Biographical Dictionary, Bassano, 1796.)

‡ The Earl of Devonshire had been removed from the Tower to Fodringham Castle in Northamptonshire, where he was to remain under the care of Sir Thomas Trecham, on the 25th March 1554. (*See* Collins' Peerage, vol. 6, p. 258. Ed. London, 1812.)

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go to the court this day, to kiss hands; and that it will soon be followed by that of the Lady Elizabeth likewise.* This act is the more agreeable to the whole kingdom, as it was quite unexpected, everybody supposing that they would not be thought-of until after the Queen's delivery; but the prudence and judgment of these princes have made them choose to render their clemency and liberality more manifest by demonstrating it precisely at this most critical moment (*nelli tempi a ponto più suspetti*), and evincing reliance on the public mind (*mostrando di assicurarsi dell' animo di ciascuno*), most especially on the nobility and chief personages.

On the departure of the court,† they did not fail to give orders for the removal of all those ordinaries (*ridotti*) where gentlemen usually assembled to eat and gamble, and in which many persons got together and talked seditiously; the masters of these places having been commanded, under heavy penalties, never for the future to give admission to any one.

A few days ago, 40 *miles hence in the county of Essex, a slight insurrection occurred* (occorse meza solevatione) *on account of the religion, because Lord Ricre* (*sic*) [*William, third Lord Dacre, of Gillesland?*] *having by order of the Government escorted certain heretics condemned to be burnt, so great a concourse of persons assembled at this spectacle, that it was incredible; and when about to be executed, they most vehemently exhorted the multitude to persevere in their religion, and endure as they themselves did, any persecution or any torment; which so moved the people that the Governor was apprehensive of an attack on himself and his officials* (li sui ministri) *and of their being maltreated, very strong language* (parole gagliardissime) *having been used against those who ordered the execution* (che faceva la esecutione), *and passed this sentence, on men of such piety and constancy, whom they, the people, considered the holiest of martyrs.*‡

London, 8th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 8. **50.** Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

Has received the letter which the King wrote him by the Marquis de las Navas;§ and thereby, and by the Marquis's verbal statement,

* The Lady Elizabeth arrived a prisoner at Whitehall from Ashridge on the 23rd February 1554; on the 18th March she was lodged in the Tower; on the 19th or 20th she was conveyed by water from Tower wharf to Richmond, and next day proceeded thence to Woodstock, where she was still a prisoner when the Venetian Ambassador wrote this despatch.

† In Machyn's Diary, the removal of the King and Queen to Hampton Court is dated 4th April.

‡ Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, men of some small property in Essex, Pigot and Knight, suffered in different parts of Essex; Lawrence was burnt at Colchester. (See Froude, vol. 6, pp. 333, 334.) Pigot was a butcher, Knight a barber, and Lawrence a priest. Lord Dacre seems to have been a soldier by profession, as Machyn, date 22 July 1557, records the presence in London of his "lyght hors-men to go [beyond] see," so it may be inferred that a military force presided at these executions, and that Lord Dacre, being in the pay of the crown, was ordered to Essex for this purpose.

§ The Marquis de las Navas, Don Pedro Davila, was Maggior Domo to Philip II. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

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has heard how much his Majesty regrets the news of the Pope's death, thus demonstrating his great piety; and for what the King is pleased to tell Pole, condescending to ask his opinion, he thanks him with all due respect and affection, nor will he weary his Majesty by saying anything farther; having made such reply as necessary to the Marquis.

From London, 8th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

51. Written reply of CARDINAL POLE to the MARQUIS DE LAS NAVAS.

As for his greater satisfaction, the Marquis requests an answer in writing to the proposals made by him in the name of King Philip on occasion of the Pope's death; Pole tells him in the first place, with regard to his remaining in England or going to Rome for the election of the new Pope, that as the death of his holiness has not cancelled Pole's legation, and the affairs of the religion and the peace being already advanced as they are, he should not think it fitting his place and station now to abandon and leave them imperfect unless he received some other express commission from the College of Cardinals, most especially as his presence at Rome could only influence the election by one single vote; nor is it probable, owing to the length of the journey and his age, that he could arrive in time. Secondly, as to what King Philip should do, Pole would think it becoming their Majesties' piety, that they should write a letter to the Sacred College condoling in the first place on the death of his holiness, and exhorting and praying the cardinals to elect such a person as the great need of Christendom, and especially of England, requires, so that the obedience to the apostolic see there may be maintained and confirmed. When sending this letter to their ambassadors,* their Majesties might desire them to send it by an express to the Sacred College, they also writing to condole, etc., and enquiring either by letter or by word of mouth through their messenger, what they are to do, whether to go straight to Rome, or to wait in some neighbouring place, until the election. Thirdly, with regard to the matter of the peace, perceiving the good commencement made, Pole would be of opinion that this unforeseen event ought not to cause any change, but rather be a reason for hastening the conference, which, besides being for the general advantage, may cause the election to proceed more quietly. Pole is also of opinion that their Majesties would obtain a great reputation for piety, were they to observe in England the holy order issued by Gregory X. at the Council of Lyons, that on the death of the Pope, obsequies be celebrated by the clergy in all the great cities and towns, after which prayers to be offered up daily for that the election of the new Pope may prove a good one.

London, 8th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* The Embassy set out from Calais on the 27th February 1555, and seems to have been at Milan on the 12th April 1555. (*See* Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 1, p. 81.)

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April 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

52. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of the Queen of England has sent to tell me, that the reply received by him from the Bishop of Arras, about sending commissioners to treat the peace, was that the Emperor is willing to send them to Gravelines, but on the 26th instant, and not on the 10th proximo, nor merely two as the King of France said he wished, but four commissioners with two secretaries besides, who are already designated in the Emperor's mind, with the exception of one whom he would refer to his son: that he had sent for Queen Maria to proclaim them (*per proclamarli*) and give them their commissions; and that it was well that the Ambassador should not yet despatch the courier, but await the reply until her arrival, when she would immediately acquaint him with the decision, and he could write to his Queen to announce it through the secretary Robertet to his most Christian Majesty, who would answer whether it had his approval. This reply, being unexpected by the Ambassador, caused him to say he suspected that his Queen being too simple (*troppo buona*) was labouring in vain, because this did not seem to him the way whereby to arrive at the conclusion of the peace with such speed as necessary. *It seems, however,* to certain persons acquainted *with the Emperor's affairs, that his Majesty knows that by awaiting the Queen's delivery—which if auspicious, as he hopes, may greatly benefit all his interests—and procrastinating until he sees this result, in that case, his son might dispose of England, which he evidently cannot do at present.*

Besides the commission given by his Majesty to the Abbot Brisegno [Trissino?] about the Pope's election, and the letters to several cardinals, the Emperor wrote a general one to the College saying he had no partiality (*affettione*) for any candidate, and would oppose none, but wished for a pope of any nation who shall procure the real welfare of Christendom; and besides the Cardinals Morone and England, the Florentine Ambassador says the Emperor has at heart the Cardinal of Fanno (*sic*) [Fano?].

The delegates from Pavia and Cremona who were returning from England with Dr. Rosses (*sic*) the Spaniard, and others, are said to have been taken by the French on their passage across to Calais.

Brussels, 9th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

53. Phebo Capella, Venetian Secretary in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On hearing of the Pope's death, seven cardinals departed hence for Marseilles in order to embark on board the fleet which has been recalled from Corsica for this purpose, and that they may go to Rome by sea. Two have remained behind, on account of old age, and Lorraine that he may attend the conference. The seven who went, are Tournon, ... Vendôme, Guise, Chatillon, Lenoncourt, and Hannebaut; those who remain are Bourbon and Giuri.

Melun, 10th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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April 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

54. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Queen Maria has appointed as commissioners, the Bishop of Arras, Monsr. de Lalain, Governor of Hainault, Monsr. de Benincourt, Governor of Artois, Dr. Viglius, President of the Queen's Council, and the President of Mechlin, the sixth being reserved for the King of England; and when the Queen's Ambassador enquired his name, they would not tell it him, hinting that it might be the Duke of Alva, should the King not think it more necessary to send him to Italy, in which case Don Ferrante, or the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo, will be taken into consideration. Monsr. de Praet, whose nomination I announced, has excused himself, by reason of his being seriously indisposed. Concerning the time of their departure, Queen Maria and the Bishop of Arras said that the Emperor referred it to the Queen of England.

Brussels, 11th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

55. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After Queen Maria had told the English Ambassador the Emperor's resolve about the commissioners, the Bishop of Arras and the Secretary Vargas went to the Nuncio, who is ill in bed, to tell him the whole, that by writing to Rome he might testify the Emperor's good will and the means employed by him to effect an adjustment with his most Christian Majesty, and desiring him to give notice of this to the Cardinal Legate Pole in England, who has written to the Emperor, that he will not renounce the negotiation of the peace, which is so important for Christendom, by going to Rome for the papal election, exhorting his Majesty to determine forthwith on the nomination of commissioners, as, on hearing of their appointment, the Lord Chancellor of England would cross to Calais to hasten the meeting of those elected by both sides; and to-day the English Ambassador despatched a courier (who had been kept back) with this announcement.

Don Ferrante remains at Antwerp, because the reply from the King of England, which the Emperor told him to await, has not arrived, and because they have not paid him, either the twenty thousand crowns ready money, or the nine thousand for which his guard and retinue are creditors. To obtain these sums, Secretary Erasso went to Antwerp, but was unable to get the money from the merchants, as they demanded security from Don Ferrante, who said he would not give it, as should the twenty-nine thousand crowns not be paid he would have to pay them himself; but that he would be security for Erasso, provided he bind himself to make the payment at Milan from certain funds (which could not fail) mentioned by Don Ferrante, they being given as security to the merchants. *His Excellency, and many persons at this court, greatly marvel at this mode of proceeding towards him contrary to all the promises which he received from the Emperor; and he said that with or without the money, he shall depart immediately.*

The aforesaid Secretary Erasso, and a treasurer sent by the King

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of England, are endeavouring to obtain a loan of 200,000 crowns from the Fuggers, for the passage (*l'andata*) into Italy of the Duke of Alva, and from other merchants [they are contracting] for 100,000 crowns, receiving as security, for twelve years, a new duty upon alum which was being treated with the commissioner sent heretofore by the late Pope; about which merchants he (Badoer) had written to the Doge in a former letter.

Brussels, 12th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

56. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Secretary Erasso has paid Don Ferrante six thousand crowns of the twenty-nine thousand which were promised him, saying that he would soon provide the rest; and his Excellency, having received through Don Diego de Acuña, the reply that the King of England gave him full permission (*le dava buona licentia*), he seemed satisfied with it, and departed for Italy with a few followers, as the Spaniards of his guard, after receiving their pay, remained in these parts by his leave.

Brussels, 13th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

57. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Alva returned hither this day from the Court,* the King having despatched his business and dismissed him for Italy, and in a day or two at the latest he will proceed to the sea-side; several armed vessels having, at his request, been long waiting at Dover to convey him. He is the bearer of 200,000 ducats, provided for him lately by King Philip's treasurer (*il Thesoriere di questa Maestà*) at Antwerp, through a loan (*partito*) raised there, and takes with him, together with his two sons (the one being legitimate and his eldest, the other, of whom he is very fond, illegitimate), the Duchess, his wife, whom he will leave immediately on landing, and proceed post-wise. He is also accompanied by Colonel Hieronymo da Pisa; all the captains and soldiers who were here having preceded him, all having been promised employment. It is said that this colonel will have the post of Quarter-Master General (*Maestro di Campo*); he was so well received here at the court, and in such esteem there universally, above all with the King, that on departure, his Majesty gave him a gold chain worth a thousand crowns, promising him, at his first consultation (*consulta*) with the Emperor, to obtain for him a commandery yielding a thousand crowns revenue, to pair well with the order of St. James, conferred on him by his Imperial Majesty. It is said that by means of this colonel, four of the chief noblemen and gentlemen of Italy have taken service with King Philip; their names, as yet unknown, to be divulged on the Duke's arrival.

* The King and Queen removed from London to Hampton Court on the 3rd April. (*See* Machyn, p. 84.)

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Owing to this departure of the Duke, it has been under consideration (*si è parlato*) to form a privy council (*consiglio secreto*), for the affairs of the war and of state; of which King Philip has great need, remaining here alone, without anybody about him of sufficient authority and experience in similar negotiations. I am told on good authority, that his Majesty—on finding Don Ferrante determined to return to Italy, as he was not employed to his liking, and that not only had he taken leave of the Emperor, but had already quitted Brussels, and perhaps Antwerp, on account of not having received the reply expected by him, and which he promised the Emperor he would wait for there,—perceiving his dissatisfaction, and stimulated by the great need his Majesty has of some such person in the Council,—changed his resolve, and sent an express after him with a long autograph letter purporting that he again calls him to his presence, promising to give him such post about his person as shall be to his honour and satisfaction; it not being known whether the post will be that of Lord High Chamberlain (*maggiordomo maggiore*), or some other. I am told that the courier has orders to follow him on his journey until he come up with him; and that on the evening before last was . . . . . [words in MS. corroded] secretly, which if true, will soon be known.

Cardinal Pole's indisposition which at first seemed not to be [severe] increased so violently, a malignant fever having never left him for five consecutive days, that not only his own attendants (*li suoi*) but the physicians themselves despaired of his life; and the former being more tender and apprehensive than the latter, their extreme affliction and dismay, especially that of Monsignor Priuli, was too piteous a sight; but through the aid and grace of the Almighty, his right reverend lordship is not only better, but out of danger, having already passed four days without fever, though so weak and exhausted that all who see him well know how much he must have suffered; he himself confessing that he has escaped a very great danger. He is now intent on taking rest and gaining strength, that he may be able, if necessary, to cross the Channel for this conference.

King Philip has written to the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, and given him orders in conformity it is supposed with those of the Emperor to prefer Cardinal Pole to all the other candidates for the Popedom, and that this be made known to all the Cardinals his Majesty's adherents (*che sia preposto a tutti gli altri nella elettion del Papato, et che così sia fatto sapere a tutti li Cardinali confidenti di sua Maestà*).

Yesterday, Easter day, a great outrage (*un grandissimo caso*), was committed in the parish church of St. Margaret, Westminster, for whilst the priest in canonicals was standing at the altar with the chalice in his hand, full of consecrated wafers, giving the communion as usual on that day to the parishioners, he was suddenly assaulted by an Englishman, said to be a plebeian* (*persona popolare*), with a

* This plebeian, a monk of Ely, by name Fowler, *alias* Branch, was burnt for this assault on the 24th April following, outside St. Margaret's churchyard. (*See* Machyn's Diary, pp. 84, 85.)

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naked sword in his hand, and in a violent rage, who, after saying that by the idolatry which he committed he deceived the crowd of souls there assembled, with other disgusting language (*con altre parole stomacose*), gave him two such deep wounds, one on the hand, and the other on the head, that he fell as if dead, causing such an uproar and tumult, in part from the shrieks of the women and the multitude of persons there present who witnessed this frightful scene, and partly from the crowd drawn thither by the noise, and who on entering the church pursued this wretch with drawn weapons to put him to death, that it was wonderful. Persons who did not know the cause, and especially the strangers, believed that with that opportunity the English had risen for the purpose of killing the Spaniards and all the other foreigners who dwell for the most part in that quarter; so everybody, most especially the Spaniards, were in great alarm. But on hearing what had happened, quiet was restored, the malefactor being seized; and the popular clamour not allowing of his being put to death, he was given into the hands of the law officials to be kept in charge for greater and more severe punishment and penalty.

London, 15th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 20. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

58. Cardinal Pole to the Archbishop of Conza [Girolamo Muzzarelli], Nuncio at Bussels.

Last evening by her Secretary of the Council, the Queen sent to show Pole the letter she is writing to her ambassador in France charging him to tell the King how much she rejoiced at his being so well disposed towards the peace, and that she likewise had performed every good office with the Emperor, from whom, on account of his indisposition, she could not receive his nomination sooner. As already stated, he appointed five persons for the conference,* leaving the choice of the sixth to the Queen, who, although she had already made it, would not mention the name until she knew the Emperor's will. The Queen herself will send the Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, and Paget, saying that for the public service Pole likewise would go; and as to the time, she supposed it would not be delayed beyond the 10th of May; and Secretary Robertet departs with this decision. Pole has written to the Bishop of Viterbo, that on hearing the time appointed for the departure of the Queen's commissioners, he will proceed to cross the Channel, being now, by God's grace, in a state to do so,† and refers himself for the rest to the letters written by him to the Abbot of San Saluto.

From London, 20th April 1555.

P.S.—Having written thus far, received letters from the Sacred College of Cardinals announcing the Pope's death, and inviting him to Rome for the election of his successor; but the distance, and Pole's inability to perform so long a journey speedily, being weak since his illness, excuse him amply, in addition to which there is the

* The letter containing this notice has not been found.

† Trovandomi hora per grazia di Dio in dispositione di poterlo far.

1555.

important affair of the peace now in course of negotiation. Pole wishes to know if Conza has recovered his health, and whether the Emperor and the King of France are content that he and the Bishop of Viterbo should attend the conference, which would give Pole great satisfaction.

[*Italian.*]

April 20 ?

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x. No date of time or place. Printed in Vol. 5, pp. 7-9, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c., without any date whatever.

59. Cardinal Pole to Pope Marcello II.*

Congratulates him on his accession to the popedom. The new Pope has always desired the reform of the Church, and will now have the comfort to receive the ambassadors sent to Rome by England, who can bear witness to him how that realm, which so greatly disfigured the Church (*in quo ecclesia maxime fuit deformata*), has returned to the faith. On the other hand, the moment is not far distant when the sovereigns will be at peace, and at the conference about to take place the most Serene Queen of England and his Holiness's Legate will act as pacificators. By this consolation the new Pope is encouraged at this arduous commencement of his reign. With regard to himself individually, in like manner as Pole heretofore was linked to him by voluntary affection, so is he now, in right of obedience, which is so pleasant to him that, instead of being sent on a legation from his Holiness's side, he would fain give assistance beside him, and serve in his presence (*non jam de latere S. V. missus, legatione pro eâ fungi, sed ad latus ei assistere, et coram inservire*); this indeed would be most pleasant to him, but whatever the Pope shall command him will be yet more agreeable.

[London, 20th April 1555 ?]

[*Latin,* 48 *lines.*]

April 21.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

60. Cardinal Pole to Henry II., King of France.

Monsieur de Fresnes delivered to him the King's most gracious letter, and announced his Majesty's constant good disposition in favour of the peace, much to his comfort. Subsequently the Emperor's decision was received, as the King will hear from Monsieur de Fresnes and from the ambassador of the Queen, who has ordered him to acquaint the King with the whole, that he may see how well and zealously disposed she is towards this holy affair, to which Pole hopes the Almighty will grant the desired result.

From London, 21st April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 21.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

61. Cardinal Pole to Anne de Montmorency, Constable.

By the letters from the King and from the Constable and from Monsieur de Fresnes has heard, much to his comfort, that his Majesty and his lordship are satisfied with what has been done about the peace. With regard to the nomination of the personages of the Emperor's Council, and the time to be appointed, the Queen has communicated with Monsieur de Fresnes, and charged her ambassador to acquaint his most Christian Majesty with the

* Pope Marcello II. was elected on the 9th April 1555, and died on the following 1st of May.

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decision, which Pole hopes will satisfy him, and that without awaiting further reply he will send his deputies to the appointed place at the time proposed by the Queen, knowing that the Emperor, by reason of his ailments, is sometimes wont to delay his resolves.

Pole took the liberty of exhorting Monsieur de Fresnes to remain longer than he was inclined to do, hoping that the King would approve of this office, and be satisfied with the decision. Refers him for farther particulars to Monsieur de Fresnes, the bearer of the present letter.

From London, 21st April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

62. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Received their letters of the 5th instant, with the Turkish advices down to the 2nd March, *and also those of the 6th, acquainting him with the statement made the day before by the French ambassador about the future conference between the ministers of the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty.* Not knowing for certain on what day the most noble Soranzo would arrive, and wishing to execute the commission given me, *I went to the Court, and was introduced by the Constable to the King, to whom I said how agreeable and satisfactory had been the loving office performed by his ambassador with your Serenity, and how greatly you desired the peace and union of Christendom; to which he replied that if God granted him the grace to stipulate a peace or any other agreement, your Serenity would be mentioned in it amongst his chief friends.* After I had communicated the advices from Constantinople, the news of the Pope's election having arrived the day before, the King said it pleased him, hoping that, from his Holiness's past life, he would be a good Pope; that he had retained his own name, and would be Marcello II., and chose to be crowned immediately, to avoid cost and pomp. The whole court approves of the election, and the cardinals, who were to have gone by sea, and Vendôme by land, will return without having endured much fatigue on the journey, or suffered in the conclave, which was of very short duration. *On the first news of the conference, his most Christian Majesty sent Robertet to England, both on this account and to fix the time; and the French ministry, thinking that his return is too long delayed, and that his remaining thus in England might perhaps discredit France, the Constable told the writer that they had desired him to return immediately, as should the English have anything to say about the time of meeting or other matters, they can impart it to the French ambassador; but yesterday, when Capella left the Court, Robertet had not yet come back.*

The Emperor is said to have a large number of infantry near the French borders, but not united, and he has lately had 60 pieces of artillery taken to Arras.

Melun, 21st April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555.
April 22.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File No. 20.

63. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the PROVEDITOR OF PESCHIERA. Their reply to inquiries about the Bishop of Ely and Viscount Montagu.

In reply to yours of the 19th instant, demanding our orders about admitting into the fortress of Peschiera the ambassadors of the most Serene King and Queen of England on their way to Rome; we inform you that, according to advice received from our secretary at Milan, we are well nigh certain that the said ambassadors are not coming at present to this city, nor will they even turn aside into our territory, but proceed down the Po, in order to betake themselves to Rome by the shortest road.* As it might nevertheless happen to them to change their course, our opinion is that you do admit into that fortress the ambassadors aforesaid, together with 25 or 30 of their attendants in all, apologizing on the plea of limited space and inconvenient accommodation, making the rest of their retinue lodge outside in the other places and neighbouring villages as well as may be (*al meglio che si potrà*); to which effect we have given orders to the governors of Verona to provide those places with hay and oats for the horses, and other necessaries, so that they be lodged commodiously; and you will see to their getting what they require, for their money.

We desire you to evince every becoming mark of goodwill and courtesy towards these ambassadors, in conformity with the orders given to our other governors, and as suited to the good friendship maintained by us with the aforesaid most Serene King and Queen.

With regard to your election of an overseer, in lieu of the one deceased, we can only tell you that we will let you know our intention and will about that election as soon as possible.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 28.
Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

64. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has written to the Queen of England, and desired the Bishop of Arras to tell her ambassador that he is ready to send the commissioners to Gravelines whenever the Queen pleases. The ambassador replied that Her Majesty was in daily expectation of the decision from the King of France, to whom she had written to send his commissioners to Ardres on the 20th May; that on hearing of their election she would send three commissioners with Cardinal Pole; and that she had written to the Emperor to send his commissioners.

After the arrival here of the news sent by the Vice-Legate of Bologna to the Nuncio, announcing the election of the Pope, five days elapsed before the Emperor received confirmation of the same from his ministers. Although the Nuncio had ordained that when

* "The journey of the Queen's Ambassadors unto Rome, anno 1555," published by Lord Hardwicke, shows that the Bishop of Ely and Lord Montagu were at Milan in that year, from the 12th to the 17th April, when they went to Lodi and Piacenza, at which last place they remained the 20th and 21st; arrived at Cremona on the 22nd, remaining there the 23rd; they then went to Mantua, and were at Ferrara on the 25th.

1555.

celebrating the masses his Holiness should be named as usual, his Majesty did not choose his chaplain to make mention of him until he had the advice for certain (*fino che non havesse l'aviso certo*), and also because at first the Spaniards did not all believe this intelligence, showing that it displeased them. But having heard that the Cardinal of Trent was the first to "adore" his Holiness (*ch'el Cardinal di Trento è stato primo ad adorar sua Santità*), they say they hope he may be a good one, and that His Majesty is very glad of it, he having appointed Don Juan de Mendoza, gentleman of the mouth (*gentilhuomo della bocca*),* who will depart in two or three days postwise, to congratulate the Pope. The Emperor has also written to the King of England to send hither the ambassador destined to reside in ordinary [at Rome] in lieu of the one now there, that he may convey his Majesty's congratulations likewise.

Brussels, 28th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

65. Cardinal Pole to Queen Mary; translated into Italian from the English.

Having been informed last evening by Secretary Petre that Cardinal Santa Croce [Marcello Cervino] has been created Pope, he was extremely glad, having experience of his goodness, doctrine (*dottrina*), and other rare and excellent qualities; so the best may be hoped for the consolation of the Church committed to his care, and for all Christendom; and Pole having heard that to-day would not be the moment for troubling her Majesty by going [to Hampton Court],† he congratulates her and the King on this event, being certain that by reason of their great zeal and affection for the Church, the more testimonials they receive of the merits of the person whom it has pleased God to elect for its head, the greater will be their satisfaction. Can render testimony to this effect, from his experience of the present Pope, and the intercourse he has had with him, being always of opinion that he deserved this grade. Pole's joy is also increased by this election, as he considers it an evident mark of the Almighty's great graciousness; and in like manner as He granted it to the prayers of his Church, it being, as it were, a parturition, giving to the world such a common‡ [father], so may He also do with respect to the two other births which are expected, giving the Queen a son for their Prince and King, and to Christendom that peace which is desired. They should the more fervently continue praying for these two acts of grace, from the hope derived from the first; and thus may God omnipotent of his mercy grant, long preserving Her Majesty in all prosperity, not only for the advantage and consolation of England, but of many other countries likewise.

From Richmond, 28th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* "Esquire carver" in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Mary, p. 172, entry 369.

† The reason may be inferred from the following entry in Machyn's Diary: "The last day of April tidings came to London that the Queen's grace was delivered of a prince."

‡ "Un tal co'mun" (sic).

1555.
April 28 ?

66. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP and QUEEN MARY.

MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. cl. x. No date. Printed in Vol. 5, pp. 36, 41, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c. without any date.

The death of Julius III. [23 March 1555] did not make their Majesties forget the gifts sent them through the Nuncio, Antonio Agostini, nor did the malady which seized Pole the day after he received the demand of the King and Queen for an explanation of their meaning, make him forget his obligation,* which he satisfies the more willingly, as the explanations he has to give them represent and record the duties of a sovereign.

These gifts being blessed by the Vicar of Christ on earth, to whom He gave the right of blessing, the sword with the cincture and cap (*pileo*) [of maintenance],† which was the first gift, is blessed on the night of the birth of Christ, whom, as Scripture says, God to us *benedicentem misit*, to remind those who obtain the advantage of the sword (*utilem gladii*), which is the power of justice, that if they wish to exercise it rightly and salutarily, they must first comprehend that they derived it from Christ himself, with whom justice is twin-born, his birth being celebrated on the night on which the sword is blessed.

The true use of the sword is shown by the cap, decorated with pearls, representing a sort of dove; so as, according to the Apostle, the covering of the head indicates its having a Lord to whom it must obey.‡ Those who, together with the sword, receive the cap, are clearly taught that the power of the sword is not to be used by them according to their own arbitrament, but according to that of Him from whom they received it, who is the head and Lord of all; this head being the Holy Spirit, of which the purity (*candor*) of the pearls and the semblance of the dove are symbols.

The minds of sovereigns should be pure as pearls, and their faith remain guileless as the dove; they defending those who do the like (*qui idem faciunt*) with the power of the sword, which they are to wield solely against such as either openly profess themselves the enemies of the Catholic religion, or corrupt the purity of the faith, or transgress against morality and the laws. This is the true use of the sword; this is the signification of the cap.

The golden rose is blessed on the fourth Sunday in Lent, called by the Church "*Dominica Lætare*;" sight and smell rejoice in the flower; and with regard to its being blessed, the Pope, when blessing either the sword or the rose for transmission to kings and princes, prays that from God, through Christ, they may obtain the grace to rule righteously. The two emblems signify that whether when inflicting punishment or bestowing reward, the sovereign has always need of the blessing of God.§

London, 28 April 1555 ?

[*Latin.* 114 *lines.*]

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* By the correspondence of the Ambassador Michiel, it will be seen that Cardinal Pole's illness commenced early in April, his complete recovery being announced on the 29th April, so I date this letter the 28th.

† One of these steel caps, preserved in the Correr Museum at Venice, is precisely of the form of the caps of maintenance represented in English blazonry.

‡ Nam cum velamen capitis, ut Apostolus interpretatur, indicet habere Dominum cui pareat. "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head." (St. Paul, Corinthians I., chap. 11, v. 4.)

§ Such is the account of the last rose, blessed by Julius III. in Lent 1555. In March 1556, Cardinal Pole's rival, Paul IV., when blessing the golden rose, said it was a symbol

1555.
April 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

67. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

By my letters of the 8th instant I wrote it was hoped soon to witness the release of the Lady Elizabeth, so I now inform you that to-day or to-morrow she will certainly be at the Court with their Majesties, *whence for every good reason she will not depart until after the Queen's delivery, it being supposed that in case of her Majesty's demise* (*from which may God preserve us*), *the King's safety and security would depend more on her than on any other person, not only from the hope of being able with the favour of the great men here* (questi grandi), *whom he has already gained and won by rewards, to succeed to the kingdom, by making a second marriage with her, it not being improbable that she also might spontaneously incline that way, as she is well acquainted with his proceedings and character; but even should she, or the country, deny him this, yet by her presence here, and she being in his power, he would at least expect to secure himself better against any rising and danger to himself and his followers, he and they, under her favour, being enabled all of them to depart in safety and security.* (Non essendo difficile che anco ella da se vi inclinasse come ben informata del proceder et natura sua, ma quando pur ciò, ò da Lei, ò da questi del Regno, non li fusse permesso, almeno, perchè con la presentia di Lei, havendola in poter suo, pensarebbe di poter meglio esser assicurato di ogni sollevatione et pericolo contra di se et delli sui, et con il favor suo potersene andar tutti sani et sicuri.) *Besides this release, they moreover do not fail guaranteeing themselves against these dangers* (nelli quali pericoli, non si resta, anco oltra questa liberatione, di attendere quanto più si può ad assicurarsi per altre vie) *by other means, having not only desired all such of the great men here as are considered by them more true and faithful to their Majesties than the rest of the nobility, to assemble at the Court all their retainers* (*of whom, according to the custom of the country, they have generally a great plenty*), *but also given orders to raise* (*as adroitly and secretly as possible, for the avoidance of any display of fear, suspicion, or distrust*) *a large amount of troops, to be quartered in the neighbourhood of the Court, for their greater defence and security, and also to take thither a few pieces of artillery. This same precaution* (diligenza) *has been enjoined in this city,* on account of the many idle rogues here, to whom, in case of any misfortune* (qualche sinistro) *at the time of the delivery, the slightest cause would become the greatest possible for enabling them to sack the houses of the citizens* [*and*] *inhabitants* (persone) [*and*] *all men of wealth indiscriminately* (in universale tutti i ricchi); *so by night a good guard is kept both at the gates and*

of the flowers which preceded the fruits of the Passion, and that therefore the ceremony was performed the week before the Passion. "Disse anco prima, quel che significava la rosa che essa havea benedetto secondo il rito antico, che volea dimostrare i fiori che precedevano i frutti della Passione di Christo, et perciò si benediva la settimana avanti quella." This is recorded by the Venetian Ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, despatch No. 67, date Rome, 28th March 1556 (MS. penes me). Pole and Caraffa were at variance on many points, but with regard to the golden rose, the Pope's explanation of the emblem is probably more correct than that of the Legate.

* As already mentioned, the Court moved from London to Hampton Court on the 3rd April.

1555.

throughout the body of the city, and patrolling it watchfully at all hours, they investigate and observe all that is doing.

The Earl of Devonshire (il Conte di Dansier), *either from his own choice* (sia sua elettione) *or by the counsel and suggestion of others, or rather command, is to depart hence to-day or to-morrow with all his retinue* (con tutti li sui), *and cross the Channel on his way to Brussels, to kiss the Emperor's hand in acknowledgment for the boon* (mercede) *obtained from King Philip, the chief cause* (principal autore) *of his release, and to reside some time* (un pezzo) *at that court, not only for the purpose, as he says, of learning its manners and customs* (lo uso et pratiche di quella), *knowing himself to be devoid of all experience, having been reared and educated in prison until now* (essendo si può dir cresciuto et fino a questa età allevato in prigione), *but also that he may be present and see the war, which, should the adjustment not be effected, will it is feared break out on those frontiers* (quelle frontiere), *it being his intention, after some little while, to go to Italy. Many persons assert that with this plausible pretext they colour* (colorando) *the boundary assigned him, and the commutation of his imprisonment* (et la commutatione della prigione), *though a person in his confidence has told me that the Chancellor* [*Gardyner*] *assured him in the Queen's name that, provided he departed* (che andando), *he might return at his pleasure without further leave from her Majesty, his absence at the moment of the delivery sufficing them* (basta che non si trovarà quì in questa occasione et tempo del parto).

Cardinal Pole, being now quite well, is preparing for his passage across the Channel, and merely waits to hear that the French negotiators have set out, but his right reverend Lordship will be preceded by the Chancellor, that he may make the necessary preparations, so many and such illustrious personages having to assemble in one place. It is already supposed that neither party can be there on the day appointed, which is the 10th proximo, so that the term will be prolonged until the 20th.

King Philip conferred a great favour lately on two noblemen, Lord [Henry] Maltravers, son of the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Fitzwalter,* son of the Earl of Sussex, for both being bridegrooms he was pleased to honour their weddings. He came hither on purpose from Hampton Court with all his chief courtiers to that of Lord Maltravers, which was solemnized (*che si sono finite*) in his father's house, and gave the bride a jewelled necklace, said to be worth a thousand ducats; and at Fitzwalter's wedding, which was solemnized at the court, his Majesty in person, as a mark of greater honour, took part in person with many other gentlemen at a tourney on foot, and armed himself and fought like the others. By such demonstrations he from day to day gains the good will of all.

London, 29th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Thomas Ratcliffe, fourth Lord Fitzwalter, married first Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and secondly Frances Sydney. (*See* Burke's Extinct Peerages.)

1555.
April 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

68. Phebo Capella, Venetian Secretary in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable will depart for the site of the conference.

Laon? (Lion), 29th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

69. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Bishop of Arras has left post-wise for Antwerp, and will soon return and go to Gravelines by the same conveyance. The reply from the Queen of England to the Emperor has arrived, purporting that the King of France consents to send the commissioners, and wishes to shorten the term, by their betaking themselves to Ardres on the 10th instant, instead of on the 20th, as written by the Queen.

Brussels, 1st May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 1.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x. without date, Printed in vol. v. pp. 9–11. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc. dated as above.

70. Cardinal Pole to Pope Marcello II.

Has received two briefs from the Pope, the one addressed to himself, confirming the charge given him by the late Pope, concerning the matter of the religion in England, and the negotiation for the peace with the ministers of the Emperor and of France, who are to attend the conference. In the other to the King and Queen of England, the Pope acquaints them with his accession, and requests them to exert themselves for the auspicious result of the conference for the peace. The King and Queen received the brief willingly, and expressed their readiness to obey the Pope's holy exhortations in all things. The joy (*alacritas*) with which Pole received the Pope's mandate is not to be told; as previously, with whatever authority invested, on hearing of his Holiness's election, he felt himself well nigh powerless without the papal authority and command, which seem to him to warrant fair hopes.

Richmond, 1st May 1555.

[*Latin.* 33 *lines.*]

May 5.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

71. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable will be at Ardres on the 20th, that being the day appointed for the conference; many noblemen and others accompany them, so that their joint retinues (*le loro corte unite*) will amount to about 4,000 horse. Both have fitted themselves out with great pomp, especially the Constable, incurring vast expense both for their attendants, as also for household furniture of gold and silk, being aware of the importance of this congress. Although scarcely arrived, has ascertained *on good authority, that his most Christian Majesty is not much inclined towards peace, and does not care greatly about any adjustment, it seeming to him that his affairs have hitherto proceeded very pros-*

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perously; nor, above all, has he any need of money, having accumulated a considerable sum of gold. But what induced him to send to the conference, was, that being requested to make an agreement, and refusing it, he would seem, as it were, to offend all Christendom; in addition to which, his own people being much straitened by the incessant expenditure, and the nobility impoverished, had he refused to say a word about adjustment, they would have remained dissatisfied, and less ready for the future to take the field. By sending to make the adjustment, in case it be not effected, this demonstration may be of great use to him; and should a truce be made, to which he seems most inclined, he would derive the advantage of greatly recruiting his subjects, and he himself would increase his pecuniary supply for future occasions. Understands, on the other hand, that the Emperor does not seem to give ear to a truce of any sort; but that should it be chosen to make an adjustment, he wishes it to be for peace, implying apparently a hope that the King of France will restore something either in Piedmont or Picardy, by means of a marriage; but from what the writer hears, the most Christian King will give back nothing. Has been told that consequently it would not be easy *to discover a way to make peace,* but that the miracles performed by God in the affairs of England were manifest, most especially with regard to religion; wherefore it may be believed that in this matter likewise God will find a way. There is also another consideration of no slight importance, which seems to warrant hope *of some agreement, namely, the private interest of the Constable, whose son, being the Emperor's prisoner, and he himself growing old, without having hitherto benefited his family in the least, he may be supposed to wish greatly for his release, whereupon it may be considered certain that his most Christian Majesty will make him his Great Master, as he has already promised.* Besides this, has heard that active negotiation has been on foot *for the marriage of this son of his to his most Christian Majesty's bastard daughter, and is assured that the negotiation is so far advanced that, were this release to take place, it might be supposed that the match would follow. But although such important considerations might, to a certain extent, warp the Constable's judgment* (offuscare la mente del Contestabile), *and prevent him from considering his most Christian Majesty's advantage, it will be so maintained by the intervention of the Cardinal of Lorraine, that their reciprocal rivalry will prevent any agreement save such as shall be beneficial to the French crown; and this is the motive which prevented the Cardinal from going to Rome for the Pope's election.*

Paris, 5th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

72. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Tuesday the last of the month, at daybreak, a report circulated that the night before, between the 5th and 6th hour (half an

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hour after midnight, the sun setting at 7.30), the most Serene Queen had been delivered of a male child with little pain and no danger. Owing to this news, as firmly believed and asserted by everybody, even by the magistrates and royal officials (*ministri regij*), the people made public demonstrations of joy, by shutting the shops, processions in the churches, ringing the bells, public tables being spread with wine and viands for all comers; and although it was day there were bonfires in the streets, which was astonishing (*che fu una cosa grande*). But in the afternoon, several persons having returned from the Court with a truer account, the falsity of the report became manifest, for not only had the delivery not taken place, but neither had any of the symptoms which precede delivery manifested themselves; nor is it to be told how much this dispirited everybody.

The original source of this report is not yet well known, and many persons suppose the thing to have been done designedly by order rather than by accident (*volendo molti che studiosamente ciò fusse fatto fare, più presto che a caso*). As this, however, is all conjecture, it will suffice for me to refer it to your Serenity's judgment.*

The Earl of Pembroke has been unexpectedly recalled from Calais, he expecting to remain there some time, having sent for his wife, who was already on her way. Persons the best informed attribute this return solely to King Philip's wish to have him about his person at the time of this delivery, relying greatly, let happen what may, on his fidelity and power (*assicurandosi assai in ogni caso che potesse succedere nella fede et poter suo*), and on being able to make better use of him here than across the Channel; and should it be necessary to make any provision, *either by covertly mustering troops, as has apparently been ordered, or for anything else,* through his numerous followers (*per il gran seguito che ha*) he will be able to do it better than all the others.

As written by me, the Lady Elizabeth came to the Court very privately, accompanied by three or four of her women, and as many more [male] servants (*accompagnata da tre, ò quattro delle sue donne, et altrettanti servitori*), but was neither met nor received by any one, and was placed in the apartment (*nelle stanze*) of the Duke of Alva, where she lives in retirement (*retirata*), not having been seen by any one save once or twice by their Majesties, by private stairs (*per vie secrete*).†]

I am told by a person of authority, that as Don Ferrante refused to stir, after his Majesty's second invitation and offers for him to come hither, it being necessary to appoint a president of the Council, the Bishop of Arras (*Monsr. di Arras*) *will come to assume*

* "The xxx. day of Aprell and the last day of Aprell thydynges cam to London that the Queen ('s) grace was delevered of a prynce, and so ther was grett ryngyng thrugh London, and divers plases *Te Deum laudamus* songe, and the morrow after yt was tornyd odurways to the plesur of God!" (*See* Machyn's Diary, p. 86.)

† "A week later, on an evening in the beginning of July, Lady Clarence, Mary's favourite attendant, brought a message that the Queen was expecting her sister in her room. The Princess was led across the garden in the dusk, and introduced by a back staircase into the royal apartments." (*See* Froude, vol. 6, p. 358, date July 1555. ed. 1860.)

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that post, the Duke of Savoy being appointed, but not proclaimed, Captain General of the States and Provinces of Flanders; and it is also told me that on his return from Italy, his marriage with the Duchess of Lorraine, which was treated here, and is supposed to be nearly settled, will take place.

The election of the Pope* has greatly comforted Cardinal Pole, who considers it advantageous; his Holiness has sent him the confirmation of his legatine office, and given him notice at the same time of a strong representation (*un gagliardo officio*) made to him by the ambassadors of the Emperor and the King [of France?], both in the same terms, touching the peace, the Pope charging him to carry on the negotiation. His Holiness has also written to King Philip to negotiate the peace, his Majesty in return being about to send a gentleman to visit and congratulate him especially (*particolarmente*) in his own name, the Queen's ambassadors being ordered to tender obedience in two forms (*di prestar doppia obedientia*), both respecting the union of this Church with the Church of Rome, according to their [original] commission, and with regard to that which is usually tendered by all Catholic princes on the creation of pontiffs.

Yesterday the French ambassador's secretary arrived with letters from France, dated 30th April, purporting that when his most Christian Majesty heard of the Emperor's appointment of the six commissioners for the conference, he did not think fit to add to the number of his own, contenting himself with the two named by him at first (*contentandosi delli due primi*), who will assuredly be at the appointed place on the 20th instant; so the commissioners here (*questi Signori che sono quà*) will set out in the course of this week. Lord Paget and the Earl of Pembroke had been appointed in addition, to attend with the Chancellor, all three in the name of her Majesty, but the Earl having been recalled, Paget and Gardyner will go alone (*ma essendo stato richiamato il Conte, andaranno li dui*).

Father Sot (*sic*) (Soto), heretofore the Emperor's confessor, has arrived here, called by their Majesties, by the advice of Cardinal Pole, to assist in regulating (*a riordinar*) the affairs of the monasteries and religious institutions; his right reverend Lordship deferring greatly (*attribuisce assai*) to his judgment, as he is a very exemplary person.

A Neapolitan nobleman of the Brancacio family has also arrived as ambassador from Queen Bonna of Poland,† to offer congratulations on the auspicious events of religion, and he has brought as presents a very beautiful fount, and some other pieces of plate, together with several fine horses and sables (*gibellini*).‡

The surrender of Sienna was heard first by letters of the 21st ultimo in 11 days, and subsequently through Messer Averardo de'

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* Marcello II. (Marcello Cervino), elected A.D. 1555, April 9, died of apoplexy in the night of the 30th of the same month.

† Bonna Sforza, widow of Sigismund, King of Poland, and mother of the reigning King Sigismund Augustus.

‡ Martens'-skins, not live martens.

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Medici, who was despatched for this purpose by the Duke of Florence, and although the joy he brought was great, it would have been greater still were they to see the end of the war in those parts (*et non ha portato, anchor che molta, tutta quella allegrezza, che havrebbe fatto, se si vedesse finita la guerra in quelle parti*).

London, 6th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 8. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti. Venetian Archives.

73. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. [Sir Francis?] Englefeld and Mr. James Basset.

Mr. Basset, I have received your letters, by which I perceived the pains that you have taken in furthering the order of my affairs, for which I most heartily thank you. I like the indenture and letter of attorney marvellously well, and accordingly have set my hand and seal, requiring you that touching the sale of my manor you and the rest will vouchsafe to use great circumspection, for the land is wonderful good, having on it 200 acres, at the least, of timber, with many other commodities, insomuch that I had an offer made me of 30 years purchase and more for it. I think it very necessary that there be a survey thereof first made substantially, whereby the value may perfectly be known, and how most money may be made thereof, of which I pray you let me have knowledge before it be clearly made away.

Touching my abode here, it only hath been, as I doubt not you both confide and know, for the despatch of these my private and most necessary affairs, and for my letters to Mr. Gresham, for the receipt of my thousand marks, the which I could by no means go without, the declaration whereof I most instantly require you not to omit when time and occasion shall serve. And now that I am at a point with the premises I intend, God willing, to-morrow morning very early to go forward with all expedition possible; howbeit I am of force constrained to go first to Antwerp before I go to Brussels, forasmuch as the little furniture that I have with me cometh thither, and I [have] with myself nothing else than only such things as I should ride in post withal; howbeit I intend to make none abode there, but without delay to go from thence to the Emperor's Court.

I have promised Mr. Loo and Mr. Blunt that they shall receive 200*l.* at the coming-up of my money, to be divided between them, the which I pray you let them not fail to have. I pray you to have me humbly commended to my Lord Chancellor, and to render unto him my most hearty thanks for this letter that he hath sent to Mr. Gresham touching me, and to my Lord Treasurer also, and let not my most hearty commendations and thanks to Mr. Comptroller be forgotten. I shall also require you not to omit my commendations to Mr. Waldgrave and his bedfellow, to Mr. Ryse, and to Mr. Kempe your bedfellow, with such other my friends as you shall think convenient. And I pray you let the shortness of time and the haste of my journey be my excuse unto such as doth justly look that I should have written unto

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them. I pray you also to do my humble commendations to my Lord Cardinal's grace, to my good father the King's confessor [Alfonso de Castro], and Father Angelo, and to Signior Ruy Gomez, and I most instantly require you that though these be not the first that be put in, yet let them not be the last that be done. I have accordingly to your advice put Mr. Solicitor jointly in commission with you, as you may by the letter of attorney perceive, unto whom I shall think myself very much bound if he will now in my absence take some pains and show me friendship accordingly, which I shall not fail by God's grace to acquit, thus praying you to take in good part that I cumber you with these my private affairs. I recommend you to Almighty God, praying Him to acquit you for the infinite benefits which I have and daily do receive by you, and amongst the rest I may not forget to give you thanks for particularly that you writ unto me of the good estate and health of the King's and Queen's Majesties, for whom I shall not cease daily to pray, and that God will shortly send us a prince to make us all merry withal.

This viiith of May 1555, scribbled in great haste, by yours most assuredly, from Calais.

(Signed) E. D.

I pray you let Mr. Englefeld be always one at the passing of my great affairs, as he both hath some sight in the laws, and I have in him also an assured trust that he will use some diligence therein. Touching my man Bedlowe, I would not you should esteem him so as I mean or meant to use him as a counsellor, but as a messenger. I have no other to signify unto you worth writing now, and therefore for this time I commit you to God, in great haste as you may see.

Mr. Englefeld, I have received your letters of the 6th of this month, whereby I perceive you be contented to take pains and charges with my affairs, for which I most heartily thank you; in recompense whereof, and a great many other benefits, if it may lie in my power to do you any pleasure, I would think myself very happy, and in few words you may be assured I think myself most bound to be yours in respects whereby I may stand you in stead. I have according to your advice put Mr. Solicitor in the letter of attorney, jointly with you, wherein I shall not fail to acquit if he will vouchsafe to take in hand the charge and pains thereof. Where you persuade me with speed to depart to the Emperor's Majesty, I most heartily thank you for your good advice therein, and you shall understand that my stay hitherto hath been constrained (as I doubt not you know and consider) for the despatch of my private affairs, but these now being somewhat in frame, with all expedition I tomorrow morning go forward towards the Emperor's Majesty, trusting to be there very shortly. I have in a letter to my friend Mr. Basset touched matters more particularly, the which I doubt not he will signify unto you; wherefore for this time being utterly without more leisure, with my hearty commendations, I end, beseeching God to have you in his keeping.

This 8th of May 1555, from Calais.

Yours most assuredly,

(Signed) E. D.

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Basset, I pray you let there be no general survey of my whole revenues until you hear further from me, but only of this one lordship. And I pray you, before you pass any matter of weight, I may hear from you, if I be not so very far from you that the distance of the place enforce the same.

(Endorsed by the same hand :)

To Mr. Bassat and Mr. Englefeld, the 8th of May 1555.

(And again endorsed by the same hand :)

To Mr. Englefeld and Mr. Bassat, 8 May 1555, from Calais.

[*Original draft, with corrections.*]

May 8. Filza, No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

74. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. William Cordell, the Solicitor General.

Right worshipful, after my right hearty commendations unto you. Understanding by my "very friend" Mr. Basset and others the earnest friendship (more ways than one) you have always borne towards me, I cannot but render unto you my very hearty thanks for the same, assuring you (as occasion may serve me) you shall find my good will ready to acquit the same. And now because I am constrained through my absence from my native country to trouble divers my friends (among whom I accompt upon you, as one of my most assured), I am at this time much desirous to pray you, with Mr. Comptroller and others, to take the pains about sundry my affairs, according to a letter of attorney [which] doth import the same, wherein I have put your name, and have sent the same, signed and sealed, according to the draft I have received from you. Thus I commit you to God.

From Calais, the 8th of May 1555.

Your assured friend,
(Signed) E. D.

(Endorsed by the same hand :)

To Mr. Cordall, solyciter, from Calais, the 8th of May 1555.

(And again by the same hand, on another fold :)

Mr. William Cordell, solycitor, 8th of May 1555, from Calais.

[*Original draft, with corrections.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

75. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The day after to-morrow Lord Paget and the Earl of Arundel, who has been appointed by the Queen in lieu of the Earl of Pembroke, depart on their way to cross the Channel, being both sent in advance to prepare in the [open] country, on such site as they shall find most convenient for all parties, where the frontiers of France, Flanders, and England join, the quarters for these personages who are to attend the conference, it not being thought fit for them to assemble in a castle, or walled place. Should there be time, they will have wooden houses built; if not, they will pitch tents and pavilions in the military fashion (*ad uso di guerra*) for their habitation merely during the day, as at night they will all lodge in some town of their own hard by, and not remain in the [open] country. The whole of this cost will be defrayed by the most

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Serene Queen, who has not failed to give Cardinal Pole 1,500*l.* sterling, to enable him to spend more largely on this occasion, as will be done by his most illustrious lordship, and all these personages.*

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable will be accompanied, not as principals but as their dependents, by the Bishops of Orleans and of Vannes,† namely De Morvilliers, heretofore ambassador at Venice, and De Marillac, late ambassador here, they being "of the long robe" (*uomini di robba longa*), as their countrymen style them; and with them comes the secretary Aubespine.

The courier now despatched conveys the renewal of the ambassadors' commission in the name of the present Pontiff, to enable them to perform the office enjoined them.

London, 9th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

76. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day, when with one of the chief personages of the Court, who was formerly his very confidential friend, heard from him that the commencement of this conference proceeded from the Constable, who desired the brother of the French ambassador in England to take an opportunity for letting the Bishop of Winchester know that his Excellency wished for the peace, and that the Queen of England herself should be mediatrix for it; to which Her Majesty having given ear, several letters passed between the Constable and the Bishop of Winchester. The Emperor having assented to the negotiation, the Constable then informed the Bishop through the same channel, that he wished for the conference, which the Queen, by means of Cardinal Pole, having proposed to both sides, his most Christian Majesty named the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine. Although this same personage (who knows the fact) assured me that as yet there has been no commencement of any particulars, everything being reserved for the conference, he nevertheless said that knowing the Constable to be so inclined towards the peace, as my informant said he certainly was, the matter is very doubtful, and must be judged at the close (che conviene stare molto in dubbio e giudicare il fine); *and he moreover said for certain that as yet the Emperor has announced no intention whatever of a truce.*

Melun, 10th May 1555.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

77. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday, the Bishop of Arras returned from Antwerp with four posters (*con quattro poste*), having been sent for by the Emperor, that he might send him off to Gravelines, for which

* Et tutti questi Signori; meaning, I believe, the English commissioners. Cardinal Pole represented the Pope at this conference, nor can I ascertain that he had any credentials from Queen Mary.

† In the MS. "*di Vanes.*" In the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar (12 December 1556, p. 280), it is seen that Charles de Marillac was then Archbishop of Vienne, to which see he was translated from Vannes in 1555, but I do not know in what month. (*See* Bibliothèque Sacrée, "Vienne, Archevêques de," vol. 26, p. 131, ed. Paris, 1827.)

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place he will depart postwise tomorrow, and the other commissioners have already set out travelling by day [with their own horses?] (*si sono già incaminati in giornata*). The Lord Legate Pole, and the other commissioners of the Queen of England, write to the Nuncio here, and to her Majesty's ambassador, to urge the departure of the Bishop of Arras, as the French commissioners are hastening the conference for the 10th or 15th instant. It is said that the Emperor having heard that the French commissioners are coming with great pomp, has assigned large salaries to his own commissioners, so that all may entertain the English commissioners (*acciochè tutti tengano tavola ai commissarij Englesi*), who will be the first to go and see the Imperialists; and then that they may reciprocate the French demonstrations, in case they confer together, the Emperor gives each of the Flemish commissioners twenty crowns per diem, and sixty crowns per diem to the Bishop of Arras; and to all of them he has given money for one month.

Dr. Malopra, who was left here by the Duke of Savoy as his ambassador,* asked leave of the Emperor to go to this conference for the negotiation of peace, in order to further the interests of his master, and having obtained it, departed yesterday for Gravelines.

The Nuncio here, in like manner, wrote to Cardinal Pole that he also wished to attend, and Pole replied that, although invested with Legatine authority, yet is he not authorised to grant that which appertains to the Pope alone, or may be conceded by the Emperor.†

The Earl of Pembroke, who was at Calais, having been appointed third commissioner for the Queen of England, has crossed the Channel on a summons from the King; some persons say because the ministers know him to be unfit for this negotiation, as he neither speaks nor understands any other language than the English. Others are of opinion that the King and Queen wish to have him near them in case of any accident in those parts, he being their Majesties' lieutenant, a faithful subject, and one who has very great authority in that kingdom.

Lord Courtenay has arrived at Calais, announcing his intention of remaining some time at this court, and then going to Italy to see Rome and Venice; but I have heard that the Emperor gave orders to cause him, by adroit means (*con destro modo*), tô leave England, and especially before the Queen's delivery, he being a personage of such great authority in that country, as known to your Serenity.

The Earl of Bedford has come hither with letters of recommendation from the King of England to the Emperor, he also saying that he purposes going to see Italy; and he took occasion to assert that he, however, does not wish to speak to the Emperor, nor does he intend to ask any favour of him, but that the King gave him the letter spontaneously.

Three days ago Filippo Doria arrived here, and two hours afterwards was sent for by the Emperor, who despatched him to England.

Brussels, 10th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* The intelligencer, John Sheres, mentions this diplomatist, date 10 June 1557. (*See* Foreign Calendar, p. 315.)

† O può esser sodisfatto dall' Imperator.

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May 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

78. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The ambassador from the Queen of England, having this morning received a courier, went immediately to the Bishop of Arras, and told him that Her Majesty had got a positive reply from the most Christian King. Touching the election of the six commissioners made by the Emperor, with regard to the Duke de Medina Celi, the King of France said no one could have pleased him more, by reason of the recollection he has of the many courtesies received by his father King Francis from the said Duke's father, who had him in custody during his most Christian Majesty's imprisonment; and respecting the Bishop of Arras, he said that as the Emperor considered him his right hand, he could not but approve of him; and he also seemed satisfied with the four Flemings, as they were honourable gentlemen, and the good kinsfolk of some of his own vassals. The French King added that he could only send five commissioners, tne sixth having been taken ill, but that he was nevertheless content that the Emperor should not dispense with any of the six; and then went on to say that, although the Constable said heretofore that they would assemble on the 10th or 15th instant, it would be well not to do so until the 20th, in order to go more conveniently. Sir John Masone then presented a safe-conduct from his most Christian Majesty, authorising the Imperial commissioners to resort to Ardres; requesting the Emperor to have a similar pass made, that it might be sent to the French commissioners. The Bishop of Arras replied that he augured well of the result of this conference, the most Christian King having expressed himself so well disposed towards all the commissioners of his Imperial Majesty, to whom he would make the report and ask for the order to draw up this safe-conduct; that as for the procrastination, it suited him individually and the other Imperial commissioners, as it would give them time to put their retinue into mourning; and that, although he had intended to depart to-day, he would delay his journey.

Brussels, 11th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.
Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

79. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

I have visited the Duke of Alva, and congratulated him in your Serenity's name on his well-being, and on the great dignity conferred on him by the King of England in reward for his great merits (*molte virtù*), expressing my belief that by reason of his good will and address he would regulate matters in such a way as to produce great quiet in Italy. He told me in reply that the intention of both their Majesties was that whilst in Italy, and especially in the Milanese, he should, to use his own words, do service to the Signory, whose good friend and servant he would be; and it is said his departure will be now hastened, owing to the fear at this court lest the Cardinal of Ferrara be elected Pope, concerning which matter the Duke of Ferrara and the Emperor's ambassador at Rome have

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sent two couriers, who arrived yesterday, the ambassador asking the Emperor's orders, and suggesting that the Marquis of Marignano, with such troops as he had at his disposal, should approach Rome.

The Bishop of Arras departed post-wise this day for Antwerp, where he will remain two or three days to serve Queen Maria and the King of England by assisting the conclusion of certain loans which are being negotiated; and it is said that Domenico d'Arbeo, who came heretofore, has already contracted one for 150,000 crowns, and 100,000 are expected hourly by the ships from Spain, part of which will be given to the ambassador of the Duke of Florence, who sent his son to the Queen to urge this payment, and the Emperor gave orders for this money to be paid him, on account of the expenses incurred for the affairs of Sienna. The Bishop of Arras will also confer with the Queen about the new reform which she purposes making at present of the law officers of Antwerp, and concerning the despatch of the rest of the prisoners,* for whose satisfaction she has added three councillors of the town of Antwerp, in addition to the council of Brabant. When these affairs are settled, his right reverend Lordship will depart to negotiate the peace, and the most Serene Queens† will return hither.

Don Francesco of Este has written to the secretary of the Duke [of Ferrara], his brother, to present a letter to the Bishop of Arras, and to obtain a reply. It is said he demands 7,000 crowns due to him from the Emperor. The English ambassador, having been very earnestly requested by the Earl of Bedford‡ to obtain leave [for him] to depart for Italy, has been twice to the Bishop of Arras, telling him that the Earl does not require any favour from the Emperor, nor has he any occasion to speak to his Majesty, although the King of England was pleased to write the Emperor a letter of recommendation for him, and that therefore, with his Imperial Majesty's good leave, he would set out. The Bishop of Arras answered Sir John Masone that the Emperor wished to see the Earl of Bedford, and that he should therefore remain until his Majesty was somewhat better, and that the Duke of Alva would introduce him; and the Earl was heard to say that it seemed to him as if he were kept prisoner here. It is supposed that the like will befall Lord Courtenay, for the reasons written by me to your Serenity.

Brussels, 12th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

80. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Two days ago the Duke de Medina left for the Imperial court, having been preceded by Lord Paget on his way to Calais and Guisnes, for the purpose already mentioned. To-day the Chancellor

* "The mutineers of last summer." (*See* Foreign Calendar, February 8–22, 1555, pp. 153, 155.)

† Maria of Hungary and Eleanor of France.

‡ Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, then 27 years old. His father, John Russell, died on the 14th March 1555. (*See* Collins, vol. 1, p. 270, who does not allude to his having left England, or to his having given any umbrage to King Philip and Queen Mary, or to the Government.)

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departed; the Earl of Arundel will do the like to-night, and the day after to-morrow Cardinal Pole will indubitably follow them, as having taken leave of their Majesties [at Hampton Court] we expect him here to-day. They all take great retinues with them, having put their household and attendants (*la casa et servidori loro*) into livery, so they will make a fine show, and cause many persons to wish themselves present at so noble and renowned a congress.

Supposes that its negotiations will be much more quickly and better known to the Doge through the Venetian ambassadors on the other side of Channel than through him, owing to the impediment and difficulty which he experiences by reason of the sea passage, and from which they are exempt. *There came hither lately the Count of Arignano, having been sent by the Duke of Savoy, not only to reside here as his Excellency's agent* (homo di Sua Eccellenza) *during his absence from these parts, but, as told me by one who knows, to protect the negotiation for his marriage with the Duchess of Lorraine, that it may not proceed farther* (chè non vadi più oltra) *until the result of this conference be seen, the Duke himself desiring to be free and not bound by words, nor by anything else* (nè di altro), *with regard to marriage during the whole time of this negotiation, that he may then decide as he shall deem most to his honour and advantage according to the offers* [*made him*]. *France on her part likewise, as I am told* (come intendo), *has announced the intention and given hope of doing him more honour and accommodating him better than will be done here* (chè non sarà di qui), *hinting that he might possibly marry the King's sister, Madame Margaret; so the Duke informed Cardinal Pole, considering him a good instrument for the purpose.*

Certain knaves in this country (alcuni tristi di questo paese) *endeavour daily to disturb the peace and quiet and present state of the kingdom, so as if possible to induce some novelty and insurrection, there having been privily circulated* (occultamente publicato) *of late throughout the city a "Dialogue," written and printed in English, full of seditious and scandalous things against the religion and government, as also against the Council, the Parliament, and chiefly against their Majesties' persons* (et la persona principalmente di queste Maestà); *and although all diligence has been used for the discovery of the authors, no light on the subject has yet been obtained, save that an Italian has been put in the Tower, he being a master for teaching the Italian tongue to Milady Elizabeth, some suspicion having been apparently entertained of him.* (Et sebbene si sia fatta, et si facci tuttavia ogni diligentia per trovar li autori di tal compositione, fin quì non se ne ha alcun lume, eccetto che è stato posto in Torre un' Italiano, maestro di insegnar la lingua Italiana a Miladi Elisabet, sopra il qual pare che si habbia qualche sospetto.) *The edition* (publicatione) *of the "Dialogue" was so copious* (è stata in tanta copia) *that a thousand copies* (volumi) *have been taken to the* [*Lord*] *Mayor, who, by order of their Majesties* (di queste Maestà), *commanded all those who had any of them to bring them to him, under heavy penalties.*

Since Thursday last, the 9th, the most Serene Queen has lived even more private and retired than before, not quitting her chamber

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nor giving audience to anyone, being in such good health as greatly to comfort everybody.

By letters dated Bologna the 3rd from her Majesty's ambassadors, sent in haste, the Pope's death was known here this morning, with no less surprise than universal regret, by reason of the great prospect of good afforded by his election.

London, 13th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 15. Original Despatches, Venetian Archives.

81. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Sir John Masone received the safe-conduct from the Emperor for transmission to the French commissioners, in conformity with the one given by his most Christian Majesty to the Imperialists. On the 13th instant the Duke de Medina Celi and Lord Paget arrived at Calais, where they were expecting Cardinal Pole and the English commissioners. It is said that the Duke will first of all come post-wise to the Emperor, to acquaint him fully with the wish of the King of England about concluding the peace, and then return immediately to Gravelines. Lord Paget has sent a post with letters to the Bishop of Arras, exhorting him not to tarry longer at Antwerp, as he wishes to speak to him before the arrival of the French at Ardres; so the Bishop departed immediately post-wise for Gravelines, having written to the secretary Bavé, who remained here, to depart instantly, as he will find him to-day at Bruges; and to-day the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, without the other French commissioners, were to be at Montreuil.

The English commissioners have prepared several sorts of refreshments to send to the commissioners on both sides; and at the commencement the English will go first to one side and then to the other, and make them meet subsequently at Calais, or at a neighbouring place called Ham (*sic*). The Emperor has ordered all the cavalry bound by contract (*tutte le genti a cavallo obligati*) who were in this city and elsewhere, to go immediately to the garrisons, and all the native infantry are to hold themselves in readiness for whatever may occur, and to go wherever ordered; three thousand pioneers and the Colonel Count of Meghen and Georych Van Holt (*Giorgio Vannol*),* with the infantry raised by Lower Germany, being sent to the neighbourhood of Antwerp, in which place an embargo has been laid on many vessels. These commands, given in haste and peremptorily by the Emperor at this moment, are supposed to have for object, that the peace may be treated with repute, as also, that if it be not effected, the borders and provinces may be protected, and that he may anticipate the King; and moreover, that in case the Queen of England die in childbed, his Majesty's son may secure himself and his interests.

Brussels, 15th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* In the original despatch the names are misspelt, and the correct orthography—in this as in many other instances—is derived from the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar.

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May 15.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

82. Cardinal Pole to Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France.

Has received the Constable's letters of the 10th instant from Monsr. de Noailles, who also told him of the King's good disposition in favour of the peace, and of the Constable's diligence about his journey to the conference, much to Pole's satisfaction; he having moreover heard of the departure of the Emperor's commissioners, which was to take place on the 9th of this month. Without further delay Pole will commence his journey to-day, with the intention of arriving at Calais on the 19th or 20th. Would not have delayed his departure so long had it not been that he wished to give time to the English commissioners, who departed hence three days ago, to make the necessary preparations on the spot; and also because he received a letter from Monsr. de Lansac dated Boulogne the 12th instant, announcing his commission from the King to confer with the Chancellor and Pole on their arrival at Calais, for which reason likewise he will yet more hasten his journey.

From London, 15th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 16.
Parti Secrete Consiglio X. File No. 9.

83. Motion made in the Council of Ten, about intercession made by Charles V. and King Philip, for repeal of the sentence passed on one of the accomplices of Lodovico da l'Armi.

When the Imperial ambassador and the ambassador from the King of England return into the College for the decision about the safe conduct demanded for Marco Antonio Erizzo, be they answered by the Doge with his usual wisdom, in the name of this Council, in conformity with what his Serenity has now represented as having been said by him to the Imperial ambassador aforesaid in this matter, expressing himself in such a way that their magnificencies may know that our wish would be to gratify their Majesties, but apologising on the plea of the atrocity of the case.*

Ayes, 23; Noes, 3; Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

(May 18.)
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

84. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Medina Celi, who arrived postwise on the day before yesterday, to speak to the Emperor by order of the King of England, for the cause written in my last despatch, departed yesterday for Gravelines, whither the other Imperial commissioners have betaken themselves. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable were expected to-day at Ardres, and the other three French commissioners were to arrive in the course of three days. Those of the Queen of England have erected a wooden lodging (*alloggiamento*) in the country, near Guisnes and Ham, midway between Ardres and

* Marco Antonio Erizzo had been convicted as an accomplice in the murder of his uncle Mafio Bernardo, for which crime he was banished for life to the islands of Cherso and Ossero, and had probably escaped from thence. (*See* Venetian Calendar, vol. v. p. 215.)

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Gravelines, where they will reside (*dove staranno*); and when the others shall have betaken themselves to their places, they will go and congratulate them on their having come for so good a purpose, and inspect their commissions, for the purpose of subsequently commencing the negotiation of the peace. It is said that the right reverend Legate will not go to visit either of the parties, but will act (*si adopererà*) when both shall be on the spot.

This morning a courier arrived from England, with letters from the King and Queen addressed to the Emperor, requesting him most earnestly (*efficacissimamente*) to write to his adherents at Rome in favour of Cardinal Pole, and not take into account that his right reverend Lordship does not request him so to do (*et non considerar che Sua Sigria. Revma. non la ricerchi di cio*); sofor this reason chiefly, and to acquaint all his partisans with the present state of the negotiations for peace, the Emperor this day sent off a despatch to Rome showing that he is no less desirous of it than he is prepared for war.

Lord Courtenay (Il Sigr. Cortiné) [Earl of Devonshire] arrived here yesterday, and the Emperor assigned him a lodging (*li fece dar alloggiamento*); and the day before, his Majesty sent for the Earl of Bedford, receiving him graciously, and giving him leave to go to Italy, which it is said will not be given so immediately to Courtenay.

Brussels, 18th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

85. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The commissioners of the Queen of England arrived at Calais on the 15th instant, Cardinal Pole was expected on the 17th, and the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable reached Ardres on the 15th, the Imperialists being at Gravelines; and on the arrival of the other three French commissioners and of the right reverend Legate, the negotiation for the peace will commence in a plain called Marck in the English territory, distant five miles from Calais, Ardres, and Gravelines, in the wooden lodging (*nell' alloggiamento di legno*) ordered by the Queen. The King of the Romans writes to the Emperor that it having pleased God to call the Queen [Joanna] their mother to himself, and knowing that should peace be made it is the Emperor's intention to cross to Spain, he wishes to confer with him; so he would fain know whether he purposes making the journey through Italy, or by way of England, that he may wait for him at Augsburg, or come to see him in Flanders. The Imperial troops are mustering between Namur and Marienburg, the French forces likewise marching in the same direction, with the intention of preventing the Imperialists from erecting a fortress near Marienburg, for which purpose the 3,000 pioneers mentioned by me were sent thither. *Last evening a Spaniard arrived here postwise, sent by the King of England to the Emperor to tell him of the many libels which have been thrown into several houses and about the streets to his own dishonour and that of the Queen, for the purpose of making the people rebel against their Majesties, asking advice whether he ought to proceed against the inventor of this device*

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(di tal fatto); *giving him notice also of the suspicion entertained by them that the Queen had died in childbed.*

To-morrow the Duchess of Alva will depart for Italy.

Brussels, 19th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 19. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

86. Cardinal Pole to Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France.

On his arrival here yesterday, heard by the Constable's letter of the 16th from Montreuil, and by the verbal statement of Monsieur de Lansac, that he purposed being at Ardres next Monday. Is very glad of this, as it confirms his hopes of peace. The Bishop of Arras has arrived at Gravelines. Has answered the Constable's enquiries made through Monsieur de Lansac, as also his letter from Paris of the 8th.

Calais, 19th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

87. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador resident here has lately negotiated the release of certain delegates (*ambasciatori*) who were sent from Cremona, Lodi, and Novara to the King of England, and who were captured by his most Christian Majesty's ships between Dover and Calais, and after much discussion the resolve announced to the ambassador was to the effect that had they been going to England on the service of the Queen they would have been released immediately, by reason of the good peace between France and her, but as amongst the papers of the delegates (*ambasciatori*) their commissions were found, showing that they were going to negotiate with the King about his own affairs, in which the Queen has no interest whatever, they were rightfully made prisoners and taken to Paris.

The Cardinal de Tournon will arrive at the court to-day, having been called by the King that he may make use of him during the absence of the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Melun, 20th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

88. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Cardinal Pole arrived at Calais on the 18th instant, but the three remaining French commissioners had not reached Ardres. Lord Paget, the commissioner from the Queen of England, writes that as soon as they come he and his colleagues will spend four days in visiting the Imperial and French commissioners, and awaiting their return of the compliment. The posts which used to come from Calais to Brussels have by the Emperor's order been changed to Antwerp, his Majesty choosing Queen Maria to be the first to open the letters, to save the time lost by sending them from this place. The French commissioners are charged to negotiate a truce for 10 years, and the Imperialists the suspension of hostilities until

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September. A secretary is come to Brussels from the Duke of Mantua to urge the Emperor to have at heart the restitution of the marquisate of Montferrat. The Imperial forces are ordered to Namur, and 1,000 more pioneers have been sent to reinforce the 3,000, it being intended to build a fortress on a site three leagues beyond Marienburg, 1,200 paces in circumference, to secure the province of Namur; besieging, as it were, Marienburg, and facilitating invasion of the French territory and a safe retreat. At Antwerp Queen Maria has reformed the Council, changing all its former members, and adding three merchants, which election of new ministers has very greatly pleased the people and the merchants, and it is said the Queens will return to Brussels this week. Don Ferrante's agent, who departed with him, has come back, and tells me he asked leave to go and stay at his own home in Burgundy, but was desired not to depart until he obtained performance of the promises made him [Don Ferrante] by the Emperor, and until after his interview with King Philip, as both their Majesties have given him to understand that they think of employing him; the secretary adding that, should there be war, they will avail themselves of Don Ferrante, by reason of the necessity for having in Italy a personage of such valour and authority, but too many great things would be needed before they could move him from Mantua; and that in time of peace he considered it certain they would not again employ his Excellency.

A Spanish gentleman has arrived here postwise, sent by Cardinal Pacheco for the purpose, it is said, of praying the Emperor to favour his election as Pope, a demand which surprises the whole court, he not being a man of any ability.

The Duke of Alva, the Duchess, and the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo, departed this morning, and the Duke took with him eight post horses (*et menò seco otto poste*), having had advices yesterday that the cavalry of Marquis Albert, stationed on the Moselle, was no longer there, and that the Princes and free towns, to whom the Emperor wrote, assured him that his Excellency would be well greeted and in safety everywhere; notwithstanding which, he arrayed one of his servants sumptuously, so that on the journey he might be taken for the master. The Spaniards who accompany the Duchess are about 300, on horseback, including some 25 poor gentlemen of the Toledo family. The Italians complain that, having requested the Duke to take them into his service in several military capacities, he would not give any one, as he did to the Spaniards, the sure promise [to that effect]. Two of his Excellency's sons (the one legitimate and the other natural) departed postwise subsequently, and to-morrow will be followed by Don Garcia de Toledo and Don Juan de Figueroa, his Excellency's near relations. Between the Duke's sons and Don Garcia there is a misunderstanding, because the grade of general of the Spanish infantry, of which hope had been given to Don Garcia, was desired by the Duke's son, who caused his father to ask it of the Emperor, but being a youth who gives small indication of military prowess, and not wishing to prejudice Don

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Garcia, his Majesty would not grant it him. On the Duke's arrival in Italy he will receive his Majesty's orders about the bestowal of this grade, and that of the government of Sienna, concerning which, it has been much debated whether Don Garcia, being the brother-in-law of the Duke of Florence,* was adapted to such a post, nor has anything as yet been decided. The Emperor's order is for the Duke of Alva to remain a certain time at Milan, and when he goes to Naples Don Bernardino de Mendoza is to come into the Milanese as his lieutenant there, remaining always apart from the Duke, about whose person it is said there will be the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo and the Colonel Hironimo da Pisa. The Duke's partisans say that, being a personage of great goodness and good intellect, and very adroit in business, being also wealthy, he might do the Emperor and the King good service, as he has done heretofore. *Others say that his Excellency, not having much knowledge of military matters, and being very faint-hearted, and his constitution impaired and feeble, he will be ill able to bear so important a charge; of which his Excellency being aware, he therefore,* since he came from England, has suggested to the Emperor, and well nigh importuned him, to make peace or a good truce (*Altri dicono che non havendo sua Eccellentia molta intelligentia della militia et essendo molto timido di cuore, et fatto adusto et debile di complessione, sarà poco atto a sostenere così importante carico, et perchè sua Eccellentia si conosce tale, ha in tutti i ragionamenti da poi che venne d'Inghilterra ricordato et quasi importunato l'Imperatore a voler la pace ò una buona tregua*), which would be the means of aggrandizing his family and kinsfolk, he having such powerful enemies as Don Ferrante, the Bishop of Arras, Don Ruy Gomez, and well nigh all the grandees of Spain.

The agent of Ascanio Colonna departs today, to reside with his Excellency, to whom the affair of his master has been referred, as likewise all Italian matters.

Brussels, 21st May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

89. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King wished to conceal the death of his grandmother, Queen Joanna of Spain, which, although known so long ago as the beginning of last week, was kept secret until after Queen Mary's delivery; but it being heard subsequently that the event had been published immediately at the Emperor's court, his Majesty was compelled to adapt himself to his father's custom (*uso*), he and his whole court going into mourning without farther delay. Whilst the obsequies and funeral (*mortorio*) are being prepared, his Majesty will seclude himself, and not appear in public until after the performance of this

* In March 1539, Cosmo de Medici married Eleanor, daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples. (*See* L'Art de vérifier les Dates.)

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ceremony, when he will divest himself [of mourning], and for joy of the delivery change his costume, should God be pleased to prosper it. Queen Joanna died on Good Friday the 12th ulto., of this death, which is natural, though of another which is accidental she may be said to have died many years ago. This demise, besides other consequences, will enable their Majesties (*queste Maestà*) to avail themselves of 20,000 or 25,000 ducats per annum, which had been assigned for the expenses and household provision of Queen Joanna, who was waited on precisely as if her royal dignity had undergone no restraint (*la quale non era altrimente servita, come se fusse stata senza alcun impedimento nella sua dignità Regale*).

Here, although matters are now proceeding quietly (*le cose di quà benchè procedino al presente quiete*), yet is everything in suspense, and dependent on the result of this delivery, which, according to the opinion of the physicians, unless it take place at this new phase of the moon two days hence, may be protracted beyond the full [moon], and [its] occultation, on the 4th or 5th of next month (*quando non siegua in questa nuova congiontione di luna che sarà fra dui giorni, possa andar più in là che al tondo et oppositione alli 4 ò 5 dell' altro*);* her Majesty's belly having greatly declined, which is said yet more to indicate the approaching term (*essendosi molto abbassato il ventre a sua Maestà, segno, secondo dicono, di avvicinarsi tuttavia più al fine*).

King Philip gave the same commissions and orders about the fresh election to the Popedom, to the Imperial ambassador at Rome, and to the Cardinals his adherents (*Cardinali confidenti*), as on the former occasion, proposing the most illustrious Legate [in preference] to any [other candidate]; and although the said commissions were then of no use, the election having taken place before they arrived, the present instructions are expected to arrive [in time] and to prove serviceable.

The Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at Boulogne on the 18th, and were to be at Ardres on the 19th; on that same day the Bishop of Arras with the other Imperial Commissioners arrived at Gravelines, and Cardinal Pole, who departed hence after the others, is already known to have made a good passage [to Calais] on Saturday the 18th. All those who are to attend being already assembled, it may be supposed that the negotiation will commence speedily. *I desire to suggest to your Serenity whether you would think it fit, in case any peace be concluded between these Princes, for me to perform any office with his Majesty here* (con questa regia Maestà); *in order that you may be named amongst their friends and confederates. Now that as he is master of Naples and Milan, and will be mentioned distinctively* (hora che sua Maestà come patrona di Napoli et Milano separatamente sarà nominata), *you might give me a commission to that effect, as I dare not speak on the subject without your express order, from lack of which I have hesitated to send any one of my attendants* (un mio) *across the Channel,*

* There was a new moon on the 5th June 1555 (see L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ed. Paris, 1770, p. 82).

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to the conference, so as more authentically and speedily to acquaint you with the negotiation there, from fear, as nobody can make the passage without a permit or unknown to those on whom it depends, of possibly displeasing the parties, and lest my messenger should be ill received, nor did I know how far it might be agreeable to your Serenity; but the other ambassadors will perhaps not have failed to supply this deficiency, they being able to do so with greater convenience and less regard than I (et minor rispetto di me).

The three ships prepared by these English merchants for the voyage to Muscovy and Cathayo (*Cattajo*), being already loaded and supplied with every requisite, will depart this week with greater hope of prosperous navigation out and home than the last time.

The summaries received with your Serenity's letters of the 23rd ult. were communicated as usual.

London, 21st May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

90. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Commissioners who were missing arrived at Ardres on the 20th instant, and they all demanded of the English Commissioners a safe-conduct from King Philip, not being satisfied with the one from the Emperor alone, as his Imperial Majesty might die.

In the place where the Queen of England had the house built, four doors have been made, near each of which is a house, three being for the commissioners, and the fourth for the right reverend Legate; and the first, where the conference is to be held, will be in the centre, and in the evening all will return to their own quarters.

The Imperialists have commenced the fortress near Dinant in a site considered excellent by nature, and Martin Van Holt ? (Martin Vairos—*sic*) is gone with 7,000 infantry to support them.

Cardinal Pacheco's agent has left for England to make the same request to the King that he did to the Emperor, and to give account of his master's proceedings in the kingdom of Naples.

Brussels, 23d May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

91. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Went to Fontainebleau and was invited to dinner by the Duke de Guise, who afterwards presented me to the King. Asked him if he had any news of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable. The King replied that he had advices that his commissioners, with the Imperialists, and the English, and Cardinal Pole likewise, arrived at the places appointed them on the 20th, namely, the French at Ardres, the Imperialists at Gravelines, and the English

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together with Cardinal Pole at Calais, and that his most Christian Majesty's commissioners had sent Mons. de Lansac with the safe-conduct in his name, and were waiting for the Imperialists to do the like; whereupon the day of the conference would be appointed, and that it would take place about the 24th; adding that the English had brought with them five wooden houses to be erected in the open country, one for Cardinal Pole, one for the Imperialists, one for the French, one for the English themselves, and the fifth, in which the conference was to take place, would be in the centre. His Majesty then remaining silent, I asked him what he hoped about peace, in reply to which, the words he uttered were these, "*Peace! either truce or peace; my ministers will not depart from what is reasonable;*" but when pronouncing that first word "*peace,*" he made a certain motion with his body and eyes, whereby it seemed to me to comprehend that there was not much hope of it in his Majesty, who then added, "For the present it is not possible to form any opinion, as the Imperialists say many fair words, and the King of England shows himself very anxious for it; but in two or three conferences, which I hope my ministers will have held by the 10th or 12th of next month, we shall ascertain the fact." After this, continuing the conversation, he said that the Queen of England had not yet brought forth, which began to surprise everybody, but that the ambassador resident here had told him lately that she could not go beyond the 20th of this month; and although some persons chose to disbelieve her pregnancy, and an individual who had seen her Majesty asserted that her body bore no signs whereby any one could vouch for it, yet nevertheless, knowing women's ways (*il proceder che fanno le donne*), his most Christian Majesty was of opinion that she was pregnant, but exceeded her time (*ma che scorresse*), as they often do, but that at any rate the matter will soon be very manifest to everybody.

A very intelligent nobleman of great quality told me in the course of conversation, that as to the will of the King, it was notorious that he was not inclined either towards peace or truce, but that the persuasions of the Constable, of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and of all the others were so stringent, and put his most Christian Majesty to such straits (et metevano sua Maestà Christianissima in così stretti termini), *laying before him the poverty of the people, the death and imprisonment of so many of his subjects, the expense incurred, and other similar matters; that as they had induced him to agree to this conference, so might it be apprehended that finding the mode to make peace well nigh impossible, should the Emperor persist in not consenting to it, these ministers, from their great wish for quiet, may persuade his most Christian Majesty to purchase it by restoring to him some part of what he has in hand; and he gave me a hint about the fortresses retained by him in Tuscany.*

Melun, 23d May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555.
May 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

92. News-letter enclosed in the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, to the Doge and Senate, dated 27th May 1555.

On the 20th instant, Lord Paget went to Gravelines, to visit the Emperor's commissioners (*Deputati*), and on the morrow, did the like by those of the most Christian King at Ardres; and on Ascension-day, the 23d, all the commissioners for either party, together with the Legate (Cardinal Pole) and the English lords, assembled in the country at the place called Marck (*La Marca*),* two leagues equi-distant from Ardres and Gravelines, where, by order and at the cost of the most Serene Queen, wooden lodgings had been prepared for all the aforesaid personages, who were separated from each other by a centre hall in which to meet on the days of the conference.†

At this first congress the English lords arranged that neither the Imperialists nor the French were to have more than a hundred horse, with one single [running] footman for each, which arrangement greatly displeased the French lords, as they had come fully attended, accompanied both by noblemen and prelates, and by gentlemen and servants. By this regulation they were compelled, both Bishops and Knights of St. Michael (*Cavalieri dell' ordine*) as well as the Princes likewise, to take but one stirrup-man (*staffiero*) with them, and for the avoidance of giving offence to any one, owing to the great number of gentlemen there, it was requisite to draw lots for the hundred [horse] who on that occasion were to accompany the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, promising the others, in number 400, who remained at Ardres, that they should go from time to time by lot, in turn, whenever the commissioners shall chance to assemble.

Calais, 23d May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

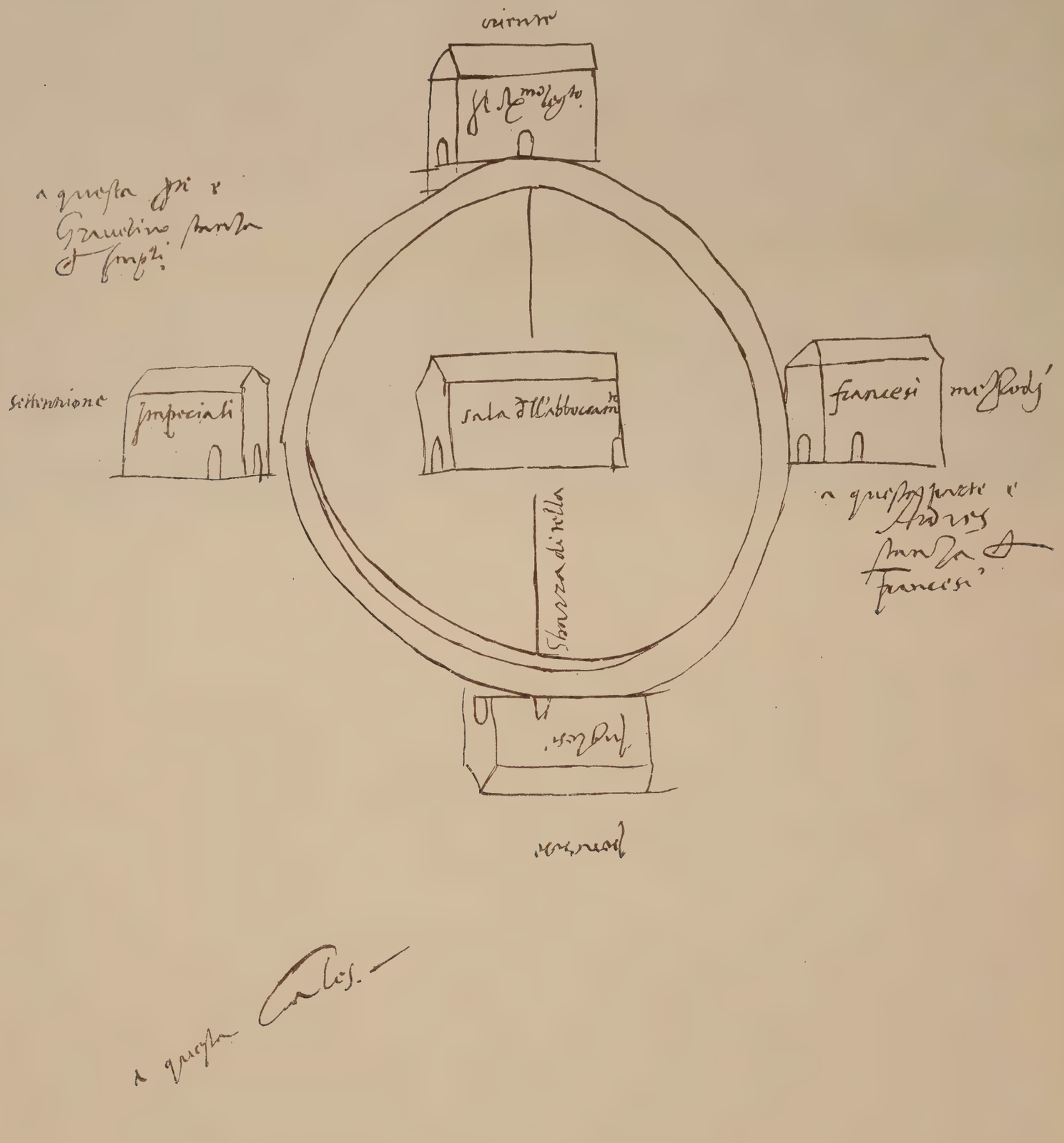
93. News-letter enclosed in the despatch of Giovanni Michiel to the Doge and Senate, dated 1st June.

As determined on Ascension-day, Cardinal Pole with the English commissioners were, at 1 p.m. yesterday, at the site of the conference, where the French commissioners had arrived shortly before, and being taken by the English commissioners to the Cardinal's lodgings (*stanza*), they withdrew into the privy-chamber (*in la camera privata*) where they remained together for upwards of two hours; and on their departure the Imperialists came and remained as long a time or a little less; both parties stating their rights and pretensions, accusing their adversaries and apologising for themselves. In the meanwhile, the French commissioners remained in their own quarters, and when the Imperialists returned to theirs, they were requested by Monsieur de Lansac to discourse together in the common hall (*nella commune casa*) of the conference, where on arriving, being accompanied as usual by the English commissioners, the Cardinal of Lorraine spoke apart with the Bishop of Arras, and the Constable did the like with Monsieur de Benincourt‡ for an hour, during which Cardinal Pole remained in his own apartment;

* A village in the Calais Pale. (*See* Chronicle of Calais.)

† A rough outline of the "wooden-lodgings" accompanies this news-letter.

‡ Benincourt [Bugnicourt], M. de. (*See* Lalain, Ponce de, in the late Mr. Turnbull's Index, 1553–1558.)



Vincent Brooks Day & Son lith.

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but according to report, they merely treated about the Emperor's French prisoners; after which, all having taken leave of each other very courteously, they returned to their lodgings in their towns, departing from the place [Marck] at sunset, having arranged to return to the conference on the morrow.

Calais, 25th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

94. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My very good (*sic*) [Lord?]

I have received two letters from you of the 8th of this instant with the commission to us five (*sic*) [touching?] the bargain and sale with the other box with the patent and the bill for Mr. Comptroller which I delivered; and first touching Mr. Blunt,* I have procured for him to go with my Lord Admiral to the Emperor's court, and being there upon his letter, or my Lord Admiral's in his behalf to Mr. Petre, or to me, I doubt not to obtain his license, as you do wish; and this is thought to be the best way for him, and with less difficulty.

Concerning yourself, that manor you purposed to sell is entailed, as we be informed by Heydon. We have sent for your patent to try the matter certainly, but Heydon declareth upon his credit that it is assuredly so. Also there are other matters in it whereby your purpose therein is frustrate. I cannot at this time discourse as I fain would at length, for want of time, wherefore I will but touch the matter now, deferring the more full declaration thereof to my next letters. Your friends be of the advice, saying your mind cannot be accomplished in this matter. To supply it, the best way is thought to be a general survey, whereby, without any sale of lands or any spoil of wood sale, or any excessive leases, you may be holpen with what will serve your turn, and if you mind to take that way as I . . . ve, which way it can be no (nowe) otherwise than may be, by substantial, skilful, and honest persons, a perfect survey made, whereby it will appear what may be gotten, and the book may be sent thereof unto yourself, by the which you shall be as perfectly instructed as any of us, and nothing to be determined until your Lordship, upon the sight of the book, shall signify your pleasure what you will have us to do in it anew. This way cannot be prejudicial unto you, for the survey being made whereby the state of your lands will fully appear unto you what may be done, yet your Lordship is at your liberty to do as you shall think best when you know it. This is the opinion of those you put in trust.

I trust my Lady your mother shall have a chamber in the Court.

There is 430*l.* which Heydon hath, and will shortly pay for this half year's rent, whereof 200*l.* is paid to Low and Blunt; 100*l.* I shall shortly receive, and for the other 100 I am contented to spare it, to be disbursed among the poorer sort of your creditors

* Query John Blount. *See* Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 66, 1555, May 8, Calais. "Earl of Devonshire to James Basset. Desires him to procure for his uncle John Blount a licence to travel."

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which hath most want, and that as it shall be ordered will satisfy for the time the most part of them. Walker receiveth the money of Heydon, and payeth it out by our order.

I am glad to perceive, as I do by letters from Mr. Bonvisi,* that your Lordship arrived at Brussels about the 15th of May, and especially because I understand the Duke of Alva was not gone before your departure, which the King and Queen wished earnestly, and so did all your friends; and now I desire much to be advised how you were received and used there, which I doubt not was exceeding honourably. I rejoice at the kindness Mr. Bonvisi showeth you.

My Lord Cardinal past over the seas to Calais this day seveñight, and had a goodly passage as might be, and was nothing sick. My Lord Chancellor and my Lord Steward past the Wednesday or Thursday before. On Wednesday last I think all the commissioners met. God grant they may bring their good purpose to happy conclusion.

My Lady Elizabeth is at her full liberty (*sic*, the word "and" erased), yet she remaineth still at the court. She hath seen the Queen's highness twice. I did all your messages and commendations, according to your Lordship's letter, who all were most glad to hear of you, and most humbly and heartily, every one by one, recommendeth them unto you. Your Lordship did well specially to name them, because they might see their names in your letter, and I, for haste, omit them.

Her Majesty, thanks be to God, is in as good health as may be wished, and by the next full of the moon, or shortly thereupon, I perfectly hope in God his goodness we shall have that comfortable news of her Highness' happy and prosperous deliverance.

This, with my duty most humbly remembered, with like thanks for your Lordship's great goodness unto me, I will commit the same to the blessed tuition of Almighty God.

From London, the 25th of May, in great haste, as you may perceive by it.

Your Lordship's most assuredly at commandment,

(Signed) JAMES BASSETT.

Directed: To the right honorable and my verie good Lorde my Lo. of Devon, at Brussels.

Contemporary endorsement; 25 May 1555. Mr. Bassett.

[*Original draft.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

95. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The conference commenced on the 23d, and so far as he has been able to understand, the commissioners on both sides saw each other, but merely exchanged general compliments. The English lords offered themselves to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable as mediators for the negotiations, to which the French commissioners did not consent, *perhaps because they do not trust in*

* The Antwerp merchant, Anthony Bonvisi. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Queen Mary, Index.)

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such negotiating; and they chose the Bishops of Vannes* and Orleans, they also being his most Christian Majesty's commissioners, to negotiate with the Imperialists, and were to meet yesterday, the 25th. For the present they will not negotiate peace, but a truce, or suspension of hostilities, and the most Christian King seems unwilling to stipulate in Piedmont, unless some other agreement be included in the said suspension, as the Marshal de Brissac has informed his Majesty it would be for the benefit of his Majesty's interests to carry on the war in Piedmont, as he has matters on hand which might prove very profitable to his most Christian Majesty.

Melun, 26th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

96. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Bishop of Arras writes that the French commissioners, having heard that he and the other Imperialists had been joined by a few horsemen, so that the number of 100 was exceeded, sent word to the English, that they (the French) also, would send for other troops, and march 10,000 infantry to Ardres. On that same day, Cardinal Pole, having with all the commissioners entered the common hall, made a long speech, saying that they were called to this negotiation for peace by the divine will, and owing to the extreme desire and need of Christendom, exhorting them to keep their minds well disposed, in order to obtain this result; and then, turning to the English, he praised them extremely for the pains they had taken for so divine a work, praying them also to persevere in keeping both sides to their duty (*in contener in officio l'una et l'altra parte*). The Imperialists said that what the Legate had uttered was all just and fair, and to be desired by everybody, and that although the Emperor had received many injuries from the King of France, he was nevertheless willing to suppress his anger, and that he always was and still is inclined to peace. The French also commended the intention and persuasion of the Legate, and although they would not admit that their King had committed any error, they showed that he was not less well inclined towards the peace than the Emperor. The English promised that in like manner as they had laboured by word of mouth, so would they do by deeds, and, taking the Imperialists by the hand, they made them embrace each other, loving and complimentary words being exchanged, and yesterday they were to confer together.

I send a plan (received from the English ambassador) of the lodgings erected in the country.

A great personage has assured me that letters arrived from England to-day, and that he heard in *secret*, for certain, that *the Queen* has given manifest signs *of not being pregnant.*

Lord Courtenay has been sounded (*è stato tentato*) whether he

* Sebastian de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Vannes and Limoges. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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would marry the Duchess of Lorraine, as from what was said by the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo, *the Duke of Savoy* will not have her.

Brussels, 26th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

97. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

By the enclosed "advice" will be seen what has taken place across the Channel, down to the 23rd instant, at the site of the conference. Besides this "advice," his secretary has seen a letter of the same date from the secretary Aubespine (who attends the conference in the name of his King), containing a paragraph word for word as follows:—"We are informed that these Imperialists will come very coldly and slowly to this negotiation, expecting us to offer them something, which is contrary to our instructions, whereby we are ordered to demand many things from them." At the first meeting, when they discussed the mode of negotiating, it was determined that from that day forth neither the Imperial nor the French commissioners were to stir, for the purpose of being together, but that all business was to be treated through the English commissioners and the Legate Cardinal Pole, one or more of the English being sent to and fro for that purpose, with the proposals and replies, according to circumstances; and with the consent of the others Lord Paget proposed a suspension of hostilities on the frontiers there (*a quei confini*), at least during the conference, lest some fresh accident impede the negotiation; which suspension, although not then conceded, would, it was said, be agreed to. Even persons on the spot are unable at this commencement to form any opinion about the result, but if it corresponds with the demonstrations which are made by all the commissioners, and which they continue to make, it cannot at any rate be otherwise than good.

The most Serene Queen continues well as usual, nor hitherto has she felt any movement indicating parturition.

The secretary Mardones, heretofore in the service of Don Pedro de Toledo, came hither lately from Florence, having been first at Brussels with the Emperor and the Duke of Alva. He has been every day lately on very secret business with King Philip and Ruy Gomez, and it can only be inferred that, having given minute information concerning the affairs of that kingdom [of Naples], about which he is thoroughly informed, by reason of the office he held, and owing to his long residence there, they are intent on his recall, for the purpose, it is said, of sending him back to reside at Naples and re-occupy his former post.

The secretary of Cardinal Pacheco also arrived to-day from Naples. He informed the King that by industry and diligence during his government of that kingdom* he collected and saved

* On the death of the Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, in February 1553, the Emperor appointed as his successor Cardinal Pacheco, who arrived at Naples in June of

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180,000 ducats, of which his Majesty can now dispose at his pleasure, nor at this moment could he have brought any better news.

To-day one of the chamberlains of the King, Don Diego de Azevedo, the same who was to have accompanied the Duchess of Alva to Italy, remaining as the Duke's lieutenant at Milan, but was not allowed to depart, the King choosing him to stay here, has left for the Imperial court, to make what the Spaniards call "a compliment of condolence" (*un complimento di condolentia*) with the Emperor and the Queens,* and with the Duchess of Lorraine, on the death of Queen Joanna. Don Diego will endeavour to obtain from the Emperor the post of Treasurer of Aragon, which is now vacant, and which is canvassed very earnestly by him and many others, owing to its emoluments, their Majesties here (*queste Maestà*) recommending him warmly.

Last week a serious affray (*una grossa custione*) took place in the neighbourhood of the court between the English and the Spaniards, and the English multiplied instantaneously to the amount of 500 armed men, of whom, however, before they were parted four or five were killed, and upwards of 25 wounded, and of the Spaniards only five or six were wounded, and one man killed. The affair, although by order of their Majesties concealed, can nevertheless not be kept secret. In that same week a young knave, 18 years old, either from whim and folly, or rather villany, at the instigation of others, proclaimed himself, wherever he went, to be King Edward, and by this feint (*et con questo colore*) being believed to be such, both in the country and here, and many persons pretending to credit him, he raised a tumult amongst the populace. The young rogue, being obstinate and not choosing to retract, was whipped through the city and had his ears cropped.† It is said that another individual of the same humour has been discovered and imprisoned; nor is this a novelty in England, as of yore there was a similar impostor, who represented himself as one of the sons of Edward the 4th, they having been murdered in the Tower, and through the followers whom he induced to support him, King Henry VII. was compelled to raise an army and give him battle; which I mention that your Serenity may comprehend what strange fancies prevail amongst these people, and how much their ideas differ from those of other nations.

London, 27th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Senato Mar, vol. xxxiii. p. 17.

98. Motion made in the Senate.

By letters from Zuan Michiel, ambassador in England, the Senate has heard the great expense he is compelled to incur in that lega-

that year, and on the 25th November 1554 resigned his charge to the Marquis of Pescara, who took possession of the kingdom in the name of King Philip. (*See* Giannone, vol. 4, pp. 97-99.)

* Eleanor and Maria of Austria, widows of Francis of France and Lewis of Hungary.

† This impostor was one William . . . . ., a lackey, as recorded by Machyn, date 21st May 1555. The diarist says he was whipped because he represented himself as a messenger from Edward VI., but does not allude to the cropping of his ears.

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tion, both on account of the great scarcity now prevalent in that kingdom, as also by reason of a variety of occurrences there, since the arrival of the Prince of Spain, compelling the said ambassador from necessity to incur much extraordinary expenditure for the honour and dignity of the post he fills, to the serious cost and detriment of his entire family; for which it being fitting to provide, as before the said nobleman's departure from Venice, the Senate did justly provide for all the other ambassadors—

Put to the ballot, that notwithstanding the restrictive laws with regard to this matter, the Signory's College may present its opinion to the Senate about the provision to be made for what is aforesaid, as has been done heretofore in similar cases.

Ayes, 104; Noes, 47; Neutrals, 4.

Die 27 Maij 1555, lecta Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

99. News-letter enclosed in the Despatch of Giovanni Michiel to the Doge and Senate, dated 6th June.

Since Ascension day the negotiations for the peace have been incessant, nor until now has it been possible to do anything but listen to the demands and pretensions of one side and the other; and whereas it was supposed the French would come determined to restore many things claimed by the Emperor, and of which they have deprived the Empire and other Princes, they now find that the said French have come chiefly to demand the duchy of Milan, urging many rights whereby to prove their title and claims much more clearly than they ever did, and they say that the cessions and agreements (*chè le cessioni et capitulationi*) made by King Francis could not prejudice his son King Henry; whilst on the other hand the Imperialists demand the duchy of Burgundy; so that their disputes seem more on foot than ever, and it will be more difficult to reconcile them than was expected, though we think, nevertheless, that so many personages of importance would not have come hither to increase the disputes instead of adjusting the peace. Although they are somewhat haughty in their demands at the commencement, they will at length come to some fair adjustment, as it would be too great a shame were they to separate in discord; so will wait to see the result and in four or six days they will be better able to form an opinion, and the writer thinks that in a fortnight at the utmost this conference will be ended.

Calais, 28th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

100. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Gives what news he can, though everything is conducted with such extreme caution that they did not even admit the secretaries of the sovereigns themselves. To keep matters more secret the most Christian King has retired with a very small retinue to a little village called Issy, although on pretence of hunting and of giving an

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opportunity for cleansing the palace of Fontainebleau, which from the long residence there of the Court had commenced emitting a stench (*che essendo la Corte lì già molto tempo, cominciava a render mal' odore*).

The Cardinal Legate Pole arrived at Calais on the 15th with the English Lords, namely the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, and the Imperial Lords arrived on the 18th ; the Legate was much pleased at their arriving before the French Lords, who did not come until the 20th. The Imperial Commissioners are the Duke of Medina Celi, the Bishop of Arras, Monsr. de Benincourt,* the President Viglius (*Veglio*),† and the Secretary Bava (*sic*),‡ and for the French side the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Constable, the Bishops of Vannes and Orleans, and the Secretary Aubespine. On the 23rd they conferred together in the apartments (*stantie*) built by the English Lords, and it was agreed that each of the parties for either side was to bring 100 horse and no more. The Imperialists made their appearance clad in mourning for the death of the Emperor's mother, and the French were very pompously attired, and through the mediation of the Legate, both sides having embraced each other very courteously (*con dimostrationi molto officiose*), all persons save the above-mentioned Lords elected and appointed were desired to withdraw ; whereupon Cardinal Pole having placed himself at the head of a table between the English Lords, the Imperialists being on the right and the French on the left, his right reverend Lordship, speaking in Italian, urged them to make the peace so desired by all Christendom, reminding them that as their Princes (*sui principi*) had elected him with the best intention, so also ought they to reciprocate by facts ; and then the Bishop of Winchester showed how much his Queen had toiled in this matter with no other object than the common weal, and devoid of any personal interest. The Duke of Medina Celi next said a few words in Spanish about the good will of the Emperor, and was followed by the Bishop of Arras, showing how much the Emperor wished for peace, and moreover that it should be lasting and sincere; to which the Cardinal of Lorraine replied that the most Christian King was of the same mind, giving assurance that the King would prefer the common weal to his own personal advantage, provided the mode of making the peace was sincere ; and the Constable added a few words of like import. These speeches being ended the secretaries read the commissions of the sovereigns, after which a very handsome collation was brought by English gentlemen, both parties drinking together amicably, and it was arranged for Cardinal Pole and the English Lords to be mediators for the future, so as to facilitate some decision.

Melun, 29th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* Bugnicourt, M. de. *See* Lalain, Ponce de, in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Queen Mary, Index.

† *See* Mr. Turnbull's Index, as above.

‡ Query, Secretary Bave. *See* Mr. Turnbull, as before.

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May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

101. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Sir Robert Rochester, Comptroller.

General thanks for many services. Begs him to give credence to bearer.

The 19th instant "the Duke of Alva brought me to the Emperor's presence, whose Highness used me very honourably, and as me seems his Majesty, God be thanked, is of indifferent good health, which I assure was unto me a great comfort to behold," &c. &c.

Your assured friend,

Brussels, 29th May 1555. (Signed) E. D.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

102. The Same to Mr. Walgrave [Sir Edward Waldegrave?]

Thanks him for service. Asks him to give bearer credence.

Tells him that on Sunday the 19th instant the Duke of Alva brought him to the Emperor. To the same effect as above.

Your loving friend.

In a P.S. sends "my most hearty commendations to my lady your wife, and to Mrs. Pate, her sister; Mr. Gentleman Usher."

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

103. The Same to Mr. Englefeld.

Sends the bearer his servant partly to declare his "full mind," recommending himself.

"News we have none here, but that according to the old proverb, that great princes make peace with sword in hand. Even so, for all the meeting of these great personages for the conclusion of the peace, yet is there on either side for the wars great preparation.

"The 19th of this month I spake with the Emperor's Majesty, whose Highness, thanks to Almighty God, sat up in his chair, and had, as it appeared, his health very well. I was brought to his Majesty by the Duke of Alva, who departed the next morning very early."

Your loving friend, &c.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

104. The Same to Mr. Leghe (Sir John Leigh).*

Thanks for his friendship; asks him to give credence to the bearer his servant.

Brussels, 29th May 1555. Your loving friend, &c.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

105. The Same to the Lord Treasurer [John Paulet, Marquis of Winchester].

"I have spoken at Antwerp with Mr. Gresham, touching the 1,000 marks, the which I should receive from him by the credit of my Lord Chancellor's letter, and yours, who hath promised to furnish me accordingly to the tenure of your letters; albeit, it seemeth

* See endorsement (p. 90, footnote).

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by him money here is hard to come by." Thinks it right to thank the Lord Treasurer for this credit for 1,000 marks, which "is a singular commodity and benefit unto me."

(Signed) Your good Lordship's assuredly,

Brussels, 29th May 1555. E. D.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

106. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. Basset.

Desires him to give credence to the bearer. Has no news to send, except that, notwithstanding the meeting of these great personages for peace, "yet there is on both sides great preparations for the wars, as I doubt not but you do right well know." Desires in general terms to be remembered to all his friends.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

107. The Same to "my Lady Mother" [Gertrude Blount, widow of Henry Courtenay, eleventh Earl of Devonshire, and first Marquis of Exeter].

Good Madam, according to your commandment I am bold to trouble you with these my letters, ascertaining you that at the making hereof, God be thanked, I was in health, trusting you are the same. On Sunday last I was brought by the Duke of Alva unto the Emperor's Majesty, whose Highness used me very honourably. His Majesty, thanks be unto God, hath his health indifferently well. And thus desiring your continual blessing, I commit you to allmighty God.

From Brussels, 29th day of May 1555.

Your Ladyship's son at commandment,

(Signed) E. Devon.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

108. The Same to Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Calais.

Thanks for the kindness he had shown him. Asks his help and furtherance for bearer his servant, whom he is sending on business to England.

(Signed) Your loving friend.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

109. The Same to Mr. Story [Dr. John Storye].

Sends the bearer his servant to England, so "I thought it expedient, among others my very friends, to salute you with these my letters, not allonely for sending my hearty thanks unto you, but for that this shall occasion you to write again unto me, which shall be unto me no little pleasure. And thus, fare you heartily well."

(Signed) Your loving friend.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

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May 29.
Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

110. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. [Dr. Thomas ?] Marten.

I commend me heartily unto you. As I have been always much beholden unto you, so have I now thought it very expedient, among other my very friends, to visit you with these my letters, rendering you thanks for your friendliness towards me; having hope of such like continuance of the same, as you shall in like manner, by God's grace, receive at my hands if opportunity may serve me. I have delivered your letters unto Alderseys, who hath, together with Mr. Marshe and Mr. Whight, made their gentill offer unto me, according to the content of your letter written in that behalf; unto whom I pray you therefore render your thanks. And thus I bid you most heartily to fare well.

(Signed) Your loving friend.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29.
Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

111. The Same to Mr. Smith.

Thinks it requisite, as he is sending his servant the bearer on business to England, "to give you thanks for your friendship always borne towards me, and with these my letters to visit you, as one whom I would be very glad to hear as well of as of any friend I have, and I bid you most heartily to fare well.

(Signed) "Your loving friend."

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]*

May 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

112. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 25th all the commissioners went, for the third time, to the house of the Cardinal Legate. The French were the first, and represented their claims, which were on the Milanese, and on the kingdoms of Naples and Navarre, demanding the restitution of the former, and that the disputes (*le cause*) about the latter be referred to arbitrators, requiring also the restitution of Hesdin and Terouenne. On their departure the Imperialists went to Cardinal Pole, and having heard from him and the English the French demands, they expatiated at great length, to demonstrate their injustice; claiming, on the other hand, the duchy of Burgundy and Metz, Toul (Dũ), and Verdun, which three places belong to the empire, as also the places appertaining to his Imperial Majesty's kinsfolk, confederates, and dependents, namely, the Dukes of Savoy, Lorraine, Mantua, and Genoa, and finishing with the places lost in Flanders during the present war there. The English having acquainted the French with this reply, and the demands of the Imperialists, they requested permission to make the rejoinder in person, without the Legate, in the centre building (*nella casa di mezzo*), saying that it was well to treat those matters face to face and openly.

* The contemporary endorsement on the preceding 11 letters is as follows: "Coppies" to Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Walgrave, Mr. Englefeld, Sir John Leighe, My L. Threash^{r}, Mr. Bassat, My La. Mother, L. Wentworth, Mr. Story, Mr. Marten, and Mr. Smith.

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The English, however, seeing that the Imperialists did not approve of this, and, moreover, as it did not seem fit to them, said that this mode of proceeding would cause irritation instead of encouraging good will; and as the hour for returning to their quarters was approaching, they arranged to meet on the morrow.

Those who write thence agree in saying that all have a great wish to make peace, or adjust matters by a valid truce, and the Regent of Sicily has shown a letter from the Bishop of Arras, in which he says that should the words uttered to him by the French correspond with their deeds, he has great hope that the business will terminate well.

News has been received to-day that the Duke of Brunswick, who visited your Serenity, has sent some captains to the frontiers of Friesland to raise troops, and that the Saxon cavalry recruited in his name are for the most Christian King; so the Emperor caused numerous letters to be written immediately to a variety of places which might have aided these levies, announcing the falsity of the report circulated by the Duke that he purposed serving the King of England.

Brussels, 30th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

113. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

All the commissioners returned to the lodgings destined them on the 26th, 27th, and 28th, and had long debate. The Imperialists said that the French, not choosing to reply positively about restoring the places held by them, they (the Imperialists) were not commissioned to say anything further, but would hear what else the French chose to allege and report it to the Emperor, who had been injured by the King in several ways, as he it was who broke the peace made with King Francis. These things being related by the English to the French, they replied that they also had nothing more in their commission than to state the demands already made by them, and to acquaint his most Christian Majesty with whatever else the Imperialists chose; adding that they had not said what was just when they accused the King of having excited the war, as the Imperial ambassador at his court had been the cause of it, and that, even if attributable to his most Christian Majesty, the blame rested with the Emperor, who so maltreated and abused the French ambassador resident with him (he being one of the commissioners, by name Mons. de Marillac), that the King was obliged to resent it, as it reflected dishonour on him, and not on the ambassador.

The English, on hearing this exasperating language, having been several times to one side and the other, induced the French to come to some detail, so they said finally that everything would be adjusted by the Emperor's giving the King the Milanese, which alone had been the cause of war, by reason of the King's just claims to it, on all of which they expatiated, adding that at the last peace made at Crespi [on the 17th September 1544] the Emperor consented to its being given to the Duke of Orleans

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and although he died, there was another alive, to whom the fruit might devolve (*se ne ritrova in esser un' altro, nel quale si potria esseguir il frutto*), and that as the Imperialists might reply that the Emperor had no daughter of an age to be married to the Duke, he might give him a daughter of the King of the Romans.

The English communicated these things to the Imperialists, who replied that would the fruit could have been realised (*che haveriano desiderato che si havesse potuto poner ad effetto il frutto*), as the deceased Duke of Orleans was no less an Imperialist than a Frenchman, but that they thought, should the Emperor consent to the marriage of Don Carlos, son of the King of England, to a daughter of the most Christian King, giving him the Milanese, without requiring dower, instead of giving it in dower, as demanded by them, the King of France would have cause to be satisfied, to which bargain no sign of consent was made by the French, who also said that to give the Emperor satisfaction about Lorraine, the King would not take the Duke for his son-in-law, but that he should marry one of the Emperor's subjects in Flanders, to be named by them hereafter. The right reverend Legate exhorted both sides to continue the conferences daily, as he hoped the Almighty would inspire them with the means of adjustment; and then, through his intercession, it was settled that the prisoners of both their Majesties should be enlarged on parole, that they might be visited by their relations and friends.

Brussels, 31st May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

114. ANNE DE MONTMORENCY, Constable of France, to ANTOINE DE NOAILLES, French Ambassador in England.

On Wednesday we had a long conference, in which so many were the points, and so excessively were they debated and canvassed, although amicably, by both sides, that, it was at length found that neither of the two sovereigns will restore or cede anything to the other, so that to reconcile them, a new proposition must be made (*bisogna far carta nova*). Thereupon Cardinal Pole proposed the expedient of appointing arbitrators to settle our disputes amicably, and in the meanwhile to make some marriage, so as thus to resume friendship. This was not refused, either on our side or on that of the Imperialists, but the Imperialists said that we were first to restore what we had taken this last war, which would be, as it were, to concede the matter in dispute; and we remained thus, leaving the Cardinal Legate and the English commissioners to consider some other good and bland expedient to arrive at pacification. We are to return to-morrow to the conference to hear their proposal, but unless the Imperialists change their tone, we do not see what great result can be expected. The chief complaint urged by us to the Imperialists was about the Milanese, and that without the restitution of that province we could not enter upon any agreement, and that we do not think of giving back anything we possess. They defend themselves by reasons good and bad, and say the Emperor has nothing more to do with it, he having given the Milanese to his

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son the King and to his wife the Queen of England, and that it is their business to defend it.

Ardres, 31st May 1555.

[*Italian ; contemporary translation from the French.*]

May 31. Miscellaneous Letters, Venetian Archives.

115. François de Noailles, Prothonotary, to his brother Antoine de Noailles, French Ambassador in England.

After the first session of this conference held on the 23rd instant, with great ceremony, the English omitting nothing that became their grandeur, the second took place on the 24th, when both sides made their demands, there being a long debate as to which had been the author of the last war. On the 26th the third session was held; and on the 28th, the fourth; all which were for acquainting my Lord the Legate and the English with the rights and reasons of one side and the other; this form being persevered in thus far, contrary to the wish of the Constable, who merely desired to speak face to face with the Imperialists, without referring himself to the reports of the said English. The fifth session was held on the 29th, when both parties were taken, to speak face to face. To-morrow the first of June they hold the sixth session, at which doubt not this long mystery will come to an end of some sort, either pacific or warlike; and as the Imperialists are firm, and determined not to restore the duchy of Milan, so are we obstinate with regard to not giving back anything to the Emperor or his confederates; so you may rest assured that the King will not make any agreement, save such as will be honourable and glorious for him.

Ardres, 31st May 1555.

[*Italian ; contemporary translation from the French.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

116. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Here they attend to nothing but constant prayers and public processions for the most Serene Queen's auspicious delivery, as most earnestly desired by everybody, and principally by the King, who awaits nothing but this result in order to cross the Channel instantly, for, from what I hear, one single hour's delay in this delivery seems to him a thousand years. He has already given full leave to all his attendants (*a tutti gli suoi*) to go in advance, at their pleasure, and wait for him in Flanders, and next week part of his body-guard will follow, which many people interpret as a sign that, should no sort of agreement take place between these Princes, he purposes being present at the war in person; and this sudden departure also shows that he will perhaps return hither this winter.

To-morrow, Whitsunday, the King will appear in public, the mourning apparel of his household, [the lack of] which kept him hitherto secluded, being well nigh completed; and I shall go to Hampton Court to accompany him to chapel as usual on holydays.

They are sending to Spain to urge the embarkation of the infantry for Italy forthwith; and the Colonel Pimentel at length departs, for although he was sent hence three months ago, yet having to return to Brussels, he was unable to despatch his business there until now.

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They are also intent on executing the sentences against the heretics, and two days ago, to the displeasure as usual of the population here, two Londoners were burned alive, one of them having been public lecturer in Scripture, a person sixty years of age, who was held in great esteem.* In a few days the like will be done to four or five more; and thus from time to time to many others who are in prison for this cause, and will not recant, although such sudden severity is odious to many people (*anchora che a molti questa così subita severità sia molesta*).

London, 1st June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

117. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news of the election to the popedom of Cardinal Caraffa was received here last evening by an express from the Duke of Florence to his ambassador, who took it imediately to the Emperor, and according to the conversation of the courtiers it has not proved agreeable, both because well nigh all the Pope's relatives have been considered ill disposed towards the Emperor by reason of the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, and also on account of his Majesty's having been so opposed to him with regard to his archbishopric of that city.† The Pope has, moreover, for a long while evinced partiality towards the French crown, and his temper (*qualità di spirito*) likewise is considered at variance with the character (*genio*) of the Emperor, who, however, will have many means of benefiting his Holiness's relations, and thus have him favourable or not hostile.

Don Diego de Azevedo, one of the chamberlains of the King of England, arrived here last evening, for the purpose of condoling with the Emperor on the death of his mother, though others say it is to represent to him the position of King Philip and Queen Mary, and to receive his orders when the result of the delivery shall be manifest.

Brussels, 1st June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

118. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 29th ulto. the negotiations for the peace were on the eve of dissolution, owing to the firm resolve of the French commissioners relative to the Milanese, and the Constable and his colleagues would positively have departed, had not Cardinal Pole and the English, by their prayers, compelled the Cardinal of Lorraine to remain, and to make the others do the like, in order that they might reconsider matters.

The Emperor having received letters about this from his commis-

* Cardmaker, Prebendary of Wells, and an upholsterer named Warne, suffered at Smithfield on the 30th May 1555. (*See* Froude, vol. 6, pp. 352, 353, ed. 1860.)

† Cardinal Caraffa was translated from the Archbishopric of Chieti to that of Naples in the year 1549, but owing to the opposition of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, did not obtain possession of it until September 1551. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 166, 167.)

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sioners, sent immediately for Queen Maria, who had gone to an abbacy two leagues hence to pass these Easter holidays; and after consulting with her and Mons. de Praet, about fresh instructions to be given to his commissioners, he sent them an order to propose to refer all the disputes between him and the most Christian King to a Council, which both parties are to urge the Pope to hold as soon as possible; saying that as to the Milanese, should it be decided that it belongs by right to the King of France, he the Emperor is content that the Duke of Orleans do take to wife a daughter of the King of the Romans, giving her in the Milanese such dower as shall seem suitable, their children to be the legitimate heirs of that duchy; but should the decision be in favour of the Emperor, the Milanese is then to belong to the son of the King of England [Don Carlos], with the condition that he marry the eldest daughter of the King of France, giving her the same dower, and the Milanese in like manner descending to their children.

Brussels, 2nd June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 2.

119. Cardinal Pole to Pope Paul IV.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl.x., without date, as printed in vol. v., pp. 11–13, 'Epistolarum "Reginaldi Poli," &c.

On Whitsunday,* the day of the celebration of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, heard that by the inspiration of that same Spirit his Holiness had been elected by the Sacred College of Cardinals, and placed on the throne (*in sedem*) of the Prince of the Apostles, this having been done on the day set apart for the commemoration of Christ's ascension to heaven. From these two festivals, takes occasion to congratulate the Pope, and exhorts him to persevere in his constant efforts for the reform of the Church. Awaits the Pope's commands after hearing the instructions received by him from Popes Julius and Marcello. Would fain give the Pope good news about the peace; but alas! the more they advance, the more does he doubt of success.

Calais? 2nd June 1555.

[*Latin*, 43 *lines.*]

June 3.

120. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

Concerning the new election of the Pope, the King said to me with a very joyful countenance that he considered it an excellent election by reason of the good qualities of his Holiness, and that it also gave him personal satisfaction, he having been as it were created by the Cardinals, his Majesty's dependents; and he narrated to me copiously the mode of this creation, laying stress on two things, the one, the danger incurred of schism, which, had it taken place, nothing, he said, could have caused him greater regret; the other, that the Imperialists had done very wrong to hold the Pope in such small account, as his Majesty knew that an autograph note from the Imperial ambassador at Rome to a cardinal, his confident

* In the year 1555 the 2nd of June was Whitsunday, and I date this letter accordingly.

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in conclave, had fallen into the Pope's hands, telling him that by no means were the Imperialists to consent to the election of his Holiness, many of whose dependents being outlawed from Naples, it was not a thorn to keep in their feet, and should they be unable to do otherwise, they were to consent rather to Ferrara, or to any other French cardinal whatever.

Concerning the conference, the King told me he really knew not what to hope with regard to the result, as the Constable had stated his Majesty's case so equitably that the Imperialists knew not how to reply, save in general terms (*se non con parole che non stringevano*); and his Majesty then added, "Ambassador! although I ought perhaps to be silent about what I am going to say to you, yet will I tell you that the Bishop of Arras produced a writing containing four articles which the Constable confuted to his face, proving them to be false, so the Bishop apologized and changed his purpose" (*et mutò il suo proposito*). Endeavoured to converse with his Majesty and ascertain what these articles were, but could elicit nothing farther, but asked him what news was brought by Mons. de Lansac, who arrived yesterday from the Constable; and he answered me that Cardinal Pole had sent to request his Excellency and the Cardinal of Lorraine to send a personage in their name to Calais, on the 1st of this month, as the Imperialists would do the like, because it having been impossible hitherto to devise any adjustment, his right reverend Lordship would try what he could effect with these two individuals, proposing a truce or something else, or perhaps some marriage. His Majesty added, "Rest assured, ambassador, that there is no other matter of importance beyond what I have told you, save that my ministers determined to send the Bishop of Orleans to the Cardinal, and the Imperialists another, whose name I do not remember," but that as yet he had no advice whatever of what had been done.

Melun, 3rd June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

121. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

After the transmission by the Emperor to his commissioners of the orders mentioned in my letter of the 2nd, the French and the others met thrice to discuss the proposals, and their reply was that they would not accept the terms offered, which forthwith deprived the King of what he had gained, and rendered his just claims doubtful for a long period; the commissioners holding that if the Duke of Savoy required anything of the King, his own commissioner was to speak, as his most Christian Majesty would not fail to act becomingly; saying that by no agreement which might ensue with the Duke should the Emperor keep any fortress; and respecting the Marquisate of Montferrat and Corsica, the King would gratify the Duke and the Genoese when they pleased (*quando li paresse*). The commissioners repeated their first demand, that unless they had the Milanese on the terms written by me, this peace would not be concluded; and saying they had no further commission, they were again on the point of departure, had not the Legate and the English com-

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missioners persuaded them to send the Emperor's proposals to the King and await the reply, which they consented to do for eight days. Lord Paget's son and son-in-law,* who came hither to see the court, say that he and the other English commissioners have no hope of peace, so they were preparing for departure, and thinking how they could take leave of the Imperialists and the French to the satisfaction of both parties.

The Emperor, on receiving these advices from his commissioners, sent Don Ernando della Noia to them with orders to protract the negotiation as long as possible.

Lord Paget's son said also that a commissioner had arrived at Calais from the Queen of Scotland, to consent to whatever the French wish.†

Don Diego de Azevedo, who came from the King of England to condole with the Emperor, departed post-wise last night to the surprise of everybody, as for this morning he had invited the English ambassador and others to dinner. It is said that he is the bearer of instructions for King Philip about the mode to be observed by him and the Queen, having the certainty that the pregnancy (*il parto*) be not true, in removing the popular opinion on the subject, by issuing an order in Council for the bishops to have it announced in their parishes, to prevent any commotion should it become manifest that she was not pregnant, without any previous announcement of the fact, and also to tell him the time of the King's passage, which is expected to take place shortly.

It continues to be said that the King of the Romans will come, and that their Majesties will discuss together the adjustment both of their family affairs and those of the empire, but from what I have heard, as the King of England is childless, the Emperor purposes marrying the Queen's sister [Elizabeth] to the Archduke Ferdinand.

Brussels, 4th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

122. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Sent his secretary to the Duke de Guise concerning what the King promised to let him know about the negotiation of the Bishop of Orleans, who was sent to Cardinal Pole, and he brought back word that the Bishop of Winchester endeavoured to prove by many arguments to the Bishop of Orleans that the most Christian King ought to assent to the stipulation of the peace, and received for answer that his most Christian Majesty was as well inclined towards it as could possibly be wished.

Melun, 5th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

123. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The French commissioners received the [counter] proposal from the King to the proposal made by the Imperial commissioners,

* Lord Paget had four sons and six daughters. *See* Collins, vol. 5, p. 185.

† Per acconsentire quello che Francesi vorranno.

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which was that they were to treat solely to have the Milanese, and that should the Emperor choose to speak about the affairs of the confederates they were to demand, as they did, the restitution of Navarre (which is held by the Emperor) to the Queen [Jeanne d'Albret] and Monsr. de Vendôme. To this the Bishop of Arras replied that by following this course the King showed clearly he was not disposed to make peace, reviving quarrels of 30 years standing. The Constable answered him that the older injuries are, the more was it necessary to revenge them. So the English commissioners, seeing them about to dissolve the conference for the third time, requested both sides to adjourn until the 7th or 8th instant, which they all consented to do, at the suit, it is supposed, of the Imperialists, they expecting some fresh commission from the Emperor which may have been sent by Don Diego de Azevedo. Should it not have been given, it is considered certain that they will depart without any adjustment, the failure of which the Imperialists attribute to the King, both because it seems to him that the present Pope may favour his affairs in Italy, as also because he does not choose by the peace to disfavour the league formed a few months ago in Saxony by the 17 Princes of Germany, who would be compelled to go or send to the Diet at Augsburg to treat measures to which they will not consent, they having indeed threatened to oppose them by force of arms. It is moreover said that the Imperialists know the King has promised Sultan Soliman to make neither peace nor truce during the present year.

A gentleman from the Queen of England has arrived, having been sent to the Emperor to condole with him on the death of the Queen his mother, and having demanded audience, his Majesty sent to tell him he was welcome, desiring the ambassador likewise to come with him. Thereupon Sir John Masone sent his secretary to ascertain from the Chief Chamberlain, Monsr. de la Chaux (Monsr. della Scia) whether it would displease the Emperor if he went in his ordinary habits, as neither the Queen nor the Council of England having gone into mourning, it seemed to him that this was not his business, but that on the other hand he did not wish to be disagreeable to his Majesty. Monsr. de la Chaux would not decide, but told the secretary to return, and it is evident that he asked the Emperor what he was to tell the ambassador, to whom he subsequently gave it to be understood that for the present he was to appear in a cloak (*con un mantello*), and thus did he. After performing the office of ceremony, the gentleman said in the first place that on his leaving England the physicians (*li medici*) affirmed that the Queen would be brought to bed (*parturiria*), but that they had deceived themselves by one month, the ambassador saying that he had letters of the same tenor; but from the Englishmen who accompanied the gentleman it has been understood that two of the Queen's bedchamber women (*che due donne che stanno presso la Regina*) have been heard to say that she has not yet given any sign of being in such a state of pregnancy as to bring forth speedily.

A gentleman from the Duke of Cleves came subsequently to perform the like office of condolence with the Emperor.

The ambassador from Florence, having asked several times to

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speak in person to the Emperor, being commissioned thus to do by his master, was answered that his Majesty will give it him when he can; and the secretary Vargas warned him not to appear without a cloak, so thenceforth he has never left it off and wears it daily; the persons of the court doing the like, they having received the cloth required for making them. In the cathedral preparation is being made slowly for the obsequies, the cause of the delay being that they expect the King of England shortly, the Emperor also wishing to wait for the King of the Romans. Neither the Nuncio nor the other ambassadors in ordinary having been to condole with the Emperor, it did not seem to me necessary to perform this office, thinking that your Serenity, according to your custom, should be the person to give me the order. Martin Van Rossem (Martin Vairos),* general of the troops sent to give support for the building of the fortress, is dangerously ill, his indisposition being caused by over fatigue in superintending it, and by several times ascending the adjoining height which they are fortifying.

At Antwerp they are negotiating a loan of 300,000 crowns for the table of the King of England (*sopra il piatto del Re d'Inghilterra*) [to be secured] on the revenues derived by him from Spain, the rate of interest exceeding 25 per cent., which was what they paid on the last loan; and the merchants say that, if effected, the revenues will be pledged until the year 1557.

Lord Courtenay has been to visit me, accompanied by the English Ambassador, and told me he was soon to depart for Italy, with the intention of residing some time at Venice, and I performed such office of goodwill and esteem with him as seemed to me becoming. From many indications I comprehend *that he is in great fear for his life, and thinks of nothing but preserving it, without evincing suspicion of the Emperor, who, however, at his audience received him lovingly* (sta molto dubioso della vita sua, et che non pensa ad altro che ad assicurarla senza far sospetto di temer dell' Imperatore, dal qual gli è però stato fatto dimonstratione di amore nella audientia che hebbe).

Brussels, 6th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

124. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Transmits advices coming from a great personage and of authority, indeed the chief representative of one of the parties at the Congress. These advices were transcribed and translated from the original letters addressed by the Constable to the French Ambassador. I have not omitted the transcription of the whole of the ciphered part likewise, noting the identical characters, which, should they perchance be understood by your Serenity's officials of this profession, *you will, doubtless, through this correspondence on the part of the*

* Martin Van Rossem, Marshal of Gueldres. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

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French, discover their whole intention and secret, and be able sooner than anyone else to judge what may be hoped from this conference (far giuditio di quello sia da sperar dal presente coloquio).*

According to the intention announced by me I came to the Court, and when with the King yesterday I condoled with him on the death of his grandmother, thanking him also for his intercession with the Emperor in favour of the Magnifico Spathafora, and I communicated to him the last summaries from Constantinople; with all which offices he seemed pleased, and thanked me very graciously for my condolence. Some days before his Majesty had been troubled with pains supposed to proceed from cholic, so by the advice of his physicians he did not appear in public, but remained in retirement, notwithstanding which I found him looking very well (*con bonissima ciera*). Whilst accompanying him from his apartment to the chapel, he with his usual affability discoursed with me the whole way, and speaking about the conference he said that down to Saturday the 1st instant, the date of his last advices, there was but little hope of a good result; and he gave me news of the election as Pope of the Cardinal of Naples,† which at that very moment had been announced to him by way of Brussels, nor from the expression of his countenance did it seem to me that he evinced much pleasure at this, as was more fully confirmed to me afterwards by these Spanish Lords (*da questi Signori Spagnuoli*), who by no means approve of this election.

I found and saw (*ho trovata et veduta*) the most Serene Queen looking very well, for placing herself every morning at a small window, she chooses to see the procession pass, and which at her Majesty's request goes round the palace court [at Hampton Court], she most courteously bowing her head in acknowledgment to all the personages, who salute her whilst following the procession, as she did twice with extraordinary cheerfulness and graciousness to the Portuguese ambassador and myself, we having gone into the court to accompany the King to mass, and joined the procession on invitation from the Lords of the Council.

Her Majesty expects and hopes during this week to comfort the realm by an auspicious delivery, but the greater part of her women (*donne*) [bedchamber women] think she will go beyond (*si condurrà più innanzi*).

Richmond, 6th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

125. Mathio di Priuli, son of the Procurator Antonio, to . . . . . ., enclosed in the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated 11th June 1555.‡

No great change has take place since the 31st ult., the Commissioners (*questi Signori*) having only met once, on the 1st instant,

* These advices have not been found.

† Giovanni Pietro Caraffa was elected Pope on the 23rd May 1555.

‡ This letter is without any address, but was probably written to Monsignor Luigi Priuli, who perhaps remained in England whilst Cardinal Pole was at the conference.

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as his correspondent heard, and although immediately when they arrived on the spot at noon, they withdrew to confer alone with the mediators in the centre hall (*nella sala di mezzo*), where they remained for three hours, they are nevertheless not understood to have discussed anything which could give hope of adjustment (*di conclusione*), having on the contrary maintained their first demands, nor would they modify them save by silence. The mediators, after trying divers means, and proposing several agreements, being unable to devise anything to the satisfaction of all the parties, determined to tell them that as their disputes about these states (*di questi stati*) prevented any adjustment, they should see if it suited them to refer their differences to persons deemed fit to decide them, or else remit them to a council general; and concerning this affair of the council, as it was his idea, the Lord Chancellor [Stephen Gardiner] very hotly urged them to it (*si scaldò assai in persuaderli*), they neither accepting nor refusing, but giving them hopes rather than otherwise, saying they would write to their Princes, and arrange to meet again on the 7th instant, to put an end to this business; and tomorrow being the day appointed for the last conference, I do not find that during this interval anything has been treated which can give the slightest hope of adjustment (*conclusione*), but that they will depart in greater confusion than before, and they will perhaps have additionally irritated both sides.

Calais, 6th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

126. Mathio di Priuli, son of the Procurator Antonio, to . . . . . ., enclosed in the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated 11th June 1555.

Wrote yesterday that the Commissioners were to hold their last conference to-day, and it came to pass, for they departed this moment, 6 p.m., having taken leave of each other on the spot, without any adjustment (*conclusione*) either for peace or truce, although they remained five hours together, and during part of the conversation it even seemed (*pur paresse*) that they would come to terms, but at the close the conference was broken off with little concord (*con poca concordia*); so all will return, as the saying is, "with empty pockets" (*con le trombe in sacco*). Hopes in a few days, accompanied by Cardinal Pole, again to see his Magnificence, and discuss with him the whole of this affair at length, which can be done more easily, orally, than by letter.

Calais, 7th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

127. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Lord Paget writes to the English ambassador that the ships sent for by the Commissioners had arrived at Calais, and they were to return to England on the 9th or 10th, unless in the meanwhile the Imperial Commissioners receive some fresh order to treat with the French, whose final decision was, that in order to form a good friendship with the Emperor, the King was willing to give his eldest

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daughter to [Don Carlos], the son of the King of England, and give her a dower of from three to four hundred thousand crowns in the Milanese, but that the duchy was to remain to the Duke of Orleans. High words have passed between some of the attendants of the English and French Commissioners, the English having said that the King of France got back Boulogne by foul means (*con mali modi*), and then failed to perform his promises in full.* There has also been a great quarrel between the Governor of Calais† and the Lord Chancellor of England, the latter having run very great risk of personal injury (*offese di fatti*), in consequence of the authority he sought to exercise by judging one of the Governor's gentlemen in the matter of religion.

The Emperor gave orders for refreshments to be sent to Lord Paget's son and son-in-law, and as they had not asked to kiss hands, his Majesty gave them to understand, through Mons. de la Chaux and Secretary Vargas (who as of their own accord, but by commission from the Emperor, presented them), that he wished to see them before their departure, as he did, showing them many marks of good will out of regard for Lord Paget.

By the English, and others of the court, it has been remarked that the Imperial ministers have made no such demonstrations towards Lord Courtenay, who is infinitely the superior of the Pagets, and departed with only two servants, giving out that he was going as far as Louvain for his pleasure, and as the period assigned by his attendants for his return has expired, it is inferred that he will never come back.

Brussels, 8th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

128. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

By advices now received from Calais in date of the 7th, the French Commissioners went to Cardinal Pole and the English, telling them they had received a fresh commission from the King not to waste more time in negotiations which could not produce the result for which they had been sent; so, seeing the impossibility of obtaining fair terms from the Imperialists, they had determined to depart immediately, and requested the Legate and his countrymen to give them leave [to depart] as readily as they had invited them to attend this conference. Having received an equally courteous rejoinder, they dismissed themselves, the Constable saying, in the act of departure, that perhaps on some future occasion the Almighty would inspire those who had now failed to make the peace. The Imperialists forthwith performed the like office, which was in like manner reciprocated by the English, who embarked to cross the Channel, but were detained by a storm which arose on that day, and will depart with the first fair wind. The Bishop of Arras

* Et che mancasse poi di far la compiuta satisfattione delle promesse.

† Il Governator di Calais. The Lord Deputy at Calais was Thomas, second Lord Wentworth, and his good will for the refugees in France is alluded to in the index to the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar.

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writes that he will come to-morrow postwise, and the other commissioners by day journeys [with their own horses] (*à giornate*). I have heard that the last proposal made by the French was that the King would consent to have the dispute about the Milanese settled by the council, but that in the meanwhile he would not make restitution of anything, and that in order that both their Majesties might live pacifically, he would give his eldest daughter, with a considerable dower, the Emperor giving security for it out of his own territories, to the Infant of Spain [Don Carlos]; and that if the Duke of Savoy would go to France to make himself known, as customary when a man wishes to marry, and if his Majesty's sister like his Excellency's qualities, he may then rely on being gratified with such part of his territory as he can reasonably desire (*potrà poi esser sicura di esser gratificata di quella parte di stato che ragionevolmente potesse desiderar*).

The Imperialists told the English that it being neither just nor for the dignity of the Emperor that he should make peace without the restitution of what belonged to his confederates, they would not accept these offers. The result of this negotiation is much regretted here. Some say that in September they will treat again, and, from what has been said by Mons. de Praet, conclude either peace or truce.

Brussels, 9th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

129. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day news arrived that on the 7th the Commissioners met as agreed, and the Imperialists gave the French the reply received by them from the Emperor, purporting that he does not intend to stipulate any agreement, unless restitution be made of all that has been taken on both sides (*dall' una et l'altra parte*) from the beginning of this war until the present time; to which the Constable answered immediately, that his most Christian Majesty would not make restitution of anything. Both sides then took leave of each other, the conference being dissolved without any decision, and to-day they were to leave Ardres, on their way to the court. This intelligence was received to-day at 4 p.m., and the Lieutenant of the Marquis Albert, who is now at the Court, was despatched immediately with 150,000 crowns for a levy of German troops, an order being sent to raise 15,000 Switzers, after which the most Christian King went out hunting. So far as can be known, the reason why the Imperialists took time was to avail themselves of the opportunity for advancing under Marienburg, but it is well garrisoned (*ben munito*).

Melun, 9th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

130. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Since the resolve formed by all the commissioners to depart, as mentioned by me yesterday, no other letters have arrived, either

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from Gravelines or Calais. These personages of the court say that the Imperial commissioners return not quite satisfied with the last office performed by the English with the French, to whom, besides the other terms, they added that the Emperor was also content to give the most Christian King the county of Burgundy, and Hesdin, and Terouenne, demanding Marienburg and the six towns in Luxemburg taken heretofore by the French, not because the Emperor would thus obtain an equivalent, but in order to render the terms more advantageous and convenient for the King throughout, so as yet more to facilitate the agreement; but in representing this offer, which was the last one conveyed by Don Diego de Azevedo, the Imperialists accuse the English of not having taken the matter to heart (*che non piglias-sero tal negotio a cuore*), as otherwise the commissioners would, at least, not have separated so suddenly, though in all the rest of the business they praise the English greatly.

Lottino, late secretary of the Duke of Florence, who was sent by Cardinal Sta. Fiore, and at the request of Don Juan Metich (*sic*), to tell the Emperor by word of mouth who the Cardinals were who failed to do his Imperial Majesty's bidding (*volontà*) in electing the Pope, had audience immediately, it being said that he gave a bad account of eight, and principally of San Giacomo, Morone, and Augsburg;* and he also acquainted the Emperor with sundry means whereby to gain the good will of his Holiness. The Pope has sent the usual brief to the Nuncio, for the performance of the customary office of congratulation with his Majesty, who answered most lovingly, and at great length, saying, amongst other particulars, that he remembered his features (*la sua effigie*), although 40 years had passed since he saw him in these provinces, at the time when they were ruled by his Majesty's aunt, the Lady Margaret,† and that he also remembered his Holiness having sung mass on a festival, celebrating it as well as the life always led by him, which he hoped would be the like during the present Pontificate. On the Nuncio's taking leave, the Emperor said to him, that although he had written to the Pope in recommendation of the Elector of Mentz, in order that he might be pleased to grant him the annats, his territory having been ravaged by the Marquis of Brandenburg, yet did he nevertheless request the Nuncio also to perform the like good office.

Brussels, 10th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

131. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the COUNCIL of TEN.‡

Most Excellent Lords,

Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, one of King Philip's chamberlains and councillors for the affairs of state and war,

* Namely, Giovanni Alvarez de Toledo, Giovanni Morone, and Otho Truchses.

† Namely, at the commencement of the year 1514. (*See* Venetian Calendar, vol. 2, p. 158. Entry 372. Date 6th February 1514.)

‡ This letter was discovered by Signor Luigi Pasini amongst the miscellaneous papers of the Chiefs of the Ten (17th March 1869), and is now bound up with the other letters addressed by Michiel to the Doge and Senate.

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being beside me in chapel at mass on Whitsunday, commenced discussing current events, especially those of Italy, and made me a long discourse about the great importance at the present moment of electing a Pope well and sincerely disposed (che fusse buono et sincero), *and above all, that he should be neutral, as should he perchance, as was to be feared, incline towards the French, and favour them rather than the Imperialists, it would not only cause additional embarrassment to King Philip, but might kindle such a flame in Italy as would be difficult to extinguish, and put the whole province to confusion, including its other potentates, especially the Republic of Venice. He added that there would be less to fear from such a catastrophe were King Philip in the same position as the King of France, whose forces and territories being united, he can very easily provide for defence or attack without quitting his own kingdom, availing himself of all his troops and moving them from one place to another, according to circumstances, without much danger and with no inconvenience, either from having to cross the sea, or to traverse foreign territories in order to supply them with reinforcements or money, or whatever else may be required; whereas King Philip, on the contrary, having his dominions so far asunder, and disjointed and remote, besides the extraordinary cost required for their maintenance, cannot avail himself of the resources and forces of one realm to succour the other, without fresh cost, peril, and delay.*

Don Gutierre then said, that matters being in this state, as France from these causes had made such advance and proceeded so far into Italy, King Philip, perceiving his own difficulties and disadvantages, was compelled to form other resolves, and entertain other ideas than he has done hitherto; and then Don Gutierre unbosomed himself openly, and said to me, "Ambassador! the remedy is, that we must form a defensive league together for the affairs of Italy, and in order not only to comfort but to give confidence to that whole province, whose detriment and ruin concern him, his Majesty will determine to create an individual Duke of Milan (un particolar Duca di Milano), *that he may live and reside in the Milanese, availing himself of its forces, of the Signory's, and of those of friends, against all assailants, but on condition that both he and you and we do our utmost to replace the poor Duke of Savoy in his duchy; acting in such wise, that after he shall have been compensated for the spoliation they inflicted on him, the French may thenceforth remain on this side the Alps in their own home, as we, all of us, in ours."*

After this he returned to his first remark about the power, the insolence, and the audacity of the French, laying before me the great danger of the Republic, should they, through their friendship with the Turks, advance yet farther, reminding me of the many losses suffered heretofore through the said French, and the great danger in which the Republic was of losing its whole territory, he having been present at all the wars of that period; and he added so many other things on that subject, that to narrate them would be too long and tiresome. Seeing that he was burning (in fervore), *I let him gratify himself, listening attentively without any interruption,*

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and then replied briefly, as the time and the place where we were permitted, thanking him in the first place for his confidential communication, and then saying that as to the matters mentioned by him I knew not what answer to give, until he explained to me first of all whether he spoke of his own accord, or by commission from others, in order that I might transmit it elsewhere; and when acquainted with his motive, I would make such answer as might seem to me suited to the proposal. To this he did not reply to the point, saying evasively, "Enough! I believe thou hast understood me; it assuredly concerns us all, and at any rate a resolve of this sort must be made for the common weal and remedy (per la salute et rimedio commune); *and another time I will let thee know in what danger the Republic's affairs would find themselves should ours go wrong;" and as the mass was already at the end, he had to go to his place, so we could no longer remain together.*

I have given your Excellencies a detailed narrative of this conversation, as it has seemed to me on many accounts important and worthy of your notice, coming from a person not only in his Majesty's confidence, but intimate with him, for if of no other use, it will at least enable you to discover many things showing the power of King Philip and his need, as also his intention and aim; and should your Excellencies think fit (which be it said without presumption) to give me any hint about your will and intention, so that in case of being spoken to again, I may, being acquainted with your pleasure, entirely break off any design or proposal, thus preventing the occasion for their going to Venice to trouble you; or else by entering into the business, allow them to proceed farther and discover some additional particulars, leaving it, as I say, to your Excellencies' sage judgment to decide about giving me some hint (qualche lume); *and in the meanwhile, if spoken to again more positively* (con più fondamento), *I shall merely make a general reply.*

Richmond, 10th June 1555.

Endorsed:—3 July 1555. England. Read in the Council of Ten and Junta. A long discourse about making a Duke of Milan.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

132. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The result of the conference, although foreseen and expected by the majority, has disappointed some persons, amongst whom is Cardinal Pole, they having hoped that, if peace was impossible, a suspension of hostilities might at least have ensued. *At this* Court (in questa Corte) *it has proved the more vexatious, as everybody, especially King Philip* (questa Maestà), *was in favour of the adjustment, he having throughout this negotiation sustained the office* (sostenuto lo officio) *of mediator rather than of principal; so the termination not being such as he wished and expected, his reputation seems somewhat affected by it, he having exerted himself to that end, and the enemy not appearing to have due esteem for him; perhaps, because it having been understood that he is*

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disinclined towards war, and considering him unfitted for it, they expect to obtain greater advantage for the future than they have done hitherto (forse perchè si sia dato ad intendere, chè non havendo ella inclinatione, nè parendoli che sia atta alla guerra, sia per haver più vantaggio che non ha havuto per il passato). *This regret* (dispiacere) *is dissembled as much as possible by everybody, if but for the sake of not increasing the audacity and insolence of these English, whose internal delight at seeing the affairs of this faction* (di questa fatione) *in trouble and peril, and those of the enemy, on the contrary, prospering and in repute, is not to be told. But with regard to matters in general, so far as can be judged, this government will keep aloof and look on, at least until they see the end of this delivery, which now cannot long be delayed; and then, according to its result, fresh resolves may be anticipated, as possibly King Philip will not live in this realm so much like an alien as he does. He has hitherto not only abstained from interfering* (adoperarsi), *and commanding as master, but would scarcely hear about anything at all, leaving this care to Queen Mary and her Council, and referring himself to them; nor has he as yet availed himself of one penny of the national revenue* (delle entrate di quello, the word *regno* being understood), *but supplied it considerably from his own resources through the money with which he accommodated the Queen last year* (ma havendosi messo del suo grossamente con li danari che lo anno passato ne accommodò la serenissima regina), *and for any necessary costs, however small, he still spends the money with which he is provided from elsewhere. On this account his Majesty's treasurers are yet across the Channel intent on raising money, which they find very scarce and hard to be got, having hitherto obtained but a small sum, part of which is sent hither from time to time for the daily expenses of the court, where for many weeks there has not been a penny in circulation, and they are obliged to live on credit, with much lamentation from the creditors, and, what is worse, greatly to the inconvenience and detriment of these poor courtiers, who in truth have a very bad time of it* (li quali in vero la fanno molto male), *both by reason of the intolerable scarcity of everything, which has doubled in price owing to them, as also because there is no one who, either with money or credit, will succour and assist them in their need; so it may be well said that they have come hither to do penance for their sins.*

The Queen's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, although she does not appear in public out of her own apartment, has been allowed free admission for her attendants (*li servitori suoi*) and for some other gentlemen here at the court, but with the exception of her own [attendants] they all avail themselves of it with great reserve (*con molto rispetto*).

After going out of London, determined to remain [at Richmond] near the court, for the purpose of being more frequently with the King and the other personages of the palace, both Spaniards and English, thinking thus to learn more about passing events than by remaining at a distance, regardless of personal inconvenience and that of his household, owing to the exorbitant cost of everything,

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and the very narrow lodgings (*et li alloggiamenti strettissimi*), as also from being compelled to incur the expense of two houses (one in London and the other at Richmond), which exceeds his means; but for the service and honour of the Signory will bear it as patiently as he can.

London (*sic*) [Richmond ?], 11th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 12. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. lxix. p. 125, tergo.

133. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople.

In their last, announced the death of Pope Marcellus the Second, in lieu of whom the Cardinal of Chieti, a Neapolitan of the Caraffa family, has been elected and crowned Pope, being named Paul the Fourth.

Since their last advices, the Imperial and French commissioners, having gone to the borders of Flanders, assembled in a plain between Ardres and Gravelines, where, on the 25th ulto., they commenced the conference, there being present Cardinal Pole, who was sent by the King and Queen of England. Notwithstanding this, the Emperor and the most Christian King continue mustering their forces, and adding to them, both in Piedmont and towards the borders of Flanders and Picardy.

The "Bailo" is to communicate these advices as usual.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

134. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day the prothonotary, brother of the French ambassador in England, will go thither on a mission from his most Christian Majesty to thank the Queen and Cardinal Pole for their goodwill about this negotiation for peace, and for the excellent choice made by her Majesty in the persons of her representatives.

Melun, June 13th, 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Filza No. 134. Miscellanea Manoscritti di Atti diversi, Venetian Archives.

135. James Basset to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.

My very good Lord,—My bounden duty most humbly remembered, I have received your Lordship's letters by this bearer, your trusty and diligent servant Prune,* with further credit by mouth which he declared unto me in your Lordship's behalf, according whereunto I moved the Queen's Highness myself, and caused the King's Majesty to be moved by Don Ruy Gomez, your very friend, touching your repair to the baynes of Liège, or Aquisgranda [Spa ?], for the recovery of your health, and also to understand their pleasure for your

* Walter Prune. (*See* Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 18.)

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repair to see the Emperor's camp, and to see the towns in those parts, whereof I received answer, first, of the King, by the mouth of Ruy Gomez, and yesterday, being Corpus Christi day, of Her Highness, who also conferred with the King thereupon, to this effect: that your Lordship making Brussels the place of your abode, you might, with the good contentations, either repair to the one for your necessity, or to the others for your commodity and experience, so that when you have done you do from time to time return to the Emperor's court as the place of your residence. Ruy Gomez showed me that the King meant you should be there to serve the Emperor without any restraint in the world, but as they are; and when you have sauftye [safe conduct] to repair to any place, asking the Emperor's pleasure, as all others do, and as it is meet, his good contentation being known, you might as you would go into any place of those parts at your pleasure. Me bethought (?) I perceived by her Highness, who uttered the same by way of advice, as one that hath great consideration of you, that she thought it better for divers respects you went not to the baynes unless your necessity and disease were such as you could not be otherwise holpen than to go; and also in your repair to other places you should use the same with such temperance and discretion as you might, as much could be (*sic*) occasions of suspicion, not that she or the King had any "one sete" themselves in you, but that you should for the stopping of the mouths of others do what in you lieth to avoid all occasions. I assure you I perceive her Highness rejoiceth, and is very glad to hear of your good and so wise using of yourself, and desireth the continuance thereof; and I protest unto your Lordship, even from the very bottom of my heart, by that faith I bear to God and unto the world, that there is much cause your Lordship should comfort, and fully and most assuredly repose yourself in the special goodness which I perceive both their Majesties meaneth unto you, as your Lordship yourself or your Lordship's friends could reasonably wish or desire, and peradventure more than you do. . . . I have more at length declared my mind to this bearer, whom I know your Lordship doth, as you well may, trust, as well in this as also in other things, beseeching your Lordship to take in good part my plain and faithful meaning towards you; and although I have not attempted that which you were most desirous of, I trust, when you shall understand the causes why I did not, I hope you will not only content and satisfy yourself . . . . but allow my not doing thereof, and think I did it upon very good consideration.

I received your Lordship's letters of the 6th of this instant, by Sir George Howard, which, as they were very comfortable unto me to hear from you, so they grieved me not a little to perceive by them, that my letters which I wrote so long ago were not as then come to your hands, whereby you justly might suppose a greater slackness of my duty towards you than there was cause. I cannot think but by this time they arrived unto you, and then they will be my just excuse, and therefore the more surely I have fully instructed this bearer, as well touching the effect of them, as also in all other things necessary for your Lordship to be informed of; to whose declaration

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referring myself, I will commit your good Lordship to the blessed tuition of Almighty God.

In haste this, the 13th (*sic*) of June 1555.

Your Lordship's most assuredly at commandment.

(Signed) JAMES BASSET.

[*Addressed without:*] "To my very good lord the Earl of Devonshire."

[*Contemporary endorsement:*] "14 June 1555, from Mr. Basset."

[*And again:*] "Mr. Bassat, 14 June 1555. England to Brussels."

June 15. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x., without date. Printed in vol. v. pp. 13, 14, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc., date Calais.

136. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

Has received two briefs, one for himself, with orders to present the other to King Philip and Queen Mary. The contents of this brief containing the usual protestations of paternal love, had already been announced by Pole, and concerning the peace, for which the Pope urges their Majesties earnestly to exert themselves, Pole must say that although he crossed the Channel with the best intentions, and that he and the Queen's commissioners negotiated for many days with those appointed by the Emperor and the King of France, they could come to no conclusion. Although the Imperial and French negotiators announced the best disposition on the part of their sovereigns, and indeed they spoke of a marriage, as an additional pledge of peace, yet when they came to treat about the restitution of what had been taken in war, they demurred somewhat (*aliquandiu hæsimus*), both parties arguing that such acquisitions were their lawful property (*ad se jure ipso pertinere utrique contendebant*). The messenger about to be despatched by Pole to the Pope will tell him all that was said and proposed; and in the meanwhile he informs his Holiness that on the dissolution of the conference, both the commissioners [Imperial and French] conferred with him separately, speaking in such a way as if the hope of peace had not yet been set aside; so they departed, not without hope, *sed infectâ re.* Is now returning to England, where he will await the Pope's orders.

Calais, 15th June 1555?*

[*Latin*, 31 *lines.*]

June 17. Filza, No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi, Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

137. MR. [DR. JOHN] STORYE to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

My most humble commendation to your Honour premised, with like thanks that it pleased your Lordship to address your honourable letters to so poor a man as I am, nevertheless your daily orator and loving servant, our lives enduring. Albeit I be not other as it were relegate from the Court and tied in the city for the better purging of the same from schism, sedition, and heresy, so that I can not (as my heart desireth) certify your Lordship, as this bearer (your Lordship's bondman) can do, yet have I thought it my bounden duty to let your Honour to understand that the state of the

* By the letter from the Venetian Ambassador Michiel, date London, 17th June 1555, it is seen that Cardinal Pole was then at Canterbury, so I infer that he probably wrote to the Pope from Calais on the 15th.

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city, being (as you know) the spectacle of this realm, daily drawing, partly for love and partly for fear, to conformity, doth not a little amend, whereof God grant increase and restitution to the old state and dignity, to God's honour and glory. And where of late through too much pietie [pity?] mixed with sinful civility, the inferior sort—yea in times of executions—began to be stout, and seemed to glory in their malignity; now the sharpness of the sword, and other corrections, hath begun to bring forth that, the Word, in stony hearts could not do; so that by discreet severity we have good hope of universal unity in religion, and thereby perfect unanimity among the superior sort, unless some lurking darns* (which as yet in every assembly lacketh not), *interturbet omnia.* The full cause of all good men is, that by God's gracious assistance, and the good counsel of your Lordships and others, the late instruments of God's fury, being now worldlings respecting only the weathercock, shall shortly so be weeded, that these choke not the corn, which God grant, and to your Lordship, your heart's desire. With my most hearty commendation to my fond (*fownde*) patrone and second father, good Mr. Bonvise, fautor of all good Catholic men, whom I trust your Lordship hath or will visit, whereof I know he will be very glad.

Your L. orator,
(Signed) Jo. St.

London, 17th June 1555.

[*Addressed:*] "To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, my Lord the Earl of Devon."

[*Contemporary endorsement:*] "17 June 1555, from Mr. Storie."

[*And again, also in a hand of the time:*] "Mr. Storye, 15 June 1555, from London to Brussels."

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

138. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate

Six of the Spanish lords, the Imperial ambassador, and himself, came hither to-day from the Court, the Portuguese ambassador remaining behind from indisposition, all of them having been invited by the Royal Council, in the Queen's name, to honour the obsequies of the Queen of Spain, which to-day, at the vesper-hour, were commenced with great solemnity in St. Paul's Cathedral, and will end to-morrow after the mass. The French ambassador was in company with them, having been invited like the rest, and both at church, and in the evening, at the supper in the Bishop's palace prepared for them and the peers of the realm (*Signori del Regno*), he had his place. Taking into account the great number of persons who attended the ceremony, all being clad in long mourning cloaks generously given to each of them by her Majesty, and independently of the wax candles and furniture (*apparato*), which was very handsome, the cost could not have been less than from 6,000 to 7,000 ducats.

They return to the Court to-morrow with full hope either of

* Darnels, weeds, or tares?

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finding the Queen auspiciously delivered, or that she will be so very speedily; the King with his own lips having told him three days ago, that she had commenced being troubled by certain pains which indicate the announcement of childbirth (*che dan segno di esser nontii del parto*).

Yesterday (Sunday), whilst with the King [at Hampton Court] for the purpose of accompanying him [to mass], the Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget arrived from the conference of Calais, and having withdrawn with his Majesty, narrated to him briefly the whole of the negotiation.

Was told subsequently by the Chancellor that although the conference is broken up (*è rotta*), the negotiation still remains on foot (*resta viva*), and by means of letters and embassies on one part and the other they will be more intent on it than ever, nor does his Lordship despair of some good result.

Hitherto it has been hard to discover the truth, as to which of the parties abstained from proceeding to the adjustment, because they each defend their cause according to interest and passion; but well nigh every one reports, that the Imperialists held more to their own (*essere stati più sulla sua*) than the French, and would not yield an atom of what concerns their grandeur and repute; having always been firm and constant on one point, that those who have been despoiled be in the first place restored; and then, that the [French] King's claims on the Milanese, etc., be referred to and decided by a council according to the form devised and proposed by the Chancellor; but on the return of Cardinal Pole, which will take place in two or three days — his right reverend Lordship having stopped at Canterbury for rest, being extremely tired (in addition to his constitutional debility) from mental and bodily fatigue endured, and from violent sea-sickness—every particular will be heard authentically and distinctly, and be communicated to his Serenity.

During this conference, the Constable served his King by inspecting that very important frontier, providing Montreuil and Boulogne with many things of which they stood in need, and enlarging the fortress of Ardres so that it can now lodge a large number of cavalry, of which it had need; and during his stay there he had a bastion raised, and enclosed the suburb, and, to hasten the operation, he made his own lackeys, and those of the noblemen with him, work.

As to affairs here, the King is anxiously awaiting the delivery, that he may confer with his father, and at length arrange the government and his affairs, which much to his detriment remain more undecided than ever, everything being deferred until that meeting, at which, as the Doge will have heard, the most Serene King of the Romans will also be present, in order to treat and decide whatever they have to do together concerning their public or private business, lest by the Emperor's absence or death any remain [unsettled] to disturb King Philip; and to unite the house of Austria (as it is supposed) with new states and alliances (*congiontioni*), for its utmost possible defence and conservation.

Through the Sigr. Carlo da Sanguino, brother of the chief harbinger (Forier Maggior), who serves here as Esquire carver, (gentil-

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homo della bocca), *the Neapolitan representatives* (quelli del Regno di Napoli) *sent to offer King Philip a donation of* 16,000 (?) *crowns, a much smaller sum than was expected, and had been very earnestly solicited by Cardinal Pacheco, apologising for its smallness on the plea of their great poverty. This so incensed the King against Cardinal Pacheco, by reason of the strange forms which he is understood to have used in demanding it, that his Majesty cannot bear to hear him mentioned, and if it were in his power to maltreat him he would; nor was it true what his secretary said—as told me according to what I wrote—from ostentation, about the large sum of money he had saved; it being known on the contrary that, so far from having laid by one penny, he had rather incurred debt.*

London, 17th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 24.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed vol. v. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c. pp. 14, 15.

139. Cardinal Pole to Pope Paul IV.

As he is sending to his Holiness the Bishop designate of St. Asaph [Thomas Goldwell], a pupil of the Pope's house (for such he may with truth style one who during many years lived in the order of the Regular Clerks (*Clericorum Regularium*)* founded by his Holiness), he has no cause to trouble him with many words. Requests the Pope to give Goldwell such credence for what he will tell him about the state of affairs in England, and the matters intrusted to Pole by the two late Pontiffs of blessed memory, Julius and Marcellus, and by his present Holiness, as due to the piety of a person who lived religiously and holily in that order, which, moreover, caused the King and Queen to nominate him to the see of St. Asaph, an appointment highly commended by Pole; and having been born and educated in England, Goldwell will be able to give the Pope a very sure and clear account; and he undertook the task the more willingly, both from seeing the apostolic throne filled by his Holiness, and for the performance of an act of obedience.

Richmond, 24th June 1555.

[*Latin*, 14 *lines.*]

June 25 ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

140. Account of Negotiations at the Conference [of Marck (a village in the Calais Pale) in the months of May and June 1555.]

His Holiness may be informed that, although the deputies of both sovereigns departed without decision, what has been done is not fruitless, as by means of this congress (*congresso*), it has been proved that the Emperor and the King of France wish for mutual friendship, and also desire to contract a matrimonial alliance. The Pope therefore should urge both sovereigns to peace, to which they seem more disposed than formerly. Should the Pope wish for more particular information about the course pursued by his Legate and

* The order of Regular Clerks, or "Theatins," was founded by S. Gaetano (Gasparo Tiene) and Gio. Pietro Caraffa, A.D. 1524, September 14. I do not know in what year Goldwell entered the order.

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the Queen's deputies in treating this peace, and the difficulties which occurred, Pole's agent may acquaint him with the substance of what took place at the conference as follows:—

On the first day of the Congress, which was Ascension Day [23rd May], after each party had visited the Legate, they assembled in a chamber arranged for the conference, and after mutual loving salutations and embraces, they seated themselves at a table, at the head of which was the Legate, and the Queen's deputies on either side of him, and on their right hand were the deputies of the Emperor, and on their left those of the King [of France].

The Legate commenced by congratulating himself with the deputies, and thanking God for having caused their Princes to send persons of such quality to negotiate so pious and holy a matter, and one so useful and necessary for the whole of Christendom, promising for himself and the other mediators to act with all faith and sincerity in endeavouring to bring this business to a good end, most especially as they were those same persons whose authority and assistance it had pleased God to employ for the reconciliation of England to his Church, after which they endeavoured to make peace between these two most powerful Princes. Then, using the words of the Prophet, "*Pax est opus justitiæ*," Pole said that to stipulate a good peace they must first hear the claims and differences of one side and the other, in order to find means for adjusting them, exhorting both parties to state the right of their Princes in such a form as to show that they have truly the desire evinced by them, and as it might be expected they would do.

The Duke de Medina Celi answered immediately, and the Cardinal of Lorraine followed; next spoke the Bishop of Arras and the Constable; each of them saying the most they could about the goodwill of their Princes, and their inclination towards the peace, expressing their own readiness to perform every good office to this end. Thus ended the colloquy on the first day, it being arranged that on the morrow both parties were to return and confer separately with the Legate and the personages sent by the Queen of England, as they did, and they sought to justify the proceedings of their Princes, both in beginning this war and with regard to their claims on the places taken in the course of it, and on the territories held by them previously, about which a difficulty is made.

Three days were passed in these discussions, after the first conference, and the mediators having made some replies to the French on behalf of the Imperialists, the French on their part expressed a wish to justify their cause in the presence of the Imperialists. As this did not seem a good way for coming to an agreement, but rather a means of irritating and increasing discord, one part doing its utmost to impugn the right and justification of the other, it was proposed that they should continue to treat their disputes separately with the Legate and the other mediators, until the basis of a conclusion was arrived at; but as both parties seemed moderate as to the rights of their Princes, without offending each other, it was settled for them to meet in the common house, where they justified the rights of their Princes without any harsh language, leaving, however, small hope of concluding any agreement in that way; so

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to try what could be done, seeing that the chief difficulty consisted in the Duchy of Milan, and Piedmont and Savoy, it was proposed by the Chancellor that the best way would be to have recourse to marriages. First, to marry the French King's eldest daughter, Madame Elizabeth, to the Prince of Spain, Don Carlos, to whom King Philip might cede the right claimed by him to the Milanese, she being assigned a suitable dowry on the Duchy, and in the event of her death without issue the King's claims to remain in their original force. This marriage seemed to be approved by the deputies on both sides, nor did the Imperialists make any difficulty about the terms, but the French said that the King would never consent to cede his rights, and that in this way the marriage would not be a good means for peace, the seed of fresh war remaining always alive. The Legate then said, that it having been seen by the experience of many years that it was impossible to settle these differences either by force of arms or by alleging rights, no better way remained than to elect arbitrators, and that it would be a great honour for the parties were they to consent to this for the public quiet, they doing honour to Christendom by showing it contained persons to whom they could reasonably refer their controversies.

As they made no further reply to this, the Legate requested them all to consider the matter, and on the morrow the mediators sent to request each of the parties to send one of the deputies to Calais to confer with them, and announce some opinion which might serve for negotiation. On the part of the Imperialists there came Monsr. de Viglius [President of the Council of Brussels],* and for the French the Bishop of Orleans, who were a long while with the Legate and the other mediators, without, however, concluding anything, as they brought nothing new, but it was arranged to meet on the morrow, when the Chancellor, in the name of all the mediators, said that notwithstanding the great difficulties which prevent the adjustment between the Emperor and the King of France, it nevertheless seemed that as a commencement of the peace they ought not to omit making the marriage between the daughter of the King of France and Don Carlos, the son of the King of England,† and that the King's claims upon Milan should be decided by a Council General, to be requested of the Pope by the Emperor and King Henry conjointly, immediately on his creation (the Apostolic See being then vacant), by means of their ambassadors. Then, with regard to Piedmont and Savoy, on which the King of France has in like manner claims, the Chancellor proposed another marriage, between the King's sister‡ and the Duke [Emanuel Philibert], he taking possession of those territories, but leaving certain fortresses in the hands of the King until the council aforesaid shall have decided about his rights. At

* *See* Foreign Calendar, April 11, 1555 (No. 344, p. 162).

† Don Carlos was born on the 12th July 1545, and the Princess Elizabeth of France on the 13th April 1545. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

‡ Margaret of France was married to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, on the 9th July 1559. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

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the moment the only reply made by the Imperialists was that as the matter was of such great importance they demanded four days time to acquaint the Emperor with the whole and receive his answer. The French deputies accepted the first part respecting the marriage between Don Carlos and the King's daughter, but not the second with regard to the Duke of Savoy, to whom they said that the King would restore nothing whatever, laying claim to the territory until his rights to the Milanese were acknowledged, and possession of it given him, and they said the like about what related to the other parties concerned; but in order not to break off entirely it was agreed to await the Emperor's reply, and such was the end of that day's conference.

Then on the fourth day the reply arrived; its substance, as announced by the Bishop of Arras, purporting that the Emperor's differences (*differentie*) with the King of France were so based on justice that there was no occasion to compromise them (*mettere in compromesso*), but that, nevertheless, as a testimony of his wish for peace and the public quiet, he approved what had been proposed by the mediators, provided the differences for reference to the Council were limited and defined, as he did not intend to include such as had been already decided by other treaties between them; and the King's deputies again repeated what they had said before about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy. Thereupon the Legate commended the piety of the sovereigns in referring their disputes to the judge appointed by Christ for his Church, by means of a Council, saying that this was a revival of the ancient piety of Constantine and Charlemagne, and that Pole, having on that day received a brief from the newly-elected Pope [Paul IV., Caraffa, elected 23rd May],* announcing his election, and giving him stringent commission to continue endeavouring by all means to effect the peace, took occasion, from his Holiness' qualities, to say it was evident that the Almighty called them to peace in every way, and that in order to conclude it by a council, his divine goodness had given them a Pope who had always shown himself very desirous of peace for the Church with God and between sovereigns. With this the Legate ended his discourse, exhorting them all to accept so great an invitation and such assistance from God, and such a mediator and judge of their differences, and not to reject a benefit which was no less necessary than it was universal and particular, and that they should condescend to some restitution of conquests made in war, as otherwise he did not see how it was possible to arrive at any good conclusion of peace.

Subsequently the parties debated the matter at great length, both separately and together, neither side agreeing to the restitution of Piedmont and Savoy, and the French deputies saying they could no longer remain away from the King, notwithstanding all the suit to the contrary made by the mediators; so by the consent of all parties the colloquy was dissolved, with the understanding,

* The news of the election arrived in London on the 6th June. (*See* letter of the Ambassador Michiel.)

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however, that the negotiation for peace was not closed; and thus both sides thanking the mediators, and offering their assistance whenever in their power to be of use in this business, all returned homewards, with the same loving demonstrations as when they embraced each other on the first day of the congress.

From London, 25th June 1555 ?*

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

141. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The most illustrious Legate [Cardinal Pole] returned looking perfectly well, notwithstanding the great fatigue and inconvenience undergone by him, and he confirms what the Chancellor [Gardiner] told me concerning the affair of the peace, that it was not yet utterly hopeless, and besides, that while before they assembled at the conference the French then were more anxious, tractable, and submissive, after it met they were harsher and more intractable, either because having dissembled until then, they came to increase their repute, or else because the papal election, considered so very advantageous for them as being their act, and the speedy putting to sea of the Turkish fleet, as is more credible, made them change their mind. In short, they would neither consent to, nor accept any of, the conditions proposed, and the difficulty consisted in arranging the affairs of the injured parties under the protection of the Emperor, namely, the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Mantua for the affairs of Casale and Montferrat, and the Genoese for Corsica, as with regard to the other reciprocal claims and grievances between the Emperor and the King, their adjustment was not difficult, seeing that the Emperor, from his wish for peace, consented to refer the matters of Mentz, Verdun, and other places of Lorraine, to the next Imperial Diet, and would moreover easily have settled the affair of Marienburg, either by restitution or exchange; whilst respecting the Duchy of Milan, concerning which the French urged their claims more strongly than ever, in virtue of the Emperor's repeated promises and their own rights, of which they have been unjustly deprived, and other demands made by one side and the other, provided they could have adjusted the affairs of the despoiled potentates, which have nothing to do either with the Emperor or the King of France, those two powers had, amongst other conventions, arrived at the two following: the one, to make a marriage between the Infant Don Carlos, King Philip's son, and a daughter of the most Christian King, desisting in the meanwhile from hostilities, and thus renewing the friendship and family connexion between these two sovereigns, their own [political ?] affairs remaining in their present state (*restando le cose proprie loro nelli termini che si trovano*). The other was, the marriage not taking place, that matters still remaining as they are, without alteration or change, the disputes and

* By the Michiel correspondence it is seen that Cardinal Pole was back in London from the Conference of Marck on the 25th June, and I therefore assign that date to the foregoing document.

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These conditions, subjecting them to no innovation (*non li portando innovation alcuna*), pleased the French, who consented alike both to Don Carlos' marriage, but without detriment to the claims of either side, insisting on this being specified, and to the arbitration of a council or other judges, their aim and intention being, without surrendering anything they hold, solely to protract (*di scorrer*) and gain time, knowing that it would always be in their power, by excuses and obstacles of one sort and another, to put off the decision as long as they liked. As soon, however, as they came to the restitution demanded for the Duke of Savoy and the other despoiled potentates, and their restoration, the French rejected every proposal, saying that the Emperor also on his part should give up what he held belonging to their friends and confederates, urging as a counter claim to Piedmont their right to the kingdom of Navarre, on the plea that the King having died lately, there is the Duke de Vendôme [Antoine de Bourbon], his cousin, in their phraseology his brother. To the Emperor's demands for Corsica, they retort by claiming Sienna, and the Duke of Mantua's rights are disposed of by referring to those of Duke Ottavio Farnese.

Moreover, with regard to the Duke of Savoy, they put forward many claims in right of the mother of King Francis, Madame Louise of Savoy, whereby they maintain that their present possession of those territories is legitimate, and that they are not bound to make any restitution, as having found their enemies there and expelled them, they, according to martial law (*le leggi della guerra*), are its legitimate masters, which argument they also apply to the affairs of Casale and Corsica, and thus defend their occupation of those places; and returning to the Duke of Savoy, they also said they declined to treat or discuss his affairs with the Emperor or his ministers, but only with the Duke or the Duke's agents, and that whenever he went or sent to France he would be received to his satisfaction. To this it was said that the Duke would form no resolve without the Emperor's knowledge and consent, and that negotiating with one he negotiated with the other. They rejoined that, touching the Duke's resolve, he might make it to the pleasure of the Emperor, but that they would treat with none but himself; and although it was proposed to them that the Emperor would consent to his marriage with Madame Margaret, the King's sister, provided they reinstated him, and that they might retain the same number of his fortresses as those remaining to the Emperor until the affairs of the Milanese, which apparently gave rise to the contest, were adjusted, yet would they give no ear to it. On the other hand, in lieu of Savoy and Piedmont now held by them, they offered to cede to the Emperor their rights to the Milanese, he making such compensation to the Duke of Savoy as he might think fit, or else that the Emperor might give him the Milanese, which belonged to them, making him cede them as recompense Savoy and Piedmont, with which they would be content, thus showing in what great account they held those provinces, by preferring them to the Milanese, which Duchy,

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they said openly, they would not confer on the Duke of Orleans, but annex it to the royal crown, to which they said it had devolved.

Thus they renounced any adjustment, though at the end they took leave of each other very courteously and without any anger, praying Cardinal Pole and the English commissioners to persevere in the negotiation, as perchance the Almighty would offer some better mode and form than had then been adopted. Now on their departure Cardinal Pole, in his own name and that of the English commissioners, sent the Abbot of San Saluto after them, giving them to understand that as the terms proposed for the adjustment between the Emperor and the King seemed not to offer many difficulties, there remaining those of the [other?] parties concerned, and most especially of the Duke of Savoy, which impeded these [affairs of the two crowns?], they should be pleased to think of some form of treaty with the said adherents (*interessati*), as Cardinal Pole hoped that when their difficulties were settled, all the others would adjust themselves. The French repeated what they had already said, that the Duke and the others were to come or send to France; that there a parley would be held, and means be found to satisfy them. They answered that this was not to be thought of, but that there was a middle course (*una forma media*) to which, should the French consent, endeavours would be made to obtain the consent of the Imperialists, as assented to by both, thus, that each was to treat and hear from his confederates and dependents who are concerned, what they would finally content themselves with, the Imperial nominees (*nominati*) as aforesaid being Savoy, Mantua, and Genoa; and those of France, Sienna, Duke Ottavio (*Farnese*), and, for the affairs of Navarre, Mons. de Vendôme, about which last it was strongly urged that nothing should be said, as the matter was of ancient date, and would make the Imperialists revive many other quarrels of the same sort, to the ruin of the whole negotiation.

The Abbot [of San Saluto] then proposed of his own accord that it would be well to fix a term and limited period for this tractation (*questa trattatione*), during which interval a truce should be made. Thereupon, with regard to time, the French referred themselves to the Emperor, and as to the truce, they seemed inclined towards it; but to this the Imperialists did not assent; and as to the time, referred themselves to the return to Flanders of the Duke of Savoy, in order to know his mind.

Matters remain in this state; and hence comes the hope entertained by Cardinal Pole and Chancellor Gardiner of the agreement; *which if not effected in this way, it is the opinion of those who discover secrets* (che penetrano nelli secreti), *that the Imperialists, despairing of its ever being effected either now or hereafter, will without farther delay, form a fresh resolve, and that at the congress about to be held between the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and King Philip* (questa Maestà), *they will principally discuss the Milanese, with a view to appointing a Duke of its own,* (per mettervi un particolar duca) *dependent on themselves; endeavouring to form a league with the States of Italy, not only for her defence, but for the recovery, so far as possible, of Piedmont and Savoy; and they rely greatly on your Serenity, who will have no lack of offers*

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and conditions, as has been already hinted to me from several quarters.

Richmond, 25th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

142. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On our return here to the Court after the obsequies, we expected, by reason of the pains which her Majesty had commenced suffering, to find the Queen in childbed; but from the result, we have become aware (*si siamo accorti*) that they were not of that sort, so there is no one, either of the physicians, or of the women, or others, all having been deceived, who at present dare any longer form an opinion about it, all persons resigning themselves to such hour and time as shall best please our Lord God; the universal persuasion and belief being, that so will it come to pass in this, as in all her Majesty's other circumstances, which the more they were despaired of according to human reasoning and discourse, the better and more auspicious did their result then show itself, thus fully proving to the world that they were regulated exclusively by Divine Providence.

Elsewhere, as here, this delay will give rise from day to day to various comments and conversations, all persons interpreting it according to their own interest and passion, rather than rightfully and reasonably; which I mention, because last week two gentlemen (*persone nobili*) of no ordinary repute (*di non vulgar consideratione*) were imprisoned in the Tower, on a charge, according to report, of having spoken about this delivery licentiously, in a tone unbecoming their grade. One of the two, by name Master Harper (*Mastro Harper*), a factious individual, who having been condemned last year for Wyatt's rebellion, was subsequently released by the Queen at the King's intercession; so the punishment of these men may perhaps repress the audacity of the others.*

They have commenced fitting out the fleet for the King's passage after the delivery, and within a month it will be all assembled and well armed; for this likewise, as told me by the Admiral, the Queen has even spent from 8,000*l.* to 9,000*l.* sterling, nor will it disarm until his Majesty's return.

A public proclamation was made in London ordering all persons possessed of books by Lutheran authors, whose names were specified, to bring them to the Bishop of the city within ten days, under heavy penalties, as otherwise, the due domiciliary visits being made, all persons found in possession of such works will be punished according to the penalty announced.† In the meanwhile, as a good precaution (*per buon rispetto*), London is in the custody of the

* Sir George Harper had been released from the Tower on the 18th January 1555, as appears by an entry in Machyn's Diary, where I find no mention of his second imprisonment.

† Machyn (p. 90) dates this proclamation 14th June 1555, and the authors named by him are Luther, Tindal, Miles Coverdale, and Cranmer.

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Earl of Pembroke, who will, however, re-cross the Channel shortly; and by order of the Royal Council, to prevent any cause for commotion, the Lord Mayor has been desired not to permit the performance of the usual pageant on setting the Midsummer watches.*

At the last sitting of the Council (*nella ultima consulta*), the King pardoned many persons who had been outlawed from the Milanese, and despatched favourably the suits of many Neapolitans, dismissing all as well satisfied as possible, considering the present times.

The summaries contained in your Serenity's letters of the 6th have been communicated as usual.

Richmond, 26th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

143. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

I yesterday condoled with the Emperor on the death of the most Serene Queen his mother, adding, for his consolation, that he would soon receive such news as not only to moderate his grief, but to cause extreme joy, by its announcing the auspicious delivery of the Queen of England, which birth, I said, would give your Serenity as much satisfaction as if you had heard of the stipulation of the peace, and that his commissioners had comported themselves so well in treating the conditions of the peace that he could not but obtain great praise. His Majesty replied that my condolence was a proof of that affection which corresponded with the friendship he had ever had with your Serenity, and that he resigned himself to the will of God, thanking me for my good wishes concerning the delivery of the Queen of England, about whom he said that, by reason of her goodness and religion, he believed that the Lord God would assist her in childbirth, which, to say the truth, was no less tardy in taking place than the news received here of its fulfilment had been premature; nor did he doubt your Serenity's being as glad to hear of this delivery as of the conclusion of the peace, which failed by fault of the French, who made demands synonymous, to use his Majesty's own expression, with stamping on his throat (*metterle il piede in su la gola*); and suiting the action to the word, he placed his right hand on his neck, and with great vehemence explained this conceit, and repeated it twice. He proceeded then to say, that from constant proofs he very well knew the nature of Frenchmen, which would be better known to persons read in history, as he supposed I was, and better still than either of us by a Republic which had lasted so long as that of Venice, whose boundless experience would have enabled her to comprehend that they have ever sought to dominate not a part, but the whole of the world (*de dominare non una parte, ma tutto il mondo*); notwithstanding which, he would willingly condescend again to make peace on suitable terms. Throughout the conversation

* Che non permettesse che si facesse la festa solita di San Giovanni.

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he shewed himself so kind and gracious that more could not be desired; and I found him looking very well, and so inclined to talk at length that he seemed to enjoy it, and when I saw that he had enough, I took leave of him.

Brussels, 26th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Parti Comuni Consiglio X. vol. xxii. p. (69), 28.

144. Motion made in the Council of Ten concerning Viscount Montagu.

That the jewels of the Sanctuary and the armoury halls of this Council be shown to the English ambassador, Lord Montagu (*Mons. di Monte Agut*).

Ayes, 15. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.*

June 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

145. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador went yesterday to the Bishop of Arras, saying he was commissioned by the Queen's Council to let him know, for the Emperor's information, that many troops have mustered on the Scottish borders; so she had determined to make the necessary preparations against any attack meditated by the Scots, and wrote to her ambassador in France to ascertain from the King (as he had the Queen of Scotland in his power, and was the confederate of that kingdom) the cause of this stir. He also prayed the Bishop to induce the Emperor to allow Lord Courtenay to depart for Italy, to which he replied that the Emperor did not interfere in this business, but that Courtenay would have the permission from the Queen of England, telling the ambassador (as from himself) to dissuade the undertaking of this journey for the present, that he might remain to see this war, with other loving expressions about Lord Courtenay, who seems much troubled at not obtaining this licence.

Lottino, who was sent by the Emperor to King Philip, to acquaint him with the narrations (*relationi*) received from Cardinal Sta. Fiore and Don Juan Metich of the mode in which the Pope's election took place, has returned,† and the day before yesterday had audience of his Majesty, who confirmed to him the authority given by the King to the said Cardinal, to grant what terms he pleases to Paolo Giordano Orsini, son-in-law of the Duke of Florence, and his right reverend Lordship's nephew. To-day his Majesty had a packet consigned to

* On the 31st August 1554, the Council of Ten granted a similar permit, thus, "*To Mr. Richard Bertie, husband of the Duchess of Suffolk of England.*" Ayes, 17; No, 0; Neutral, 0. The title "*of England*," seems to have been given to Katherine Willoughby in right of her first husband, whose second wife was the sister of Henry VIII. In Burke's "Extinct Peerages" (p. 54) is the following paragraph: "During the reign of Queen Mary the Duchess of Suffolk, being a zealous supporter of the Reformation, was obliged to retire, accompanied by Mr. Bertie, from England, and they subsequently encountered great privations and dangers upon the Continent."

I am unable to ascertain when Lady Willoughby de Eresby left England, but from the wording of the "permit" given by the Council of Ten, it may be inferred that she was with her husband in Venice on the 31st August 1554.

† Francesco Lotino or Lottino, secretary of Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal di Santafiore, gave account to the Emperor of many illegal proceedings which took place at the election of Paul IV. (*See* Andrea Morosini, Storia Veneziana, vol. 2, p. 260.)

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Lottino for Don Francesco de Toledo, charging him to enter Sienna as his lieutenant, by which same packet I have heard the Emperor writes to the Duke of Alva, I could not discover what, concerning Duke Ottavio [Farnese], to whom he had been already commissioned to offer honourable terms, in order to bring him back to his Majesty's allegiance (*per ritornarlo alla devotion di S.M*).

Brussels, 30th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

146. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After communicating the Turkish advices to the King, told him that although the conference had produced but little result, many persons nevertheless did not quite despair of it, and that he, knowing the goodness of his Majesty's disposition, was one of these. The King replied that his ministers had proceeded in such a way as to render his goodwill evident, not only by referring the disputes to the Council General (*al concilio generale*), but even to Cardinal Pole alone, but that the Imperialists showed themselves so obstructive that there was no way of effecting an adjustment; and although Cardinal Pole did not fail in his goodwill, yet, as the Queen of England was in retirement on account of her pregnancy (saying with a laugh, "I know not whether she be or be not pregnant"), he had not yet spoken to her Majesty; and that the Bishop of Arras likewise had told his most Christian Majesty's ministers that they were not to consider this departure from the conference as a total suppression of the business, but that it proceeded from the difficulty which had prevented an agreement, and that they should not fail using their good offices, as he also would do the like with his Imperial Majesty.

The King stated that he had intercepted letters written to the Emperor by his daughter in Spain concerning public affairs, and that the Royal Council of England having heard this, requested him to send them, not the letters of the Emperor, nor those of the King of England, but such as were contained in the packet, and addressed to private individuals, whose names they gave him; in reply to which his Majesty sent the letters requested of him, without saying whether the packet had been intercepted or not.

Poissy, 30th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Filza No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi, Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

147. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. William Cordell.

Mr. Cordall,—I received your letters of the 27th of May, whereby I both received your good advice and perceived the will and contentation you have to the furtherance of my affairs, for which I most heartily thank you. I have hitherto made you no answer, partly because it was long before your letter came to my hands, and partly because I abode the return of this messenger, whom now I have sent to you to declare to you my mind by mouth at full, whom I

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pray you credit accordingly. This for this time, with my most hearty commendations, I bid you well to fare.

Your loving friend,

Brussels, 30th June 1555. (Signed) E. Devon.

[*Holograph.*]

[*Endorsed also in Courtenay's own hand:*] "To my lovinge frend Mr. W. Cordall, the Quene's Ma^ties Sollicitor Gerle thies w^t sped at the Court."

[*And again, also by Courtenay:*] "Last of June 1555. Copye. Cordall."

June 30. Filza No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

148. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. Basset.

Would have long since answered his letters of the 25th and 26th May, "touching my affaires," but that partly it was long ere he received them, and partly he waited for the return of "this "messenger, who brought me from you full answer and satis- "faction of that wherein I sent to you." Sends same messenger back to him now, to declare his mind verbally about his affairs. Begs his most hearty commendation to Don (Sr.) Ruy Gomez (Rigomez), thanking him for the services which Basset's letter had mentioned. Also to be commended "to the rest of my "friends."

In a P.S. he adds,—

"News we have none here but such as I am sure you are not "ignorant of touching matters of importance. But touching my- "self, you shall understand I find here great favour at the Bishop "of Arras's hands, who yesterday did me this honour, that he came "unto my house to me, onely to salute and visit me, which I assure "you for my part I cannot but think myself very greatly bound unto "him for, and also gather thereby assured hope of further favour "otherwise, not a little to my contentation."

Brussels, 30th June 1555.

[*Endorsed in same hand:*]

"A copye sent to Mr. Bassat the last of June 1555, from "Brussels."

June 30. Filza No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

149. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire (in his Secretary's hand), to Mr. [Sir Francis] Englefeld.

Has received his letters of 11th instant. Sees his gentle carefulness about his affairs, and thanks him. Understood from "this messenger" Englefeld's "mynd at full." Asks continuance of his friendship about his affairs. "And thus for this time, as one that is but an ill and a gross secretary, I omit to trouble you with a long letter, beseeching God to have you in his keeping."

Your assured friend

Brussels, 30th June 1555. E. Devon.

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*]

"A coppye to Mr. Englefeld of the last of June 1555, frõ "Bruxels."

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July 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

150. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Besides what your Serenity heard by my last of the 25th ulto., about the negotiation and result of the conference, you will learn in addition how it has been told me for certain, that the Constable, on departing, left a writing in the hands of the Abbot of San Saluto, to be shewn to the Duke of Savoy, and to be discussed (negotiata) *with him, the contents of which I have been unable to ascertain anything about, despite my utmost endeavours; but from conjecture it may be supposed to be nothing but some form of adjustment or compensation, or something of the sort, offered him by the King; so the greater is the anxiety about his return from Italy, on the first news of which it is supposed the Abbot will go to him immediately. In the meanwhile,* his most Christian Majesty has sent back the Prothonotary de Noailles with letters to the most Serene Queen and the most illustrious Legate, thanking them—thus is it said hitherto—for their good offices and exertions respecting the conference, evincing extreme satisfaction at their good intentions (*buon animo et volontà loro*) in this negotiation. *Many persons are of opinion that the King performed this office, in order thus covertly, by making some fresh proposal, to resume the affair, or give Cardinal Pole and Chancellor Gardiner an opportunity for making some fresh proposal, or at least for keeping the negotiation in mind and alive, with the hope either that some fresh circumstance, or some other more propitious moment, may facilitate and accomplish it, or else on the contrary, that it be dismissed and disappear entirely; but* the Prothonotary not having yet had audience, the Queen being in such close retirement as she is, his conference with the Legate being also deferred, it has been impossible hitherto to obtain more than this general information.

Since his return, Cardinal Pole has been and is intent with all earnestness on regulating and carrying into effect the restitution of the Church property held by the Crown, the Queen choosing at any rate—although its revenues will thus be diminished by upwards of 200,000 ducats—to clear her conscience, having referred herself entirely to the judgment and opinion of his right reverend Lordship, utterly regardless of poverty, provided she absolve herself. In two days Cardinal Pole will send an Englishman, one of his familiars, to Rome, to acquaint the Pope with the resolve formed about this with the Lords of the royal Council, so as to injure (*offender*) the Crown as little as possible, and in the meanwhile to make amends (*redintegrar*) to all the parishes and benefices for the cure of souls, for all they were despoiled of, and subsequently from day to day to continue rebuilding and re-establishing (*riedificando et redintegrando*) the hospitals, monasteries, and other churches, according to need and opportunity; Cardinal Pole—although he has the most ample faculty—not choosing to take any authority upon himself without the Pope's knowledge and express order.

Yesterday, by way of France, letters arrived from Spain, brought by an Englishman, dated Seville the 10th, and Valladolid the 15th and 16th ult., announcing the safe arrival of six caravels of the fleet from Peru, as many more having remained behind at a short

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distance, all very richly freighted, according to the usual parlance of these Spaniards, who invariably reckon by millions. By this same despatch other news was heard—no less good—how in the province of Peru, near the city of Cusco, the royal officials and ministers and their troops had engaged and worsted that Captain Francisco Hernandes de Giron, who having many followers, rebelled and made himself king, and taking flight with six horsemen, one of his own people killed him with upwards of twenty wounds, so that by his death that province remained peacable and quiet, greatly to the profit of the Emperor, who would obtain all the property and effects of the rebels.

The Emperor has again urged King Philip to cross the Channel immediately after the delivery, and many persons add that he has ordered him not to delay beyond the 20th instant, whether it takes place or not; concerning which child-birth I will not omit telling your Serenity a pleasant thing, namely, that the King of Poland having sent hither an ambassador with the due congratulations on such an event, supposing it to have already taken place, and at the same time to condole on the death of the Queen of Spain, and this envoy having come with a premeditated Latin oration, combining one office and the other, he did not choose his labour to be vain, for when the King gave him public audience, after having first performed the office of condolence, he at one and the same time chose also to deliver himself of this one of congratulation, just as if the event had already taken place, to the laughter and amusement of many persons who were present.

Since the residence here of the Court, there have been many affrays between the Spaniards and the English,† several persons on either side having been wounded and killed, the English always getting the worst of it; and lately on Corpus Christi day, a serious assault well nigh took place, as the English, enraged in consequence of certain wounds inflicted on one of their countrymen, notwithstanding his having deserved them, were on the point of entering the church, where all the Spaniards, including the most noble and illustrious of that nation, had assembled to go forth in procession, and of treating them to rough usage, and to a vesper-service like that of Sicily* (facendo loro un vespero conforme a quello di Sicilia).‡ *For on the sudden such a concourse of Englishmen presented themselves outside the church as doubly to outnumber the Spaniards, and with great difficulty was their wrath mitigated by some of the rioters, less daring and indiscreet than the rest. On this account,* King Philip, wishing to prevent all cause for scandal, issued a proclamation two days ago, to the effect that the first Spaniard who shall dare to use a weapon is to have his hand cut off, and under the severest penalties he has forbidden both horsemen and footmen to carry any sort of harquebuss, and he has given orders to hang by the neck any man, who, whether in defence or offence, shall dare raise the cry of "*Spain*" for assistance, not

* Meaning Hampton Court, although the letter is dated Richmond.

† Sono successi tra Spagnoli et Inglesi molti romori di costione.

‡ The Sicilian vespers, or massacre of the French in Sicily, commenced at Palermo, March 30, 1282. (*See* Haydn's Dictionary of Dates.)

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choosing that even in self-defence, as is almost always the case, they should come to blows, at the risk of tumult or insurrection; but rather put up, as they do, with any affront or persecution.

The Cardinal San Clemente * and the Cardinal Camerlengo,† have sent to give particular account of the Pope's election, explaining how they did their utmost to prevent it, and recommending King Philip and praying him to provide for this necessity (*questa occasione*) on the creation of Popes, and to think more of affairs there [at Rome] than has been done of late, *protesting that otherwise, the friends of the Spanish faction dying daily, or being lost, his Majesty may thus incur considerable detriment; the Duke of Florence telling him the like and making many complaints.*

The Ambassador of the Queen of Poland [Bonna Sforza] departs to-day, having received handsome presents from both their Majesties, and been despatched according to his desire; taking back not only the confirmation of the privileges and exemptions of the Duchy of Bari,‡ but having received many additional favours (*gratie*) from his Majesty. To the Grand Master of Rhodes, King Philip has likewise conceded that all commanderies in Italy in his territories can only be taken possession of by appointment from said Grand Master and the Order; and nearly all suitors have been despatched with what may be called universal satisfaction, so that no private business remains on hand. The delegates (*reggenti*) from Naples and Milan assure me that since King Philip has assumed the government of those States, notwithstanding his present great penury, what with appointments, pensions, salaries, and other funds, he has deprived himself of upwards of 20,000 ducats annual revenue, disposing of it to one person and another in part for their deserts and necessities, and partly as mere reward and gratuity; and although his Majesty was reminded that considering the nature of the times, it would be well for him to proceed more prudently, he replied that, at least at this commencement, he holds the consolation afforded by him to his subjects through this demonstration of goodwill and affection in greater account, than the loss of a slight additional income, his need not consisting in so small a sum, as he requires a much greater supply; and if able to provide it, he will simultaneously provide for what he now deprives himself of; or should this be denied him, he congratulates himself at least on retaining the goodwill of those whom he will have benefited.

Richmond, 1st July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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* Giambattista Cicala, a Genoese, created Cardinal by Julius III. 20th December 1551. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 325.)

† Guido Ascanio Sforza held the post of "Cardinal Camerlengo" from the 22nd October 1537 until his death in 1564. (*See* Moroni, Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica, vol. vii., p. 80, Venezia, 1844.)

‡ Bonna Sforza, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, by Isabella of Aragon, daughter of Alfonso II., King of Naples, who gave her the Duchy of Bari as her marriage portion. She went from Bari to Poland in 1518, where before her arrival the Poles used to drink for twelve hours at a sitting. She reduced the term to eight, and was one of the ablest politicians of her times. She died in 1557. (*See* Alberi's Venetian Reports.)

1555.
July 6.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

151. Cardinal Pole to Pope Paul IV.

On leaving Calais, wrote to the Pope that the conference for the peace had been dissolved without farther conclusion, but not without hope, as expressed by both sides, that what had failed then might be accomplished later. Has not failed to confirm the Queen in this hope, and is sure she will continue to act as mediatrix in so good and holy a work. The most Christian King has now sent the Prothonotary de Noailles to thank the Queen for what she has done hitherto in this matter, showing himself more than ever inclined towards the peace. The Prothonotary performed the like office with Pole, bringing him letters of credence from the King and the Constable. Has thus a good opportunity for continuing the negotiation according to the Pope's order, to see if it is possible to bring it to a good end.

On returning hither, Pole thought of sending one of his attendants to the Pope to acquaint him with the affairs of these his legations, and with the state of spiritual matters in England, but waited for fuller decision about the Church property still in possession of the Crown, with regard to which their Majesties have always evinced an intention in accordance with their great piety, as Pole hopes the Pope will see by good effects.

Has presented the papal brief to the King and Queen, assuring them largely of what they may promise themselves from his Holiness' pious and paternal affection for the benefit of all Christendom, and especially towards them and their realms, of which they seem convinced.

Richmond, 6th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc.

152. Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Badajos [Francisco Navarre].

Has received two letters from him alike in tenour, most loving and kind, and remarkable for their manifestations of affection and piety, but nevertheless of that sort which he is accustomed either not to answer at all, or with difficulty. Navarre heretofore* sent him a letter written nearly in the same style, and having seen after how long a while and at length with what difficulty Pole answered it, he certainly did not expect the Bishop again to relapse into the same course; or has he done so, in order again to experience the ungraciousness as it were (*quasi inhumanitatem*) of Pole's silence? Would that he had thought to have experienced it the first time, as he would then have changed his tone. But as, taking in good part even those things for which other persons blamed Pole, he does not desist from praising him, although it was clearly demonstrated by Pole's former letter, that he was no more entitled to Navarre's praises, than if he had really exchanged his human form for that of an ass (he having, in fact, represented that character at the time when Navarre styled him well nigh a hero); and whereas Pole thought thus to silence Navarre completely, so that he might not

* Immediately after the Conclave of 1549–1550, to which see Cardinal Pole's reply, date 1550, June 17. (*See* No. 671, Venetian Calendar, vol. 5, p. 819.)

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again thus commend him; Pole now discovers that he has effected nothing, as the Bishop finds subject for praise even in an ass, administering it in such wise as to raise him to heaven in that form.*

To say the truth, on reading this, he could not but acknowledge Navarre's extreme love for him, but could scarcely bring himself to answer it, though he at length determined to do so, passing over in silence the greater part relating to the praise lavished on himself, and merely replying to what he writes about King Philip, himself, and his flock. With regard to the King, the Bishop has ample field for panegyric, combining love and truth, whether in praise of his Majesty's piety and prudence, or of his singular gravity, magnanimity, and graciousness in every relation of life (*in omni vitæ genere*), as they find him, and as the Church found him immediately on his marriage to their Queen, given him by God, to render this assistance, of which the first fruit was the return of the kingdom to its true faith (*a sincera fide*) and obedience, from which it had been led astray by its late rulers.

On this theme the Bishop can dilate, and celebrate the piety and other virtues of both their Majesties, doing so deservedly, and much to the approval of all good men.

With regard to Navarre's permanent residence in his diocese, Pole greatly commends it. Pastors who attend so assiduously to the care of their flocks are worthy of congratulation.

The Bishop writes in favour of Giovanni Bonavita, and his wife Gerolama, daughter of Navarre's brother. Pole knew Bonavita heretofore, and esteemed him for his virtue, and now that he and his wife are allied to Navarre by kindred and piety, they will be yet more dear to Pole.

Navarre recommended Pietro Frango, who is known and esteemed by Pole, but he does not know how to assist him.

Navarre will hear from Rullo (*noster Rullus*) the state of affairs in general, and of Pole individually, and thereupon, if able to assist the Bishop in any way, will use his best offices to that effect.

Richmond, 8th July 1555.

[*Latin*, 66 *lines*.]

July 8.
Filza No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi, Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

153. Thomas Martyn to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.

My duty premised unto your good Lordship as it appertaineth.

These be rather to render your Honour thanks for your most loving letters, and gentle token (which I sent immediately unto the Court unto my Lord Chancellor for news), than that I have any new matter worthy to certify you of. If my letter sent unto your Lordship by one of your men in the beginning of the last week be delivered, I have now no need to say anything further. The chief and most necessary point was that, as it appertaineth, you remove

* Cumque putarem eâ re os tibi, ne me rursus ita laudares, penitus obstructum esse, adeo nihil profeci, at etiam in jumento invenieris quid laudes et ita laudes, ut in cœlum me ipso nomine feras.

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not from the Low Countries until the King's Majesty's coming. In the mean space I would wish you did acquaint yourself with the Bishop of Arras for purposes. Thus being ready to depart into my countrye I make an end, trusting at my return to certify you of some better news.

From the Savoy, 8th July 1555.

Your Lordship's most assured,
THO. MARTYN.

[*Directed*] "To the right honorable my Lorde Coortneye, Earl of Devonshire, these."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*] "Doctor Marten, the 8th of July, from London, 1555.' [*And again:*] "Mr. Marten, 8 June (*sic*), from London to Brussels."

July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

154. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prothonotary Noailles and "lofar" (sic) [*the ambassador?*] *his brother had audience of the Queen on the 3rd, not only for the purpose of returning thanks for the demonstrations used by her ministers and representatives at the conference, with regard to the expenditure and to the great trouble taken by them, but also to confirm her Majesty in this neutrality. They apologized and endeavoured to show that their King had not failed to make terms* (di venir a compositione), *justifying the proceedings of the French commissioners at the conference, lest the Queen should think otherwise than they deserved, by attributing the failure of the adjustment to any want of respect for her Majesty; adding that in like manner as their most Christian King regretted beyond measure not having had the satisfaction to witness the adjustment, and to assign the honour of it to her Majesty's instrumentality and mediation, so he declared himself more ready than ever to accept any fair terms of agreement that might be proposed, he not having swerved in the least from the wish hitherto demonstrated by him for peace and concord, which he still most earnestly desired; praying the Queen in conclusion not to relinquish the negotiation as hopeless, but together with her councillors and the Legate to devise some other form of agreement.*

The Queen replied that she deeply lamented having been deceived in her hope, after seeing at the commencement how readily the King had not merely consented to the conference, but sought it, thus showing his good and pious disposition, and the wish entertained by him for the adjustment; but that subsequently at the conference his commissioners formed a resolve at variance with that which had apparently actuated them, not choosing to accept any of the conventions offered them by the mediators and by the adversaries themselves, having more regard than due for their own rights* (troppo più stimando la loro rasone del dovere). *Of all that took place, however, the Queen said she would not lay the blame*

* Li sui havevano tenuti modi et risolutione contraria a quella, con che mostrorono di moversi.

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on anything but our own sins and demerits, and on the evil nature of the times (la malignità de tempi), *God's wrath not having as yet sufficiently vented itself upon us. With regard to their proposal that she should again think of some other form of adjustment, she replied that although she would not refuse to make her ministers undertake fresh toil and trouble, and that she would again speak to the Legate, yet they must bear well in mind—and this she said half angrily* (meza turbata)—*that in the end she could not fail demonstrating her affection and obligation to the King her husband, and to the Emperor her father-in-law, giving it almost openly to be understood that she would cease to be neutral* (di esser per uscir di neutralità).

These words caused the ambassador to reply: "Madame, from what I see, your Majesty must have been misinformed about my King's rights (ragioni), *as* [*otherwise*] *you would not form this opinion* [*now*] *expressed; so I pray you to incline to hear them better* [*stated*] *than they have been heard by you, as I trust that on receiving the information you will change your mind and remain well satisfied with the King's determination and mode of proceeding, and that you will know his intention, and not have cause to interrupt the affection evinced by you towards him in return for that which he on his part bears your Majesty; and I and my brother offer to give, whenever it shall please you, such information and satisfaction as necessary to undeceive your Majesty." This having apparently appeased the Queen, she said: "Well, let the matter be looked to and understood, as I am content to try again whether there could be any fresh form of agreement. I will communicate with my ministers and with the Legate, and we will see together what can be done, and if necessary I will let you know our mind and determination." Whereupon they took leave, the Prothonotary saying he would remain in London ten or twelve days.**

On their return [*from Hampton Court*] *they passed the whole of the rest of the day here* [*at Richmond*] *with Cardinal Pole, to whom they brought letters from the most Christian King, as also from the Constable for the Abbot of San Saluto, and they held a long conference; and on the morrow the Legate went to the Court, and remained a long while discussing these matters with the King and Queen, evincing, as told me on good authority, great wish for a truce (which would be much preferred by the French), should peace prove impossible, both because the whole difficulty reduces itself to the*

* Le qual parole diedero occasione all' Orator di replicar: Madama, la Maestà Vostra deve esser stata, per quanto io vedo, mal informata delle ragioni del re mio, perchè ella non farebbe questo giuditio che fa; perhò io la prego a volersi disponer di intenderle meglio che non ha inteso, perchè io confido, informata che sia, muterà parere et restarà ben satisfata della volontà et proceder del re, et cognoscerà di qual animo egli sia; nè haverà causa di intermetter verso di lui la affettione che dimostra portarli per quella che dalla parte sua è portata alla Maestà Vostra; et io, et il mio fratello, sempre che le piacerà, si offerimo a darle quella informatione et satisfattione che sarà necessaria per disinganarla. A questo mostrando Sua Maestà di esser raddolcita disse: horsù che si veda et intendi che io ne sarò contenta et cerchisi di novo se ci fusse qualche nova forma di accordo; io sarò con li mei et con il Legato, et vederemo insieme ciò che si potrà far, et occorrendo vi farò intender lo animo et risolutione nostra. Et con questo dicendo il Protonotario che si fermarebbe a Londra 10 o 12 giorni, si licentiorono.

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restoration of the Duke of Savoy, which they strenuously oppose, as your Serenity heard, and also as they again dispute that of Navarre. The Legate and their Majesties' councillors are chiefly intent, in the first place, on persuading the French to refer (*ammetter*—sic) [*rimetter ?*] *the case of Navarre, as a State matter, together with the other reciprocal claims of the Emperor and the King, to the decision of the Council or of other judges, and not to make any change at present with regard to the possession of that kingdom; endeavouring, secondly, respecting the Duke, to find the most suitable terms possible for his accommodation, which has been so difficult hitherto as to make everybody despair of it, the French not choosing by any means to restore Piedmont unless they have Milan, though they might be induced to reinstate him in Savoy.*

With regard to the truce, the Abbot of San Saluto, by order of the Legate, returned yesterday to Hampton Court (a palazo) *to ascertain from Don Gutierre Lopez Padilla, King Philip's Chamberlain and Councillor for the affairs of the Council of State* (Dieta di Stato), *whether, if the truce or suspension of hostilities were negotiated on the least unfair and disadvantageous terms possible, his Majesty would assent to them according to the intention announced by him to Cardinal Pole; and it became evident that the personages here* (questi di quà) *will not assume any authority beyond that which the Emperor has given them concerning these and other negotiations. To-day, Cardinal Pole is expecting a visit from the Chancellor in the name of the King and Queen to acquaint him with their opinion* (per conferir quanto haveranno pensato) *concerning the whole affair, in order that should the project seem suitable and feasible, the Legate, as mediator, may propose it to the French, their Majesties not considering him entirely their confidant as they do the Chancellor and Paget* (non lo havendo per intieramente confidente loro come hanno il Cancelliere et Pagietto), *who are, nevertheless, also employed as mediators, an office requiring impartiality, without leaning more towards one side than the other, as very well done and demonstrated by Cardinal Pole, who, even on his own account, together with the Abbot of San Saluto, on whose judgment this negotiation in great part depends—he, as a person of experience and ability, having had a hand in it heretofore—does not fail devising practicable ways and means with regard to the ex-Duke of Savoy* (Duca vecchio di Saveglia). *His right reverend Lordship is strongly urged by all parties to effect some compromise* (compositione), *but the whole treaty is impeded and delayed by the absence of the Duke, concerning whom I will not omit to mention what was told me in confidence by a person of authority, the supreme negotiator in this matter; that when the conference broke up, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable said that they had represented to him* [*the Duke of Savoy*] *in the King's name* (che li fusse offerto per nome del Re), *that by not choosing to take the transaction of his affairs out of the Emperor's hands, they would share the same fate as those of his Imperial Majesty, whereas by detaching and treating them separately, and in his own person, going himself, or sending to France, he would obtain such terms from the King as completely to satisfy him; and even should the*

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King and Duke be unable of themselves to arrange matters together, yet whenever the Emperor and the King adjusted their own personal affairs, as was not very remote, the King would refer those between the Duke and himself for arbitration to one or more judges, and abide absolutely by their sentence and decision; and this offer seems to me the one contained in the writing which the Constable on his departure [from Marck] delivered to Cardinal Pole for communication to the Duke. This same person has given me a clearer account of the circumstances narrated at the close of my letter of the 2nd instant, about the negotiating with the despoiled adherents on either side, well nigh quite the reverse of what was then told me; for the French offered and bound themselves to make an agreement* (pigliar et accordar) *with the parties despoiled by them, namely, the Duke of Mantua, within the term taken by the Emperor for an adjustment with the parties despoiled by him, and who were said by the French to be the Duke Ottavio [Farnese], the Siennese, and Navarre; but this last condition about Navarre prevented the offer from being accepted, for as to Duke Ottavio and the Siennese, the Imperialists said that they did not know that they complained of anything, and that if they would send or come in person with their complaints, due and sufficient satisfaction would be readily given them.*

Such is the state of affairs, which I have thus minutely detailed, thinking that on many accounts it would please your Serenity to be acquainted with them, nor will I for the future fail using such diligence as in duty bound, the whole affair having as it were been despatched here, so that I may give the Signory the best and truest account that from day to day I may be able to obtain of it.

The news of the taking of Porto Hercule has wonderfully rejoiced and comforted King Philip and the whole court, the Spanish Captain Torres† who took part in the expedition, having come hither to acquaint him with particulars.

In London, which is the fountain-head of lies and popular disturbances, it was loudly rumoured lately, that, availing themselves of the pageants (*feste*) performed on the days of St. John and St. Peter, the populace there had intended to rise and come hither in arms to the court; of which the Lords of the Council having received notice, the pageants were forbidden, and several arrests took place. It was moreover reported that the Danish fleet had come into the British Channel (*in questo mare*), on its voyage towards Scotland to recover a certain island belonging to King Christian, which the Scots had occupied; all which reports were utterly false and mendacious, without any foundation, as ascertained by me through several channels. The pageants were not prohibited for the reason assigned, nor was anybody imprisoned;‡ and concerning

* Query 25th ultimo.

† The capture of Portercole in the year 1555, by Jacopo de Medici, Marquis of Marignano, is mentioned in the Venetian History of Andrea Morosini (vol. 2, p. 252), but he does not say in what month it took place.

‡ Hall gives account of the setting of the Midsummer watches at pp. 658, 750, and 756, and at pp. 750, 756, he says they were "LAIED DOUNE" in 1528. We now see that the custom still prevailed in 1555. In Machyn's Diary (p. 90) there is no mention of the projected riots in June 1555 as alluded to by the Venetian Ambassador.

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the fleet, the only authentic intelligence received about it—as told me by the Chancellor and other members of the Council—is, that it would steer towards Sweden to honour King Christian's kinsman and confederate, King Gustavus (Vasa), whose subjects are maltreating him (*oppresso dalli medesimi di Svetia*).

Has nothing else of importance to tell about English events, everything proceeding in the usual course, and the Queen being well, and in constant expectation of her delivery.

Richmond, 9th July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

155. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Has heard that, through the medium of Cardinal Pole, the negotiation for an agreement between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty is being resumed.

Poissy, 9th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

156. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The treaty of agreement by means of Cardinal Pole will not proceed farther. England is repairing a number of ships; it is said that they are for King Philip's passage to Flanders; but his most Christian Majesty, to keep on the watch for what may occur, has sent orders to all his sea-ports on the ocean, for an embargo to be laid on all large French vessels.

Poissy, 10th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

157. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Here, many persons say, that all the ministers of the King of England write to those of the Emperor, as the King does to his Imperial Majesty, that they wish for nothing so much as to come to this court, for the sake of getting out of that country, whose inhabitants, they say, cannot be won by any means or courtesies of any sort which are employed by them, and which they continue using to that end; it seeming to them, on the contrary, that they are always threatened with some grievous catastrophe; so they are beyond measure anxious to see the end of this delivery (*parto*), which is also desired by the courtiers here, for the same reasons, and especially because they hope that, on the King's coming, the Flemings will make him a large pecuniary donation.

The Duke of Alva writes to the Emperor that he is strongly urged by the garrison of Volpiano (*da quelli di Volpiano*) to succour the place within a short period; and if unable to do so in time, he apologizes for it on account of his not having had it in his power to make use of the bills of exchange as the need required. He also recommends his Majesty to let the French feel the effect of the hope and promise given him by Queen Maria, that thirty thou-

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sand infantry and ten thousand horse should take the field in Flanders (*in queste parti*), to divert the war from Italy; and gives account of the cause which made him order the arrest of the Prince of Ascoli, praying his Majesty or the King of England to assume the charge of doing justice, he, the Duke, not wishing to interfere in the matter, having been the Prince's guest. At this court the Duke is much blamed, for that after having by all means sought supreme authority on going into Italy, he should at this commencement endeavour, as it were, to divest himself of it, for the avoidance of enmity either with this Prince, or with the kinsfolk of the Mendoza who was killed.* The Emperor sent the letters to the King of England immediately.

Brussels, 10th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Notatorio del Collegio, vol. 38, p. 157, tergo.

158. THOMAS THIRLBY, BISHOP of ELY.

Motion made in the College, there being present the Chiefs of the Ten. That by authority of this College, the armoury of our church of St. Mark be shown to the reverend ambassador of the King and Queen, lately arrived in this city.

Ayes, 17. No, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 12.
Filza No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

159. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My especial good Lord, my bounden duty most humbly remembered.

I have received your letter of the last of June, not a little to my comfort, to understand thereby of your good health and that you have received my letters, whereof, because it was so long ere I heard from you, I somewhat doubted the delivery of them; and specially to understand the great courtesy and gentleness the Bishop of Arras showeth you, which is an argument, as your friends here doth gather it, that you shall shortly receive farther favour elsewhere, to your and your friends' no small comfort.

I am glad my letters hath purged me of that fault you supposed to be in me, which was slowness in writing; and now I wish your Lordship would amend in yourself that which you reckoned a fault in me, and then you might not only spare the charges in sending hither so often messengers of purpose, but also satisfy such of your friends as may justly look sometime to hear from you by writing, as my Lord Cardinal [Pole] and other, whereon I have at more length declared my mind to this bearer, both in that and all other matters, who by mouth, as I have instructed him, shall inform your Lordship of all things which I wish you to understand much better than my writing, and so at this instant he shall supply a longer letter. Thus wishing your good Lordship your own virtuous desire, I will commit the same to the tuition of Almighty God.

* Del Mendoza che fù morto.

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In haste, the 12th day of July.

Your Lordship's most assuredly at commandment.

(Signed) JAMES BASSET.

[*Directed:*] "To the right honorable and very good Lord the Earl of Devonshire's good Lordship."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*] "Mr. Bassat, 12 July 1555. From Hampton Court to Brussels."

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

160. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has sent orders to Antwerp, Zealand, and Holland, for all the ships now there, and which may arrive hereafter, to be detained, which is said to proceed from the report current here, that the King of France is having a number of ships fitted out at Rouen, causing suspicion of his intention to hinder the passage hitherwards of the King of England, and on account of the Danish fleet which went to Scotland.

The Lord Paolo [Sforza], brother of Cardinal Sta. Fiore, has arrived here, on his way to enter the service of the King of England, and having told the Bishop of Arras that being charged to kiss the Emperor's hand in the names both of the Cardinal and the Count, he would omit the performance of this office to save him trouble, hearing he was indisposed, the Bishop told him not to depart, as the Emperor would see him previously. A son of the Imperial ambassador at Venice has also arrived here, and is going as page to the King of England; and having lodged himself at an inn, the Bishop of Arras sent to remove him thence immediately. The wines of France have been prohibited here, both to prevent the exportation of money, and by reason of the spies who came disguised as merchants.

Brussels, 14th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

161. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 9th the right reverend Chancellor, as also the two other English commissioners for the conference [of Marck], namely, the Earl of Arundel and Paget, came to Cardinal Pole [at Richmond], being followed by Don Gutierre Lopez, and although they all four remained a long time with him, and he afterwards sent the Abbot of San Saluto to London to the French ambassador's, I have nevertheless merely been able to learn that the abbot informed them, on behalf of the Legate, that the King and Queen could form no decision before they again heard the will (*mente*) of the Emperor (to whom they had sent a despatch), and until after the arrival of the Duke of Savoy, as the Emperor himself being unable to make up his mind whilst unacquainted with the Duke's sentiments, it was impossible to proceed farther. They thus await his return, which, as he has been urged to come, cannot it is thought be long delayed, and therefore the Prothonotary [François de Noailles] still remains here, all negotiations being in the meanwhile suspended; nor do either of the parties seem to regret the hindrance, as it will

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enable them to witness the result of this delivery, for in whichever way it may terminate, the end of this and many other resolves depends upon it; but, according to the opinion of King Philip, as hitherto asserted by Cardinal Pole, the business is in a way to be settled by a truce, rather than by a peace.

The Danish fleet was seen many days ago off Scotland, near the city of St. Andrews. Some persons say it was carried there owing to contrary winds and stress of weather, rather than because bound to those parts, either for an attack or anything else, having been destined as stated for the kingdom of Sweden. Others maintained that it came with hostile intentions, to recover one of the Orkney Isles held by the Scots. Others, on the contrary, are of opinion that it was destined neither for Sweden nor for this recovery, but because it had an understanding with the most Christian King, and that it is awaiting time and opportunity to invade this kingdom, being in such force that it can land from 6,000 to 7,000 infantry, and upwards of 2,000 horse; which others contradict, declaring it to be very weak. These rumours and conflicting reports, which proceed from individual passion, have nevertheless caused the Lords of the Council, although they have no certainty whatever concerning the object of this fleet, to make some provision for their security, having lately supplied the ports of the realm with a quantity of artillery and ammunition; and they have laid an embargo on all English vessels, stopping them, so that from one hour to another they may be ready for whatever the public service requires. This same proceeding about detaining ships is said to have taken place in France with regard to those of the King, all parties being evidently apprehensive; so there is constant anxiety to hear for certain the course of this fleet.

A few days ago the Chancellor had it intimated to the sons of the late Duke of Northumberland,* and to all the others who had been put in the Tower on account of Wyatt's insurrection, and were lately released, that under penalty of their Majesties' displeasure they are all to withdraw to their country houses, and not stir thence without special permission, nor on any account to come to the court, and still less to London; this being done to prevent the opportunity for the meetings which both the Dudleys and the others (*li uni et li altri*) held in St. Paul's church in London and elsewhere, their intentions (*volontà*) not being considered good.

The last advices from Spain say that King Philip's son, Don Carlos, was very near succeeding to the inheritance of Portugal, whose prince, an infant a year and half old,† had been so ill that in Castille they proclaimed his death, which, although false, the danger had nevertheless been very great, nor down to that time, although much better, was he quite free from it; so as yet the hope of that inheritance is not lost.

The *Signori* Pallavicini and other Lombards, who came to King Philip for the confirmation and renewal of privileges and inves-

* John Dudley. His sons here alluded to were Ambrose, Robert (in his 25th year), and Henry.

† Don Sebastian, born 20th January 1554, grandson of the reigning King John III., who died 7th June 1557.

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titures, and for other private business of theirs, are returning home with the grant of nearly all their demands, their entire despatch being referred to the Duke of Alva, to whom, although it was unnecessary, these references are made designedly, in order that he may thus have opportunity the more to ingratiate himself with everybody, and consequently become by so much the more popular. His Majesty has moreover charged the Duke, whenever information is demanded of him, as frequently occurs, concerning the petitions of private individuals, that when not utterly unfair he will answer them as favourably as he can ; in order that the concessions made to the petitioners may render them no less obliged to the Duke than to the King, thus rendering him and his ministers universally beloved, as he considers this to be the chief safeguard of monarchies.

Richmond, 15th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

162. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England wrote to the Emperor, that the gentleman sent to the Queen by the King of France to thank her for her good offices about the peace, enquired whether she thought, should the King accept the last terms proposed by the Imperial commissioners, that the Emperor would consent to them ; and when the Queen expressed her belief that he was still of the same mind, the gentleman gave it to be understood (*si lasciò intendere*) that he wished her to make him this reply, that he might have the Emperor's promise ; and she again assuring him of it, he repeated that as his Imperial Majesty might have chanced to change his mind, he wished to know his opinion more authoritatively (*più fondatamente*), and would then proceed to speak farther on the subject ; so King Philip enquired of the Emperor what reply he was to suggest to his consort, that she might give it to this gentleman. The Emperor immediately despatched the Secretary Erasso to tell the King his intention, which is, that should the Queen know for certain that this gentleman had come with such precise orders, that the King of France was determined to conclude the peace, she might promise that his Imperial Majesty would confirm what his commissioners said ; but that if she were of opinion, as believed here, that the King sent him for another end, she was to dismiss him with such dignity as becoming.*

The Queen with her Council has written to Sir John Masone, that having heard by his letters that nearly all the personages at this court are of opinion that she is not pregnant, he is to undeceive and assure them that she is near her time ; but some English merchants who came hither with their consul (*consule*), to speak to Queen Maria about certain wrongs done them at Antwerp contrary to their ancient privileges, say they have seen letters from two of the seven of the Council, with their signature, saying they

* Lo rissolva con quella dignità che si conviene.

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did so in obedience to the Queen's command, and not because they believed it.

Brussels, 21st July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

163. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

With regard to the progress of the Danish fleet, the Chancellor [Bishop Gardiner], the Admiral [William Lord Howard of Effingham], and Paget confirmed to me the news of its having been driven to Scotland by stress of weather, notwithstanding which, its appearance greatly alarmed the Queen there* and her councillors, although shortly afterwards, without showing any sign of enmity or ill-will, it again put to sea, bound for Sweden, for the purpose of favouring (*affine d'impedir*—sic, for *favorir*), even by force, if necessary, the [right of?] election of King Gustavus, against the city of Lubeck and others [Hanse-towns], which right of election [of magistrates?] belongs, they say, to them, as they did last time, and not to the King. Hears on the same authority that this fleet did not number more than 50 or 60 sail, nor did the troops on board amount to more than 6,000 or 7,000 men.† The suspicion of the government here has therefore subsided, the ships have been relieved from their embargo, and the English ports opened; and on the return of a courier who is hourly expected from Scotland, whither he was sent by the French ambassador, having come expressly from France from the King for this purpose on the first report of the fleet's appearance, the fact will be entirely ascertained.

King Philip's passage across the Channel continues to be talked of, and I am told on good authority that it will not be delayed beyond the 20th of next month, whether the delivery take place or not, and that he will take with him only a few of his own subjects, in lieu of whom there will be five or six of the chief of these English lords, *not without mystery and after consideration rather than by chance* (*non senza misterio et consideratione più presto che a caso*); and the Earl of Pembroke is already making great preparation; to make as magnificent a display as possible, this being his first appearance abroad, but the decision apparently is not certain, as they are expecting the Secretary Erasso from day to day with the Emperor's opinion. This determination to cross without witnessing the result of the delivery seems to proceed from the Emperor's firm decision to retire to Spain, at any rate, in the course of next September, King Philip wishing to confer with him before his embarkation; which decision, whether true or not, will have been more authentically announced by the Signory's ambassador at the Imperial court. I, on my part, can positively assure your Serenity, and on foundation, that so greatly do the realms of Spain need the presence either of the Emperor or of the

* Mary of Lorraine, Queen Dowager.

† In the Foreign Calendar, date May 25, 1555, allusion is made to the great naval preparations of the King of Demark, and to the Emperor's having sent to Antwerp to some of the Easterlings there, to know what they meant.

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King, that every despatch from thence urges it most especially; and I am told for certain that a few days ago there was a great debate between King Philip's councillors here whether it was more expedient for him or for the Emperor to return thither. But with regard to the delivery, everybody being of opinion that it is now unaccountably delayed (*che tardi hormai più del dovere*), the physicians of the King and of the Queen, and two or three of her Majesty's most intimate and familiar female attendants, who see and handle her frequently (*che vedono et toccano spesso sua Maestà*), taking part in it and giving their opinion, held a formal consultation last week, and came, in fact, to the conclusion that they had deceived themselves about the conception by two, or perhaps by three, months, it being undeniable, and beyond a doubt, from many manifest signs, that the Queen is certainly pregnant, but not so far gone as was believed and published at the time. It is now said that the delivery may be protracted until the end of next month, and perhaps to that of September; so all persons seem to have resigned themselves to bide that time, which will never have been too late or wearisome should it please God to render it in the end such as is desired and hoped for by all good men.

Richmond, 23rd July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

164. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Orange, who twice refused Queen Maria and the Bishop of Arras to assume the command of the troops at the fortress of Givet, at length, at the Emperor's persuasion, and by his order, accepted it, departing forthwith for the camp, being accompanied out of the town by a number of noblemen (*cavallieri*). The authority given him by the Emperor is that of general during the absence of the Duke of Savoy, and he has fitted himself out so well in every respect, and departed so cheerfully, as to give proof that he is sure of retaining the command throughout this summer, the doubt of which, rather than of receiving the stipend usually attached to the grade, caused him to refuse it. This prince is about 22 (*sic*) [23 ?] years old, without knowledge or experience of military matters, neither is he supposed to be by nature inclined towards them; but the Emperor has given him this charge to rid himself of the competition of those who aspired to it, and of the confusion which had arisen in the camp; the Prince of Orange, on many accounts, being his chief vassal in these provinces.

Since the last skirmish between the Imperialists and the French under the fortress of Givet, nothing has been done by either side. The fortress of Bethune, commenced by the French, has been secured, and they purpose erecting another between Mezières and Marienburg. The one which it was said the Emperor purposed building in the territory of Liège like Givet is not yet commenced, because the inhabitants of Liège sent delegates to his Majesty to say it was unfitting to exercise such authority in their jurisdiction, as it might cause claims on the part of his successors; to which the Emperor

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replied that he would find means to guarantee them against this, as his object is that the fortress may prevent the French from seizing their territory, and attacking him here at Brussels; and another reason for delaying this work is that the French are so strong in the field that they might prevent it.

The Emperor's order for an embargo to be laid on all vessels arriving in the ports of Zealand and Holland has been executed, and they are in great number. Subsequently his Majesty wrote to the Admiral of the "Ocean," desiring him to have in readiness military stores of every description sufficient for the outfit of 20 of the largest of these ships, on board of which he will embark 4,000 infantry, both by reason of the suspicion caused by the fleets of France and Denmark, and also because (according to the Spaniards) the Emperor has recently received letters from his daughter [Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal, Regent of Spain] and from the council of Spain, saying it is necessary that either he or his son should go to her speedily, as written by me heretofore.

His Majesty having been long petitioned, and being now importuned to hold the consultation about rewards and favours, he yesterday told his chamber attendants to desire everybody in the court to be of good cheer, as on the return from England of Secretary Erasso everything will be settled; and I hear on good authority that, besides the other causes which moved the Emperor to send him, one was that he might ascertain the wish and opinion of King Philip about going to Spain or remaining in these provinces; and that the Flemings and nearly all the Spaniards at Brussels unanimously persuade the Emperor to send him, adducing, amongst many other reasons, that in like manner as the Emperor is more beloved in the Netherlands, and better able to wage war on the King of France and maintain it, so will his son, being more popular with the Spaniards, suffice better for the necessary business in Spain, and for the government of the country, as also for the transmission hither of money, and for attacks on France in the direction of Perpignan; but that certain servants of the Emperor, who are supposed not to be biassed by interested motives like the others, have said that nothing *could be more dishonourable for the Emperor and the King than for the latter to go to Spain, as the world would infer that the marriage with the Queen of England, and the consequent results anticipated by them, were about to end in disappointment, and that this disgrace might be followed by serious loss, as were the Emperor to die in the Netherlands during the King's absence, it might come to pass that, what with his present unpopularity with the Netherlanders, and their great inclination towards France, the taking possession of the country would be too difficult an undertaking for him; in addition to which* they affirm that the Emperor having been so many years absent from Spain, he would more easily obtain the subsidies desired by their Majesties.

The Emperor continues drinking the water of the springs (*bagni*) of Liège [Spa ?], having posted twelve mules on the road, that he may receive it every 24 hours, and he will continue taking it for another fortnight; and his physicians having also given him fair

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hopes that it may benefit him in various ways, he regulating his diet, he now adopts a good mode of life.

Brussels, 24th July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

165. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Lord Courtenay has received letters from his lady mother in England, informing him that Don Ruy Gomez, both spontaneously as it were, and moreover by order of his King (*et come da se et ancho di ordine di quella Maestà*), let her know that he has cause to be easy in his mind (*di stare con l'animo quieto*), as his Majesty loves him, and will soon show it by matter of fact; so his Lordship is no longer so intent on obtaining the licence to depart for Italy, and several persons tell him that, should the Queen not have heirs, the Emperor will favour the marriage between him and the Queen's sister, in order that there may be successors to the English crown; and he has requested audience of his Majesty, who promised it him for to-day or to-morrow, but it is not known for what purpose he made the demand.

Brussels, 28th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

166. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 23rd the Secretary Erasso arrived, whose coming was universally believed to relate solely to the treatment of many matters now in course between King Philip and the Emperor, as also to the negotiations for peace, to the loans and supplies of money, to his Majesty's passage to Flanders, and to the Emperor's voyage to Spain; but it has been impossible hitherto to learn anything farther, as perhaps until now no decision has been formed.

At present, with regard to the negotiation for peace, they have taken time until the return of the Duke of Savoy, without whose intervention they can apparently form no resolve; yet in the meanwhile, Cardinal Pole does not fail treating and examining several conventions, so as at least to keep the affair alive, and facilitate the adjustment; his Right Reverend Lordship having last week sent the Abbot of San Saluto backwards and forwards repeatedly from Richmond to Hampton Court to the Chancellor and the other royal councillors, sometimes to the French Ambassador [*in London*], *and sometimes to the Spanish Ambassador resident here* [*at Richmond*], *there having also come to him, since Erasso's return, besides the said Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of Medina Celi, one of the Emperor's principal commissioners at the conference of Calais; and three days ago the Cardinal went in person to the palace* [*at Hampton Court*], *but the only particular I could learn was, that the French Ambassador and his brother, having said that they were merely commissioned to listen to proposals and transmit account*

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of them, have been requested to obtain a free commission from their King, or else that his Majesty do send some other person with power to approve or disapprove of whatever may be proposed from day to day, in order not to have to despatch couriers about each separate proposal and await the reply from France, thus losing so much time. Not only did they promise thus to do, but moreover made an offer for their King that he would consent to send hither anew (di novo) *some of his chief ministers, with sufficient authority, provided the Emperor also did the like; but, as already mentioned, this absence of the Duke of Savoy suspends any decision, and should it be unreasonably protracted, I am told on good authority that in that case, with but little regard for him, a truce might be concluded, towards which it is seen that King Philip and his most Christian Majesty are more than moderately inclined.*

The courier sent by the French Ambassador to Scotland for sure news of the Danish fleet has not yet returned, a sign that there is no mischief, as confirmed by letters thence of the 14th and 15th instant, in addition to the statement of several persons who have come from Scotland, and say that the fleet scarcely showed itself, nor did it approach any Scottish harbour; so some people add, that it was [mere] surmise, as a certain number of the vessels seen appeared to be fishing boats rather than a fleet (*armata*). Thus the English and Scots, even should there have been any secret understanding, are, or seem to be, devoid of any farther suspicion.

The Polish Ambassador, besides having received handsome presents from both their Majesties, took back the decision (*espeditione*) he asked for, it having been promised him that for the future not only should this new Muscovite navigation [company] not be permitted, but be forbidden under heavy penalties, the exportation hence to those parts of any sort of arms or military engine, in order that the Duke of Muscovy,* who is always at war with his King, may not be able to avail himself of such instruments against him, which would have been much to his detriment; so the ambassador went away.

Two of the chief personages in Sicily, the Marquis of Terra Nova† [Caraccioli] and the Marquis of Gierace, have come hither, the latter to remain permanently with the King, intending to make a great display, and Terra Nuova, after kissing his Majesty's hand, will go back.

The Count of Sta. Fior and the Cardinal Chamberlain [Guido Ascanio Sforza] have sent their brother the Signor Paulo [Sforza] to serve his Majesty as gentleman of the mouth (*gentilhomo della bocca*).

The Queen is as well as ever she was. Has communicated the summaries received in the Signory's letters of the 6th instant.

Richmond, 29th July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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* Joan IV. [Vasilevitch.] (*See* letter to him from King Philip and Queen Mary, 1557, April, in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, p. 300.)

† For other notices of this Sicilian nobleman, *see* Foreign Calendar, Mary—Index.

1555.
July 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

167. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Adds these few lines by way of Brussels, availing himself of the return to the Emperor of Secretary Erasso *and of Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, who is sent by King Philip not merely to give account of current affairs between his Majesty and the Emperor with regard to present necessities, he being in the King's secret confidence, but what matters more, to provide against the disturbances which have taken place in Spain, it having been heard lately that the Aragonese have risen against the father-in-law of said Don Ruy Gomez, the Viceroy of Aragon, Count of Melito, who, from fear of the insurrection, took flight and concealed himself; so the whole province was in uproar and confusion.* Respecting King Philip's passage across the Channel, although as yet it is considered doubtful, the general opinion being that it will not take place until they witness the result of the delivery, which might cause much delay, it is, nevertheless, said by some persons that the interview will not be protracted beyond the return of said Don Ruy Gomez, it being asserted that for this purpose the Emperor has now determined to go to Bruges, which if true, the Signory will receive more authentic notice of the fact from their ambassador at the Imperial court.

Yesterday the English commissioners for the conference of Calais had a long interview with Cardinal Pole [at Richmond] about proposals for the agreement, and to-day the Abbot of San Saluto returned to the court [at Hampton Court] to speak with the King before the departure of Don Ruy Gomez; so the Doge will perceive that matters are being warmed-up (*che le cose si riscaldano*), though it is impossible to learn anything about the negotiation, either from one side or the other. *News has been received to-day from several quarters of an insurrection in Warwickshire?* (Arraschier) (sic) 100 *miles hence, on account of the religion, and that a number of men have mustered in arms, not choosing any other form than such as was left them by King Henry, which in other respects, save in its obedience to the Apostolic See, is Catholic; and as the Earl of Pembroke was sent for to the court immediately, it is supposed to be for the purpose of applying a remedy before the thing take root and be yet more encouraged, as there are apprehensions of other disturbances in Devonshire and Cornwall.*

Richmond, 31st July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 31.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X. vol. xxii. p. 37, tergo.

168. Motion made in the Council of Ten in favour of a Venetian Secretary who had served in England.

Put to the ballot, that Giovanni Francesco Franceschi, who served first as secretary to the nobleman Marino Cavalli, knight, ambassador to the Emperor, and was subsequently secretary to the nobleman Giacomo Soranzo, knight, ambassador in England, be given 20 ducats.

Ayes, 17. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Latin.*]

1555.
July 31.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X. vol. xxii. p. 37.

169. Motion made in the Council of Ten at the suit of Peter Vannes.

That at the request of the reverend ambassador of the most Serene King of England, license to carry arms in this city and in all our towns and places during the next two months be given to the underwritten English noblemen.

The Earl of Bedford.	Anthony Trulo (*sic*), Trewlock, or Trewlove?
Sir John Chichester.	Thomas Fitzwilliam.
Thomas and Clement, their servants.	Thomas Wyndham.
Mr. William Godolphin.	John Morley.
John Broke.	Thomas Toylson.
Thomas Rayme (*sic*).	Henry Kingismel (*sic*).
John Eustace.	John Rug.

Ayes, 15. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

170. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Secretary Erasso, who was sent by the Emperor to England, writes to his Majesty that he found the King determined to go in person to Spain, and thinks that his chief chamberlain Don Ruy Gomez inclined him to this resolve, and well nigh established it, which, according to the Spaniards, greatly displeased his Majesty, and all the ministers, who, judging the matter impartially, consider it more for the dignity, honour, and need of both their Majesties' interests, that the Emperor should go to Spain, and the King come to reside in Flanders; the Bishop of Arras having said that by Erasso's next letters they will know the day of the King's departure on his way to the Emperor, and subsequently it will be decided which of the two goes to Spain.

Brussels, 1st August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1.
Lettere Capi Consiglio X., File No. 40.

171. The Chiefs of the Ten to the Signory's Governors of the Venetian Provinces, and their other Representatives.

Yesterday, they, with their Council of Ten, conceded a license to the within written English noblemen to carry arms for the next two months in Venice, and in all their towns and places. They therefore, by said Council's authority, charge all and each of their governors and representatives to observe with regard to them the Council's aforesaid concession.

The Earl of Bedford.	Anthony Trulo.
Sir John Chichester.	Thomas Fitzwilliam.
Thomas and Clement, their servants.	Thomas Windham.
Mr. William Godolphin.	Henry Kingismel (*sic*).
John Broke.	John Morley.
Thomas Reyme.	Thomas Trytson.
John Eustace.	John Rugge.

Vigore partis.

[*Italian.*]

1555. August 2. Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), vol. lxix. p. 136.

172. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople.

Their last letters from England are dated the 9th ulto., nor down to that time had the Queen been delivered. The Bailo is to communicate these advice as usual.

Ayes, 191. Noes, 3. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

173. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

By order of the Emperor, a servant of Lord Paget's, who came hither from France, and is a native of these provinces, has been arrested on suspicion of being a spy, passing himself off for an Englishman, speaking that language as fluently as his own and the French; and from a person capable of knowing it, I have heard that his Majesty not only no longer places that trust in Lord Paget which he used to have, but bears him great hatred, both because he has discovered that at the late conference he communicated beforehand to the French commissioners what the Imperialists told him in confidence they purposed proposing, as also because for a long while he wrote constantly to a friend of his at this court that the Queen was not really pregnant.

An intimate servant of Lord Courtenay's has been wounded mortally and premeditately by a Spaniard; and on two other occasions twelve other Spaniards having picked a quarrel with his Lordship's attendants, they were in one instance pursued to his own chamber, which pained him beyond measure; he having told a person in his confidence, that he is compelled to believe either that these Spaniards persecute his servants to avenge injuries received in England, or that they have perhaps had some order to raise such frequent disputes with his attendants, that he himself may at length encounter the misfortune which is wished him; adding, that he suspects these injuries will be repaid to upwards of a hundred Spaniards in England; nor would he demand justice either of Queen Maria or of the Bishop of Arras, saying that they cannot but know too well the effect which would be produced by the arrival there of such a report, the persons being not merely Englishmen but his own servants; and he departed for Louvain, saying he should remain some days for his pleasure, as not caring whether he had audience of the Emperor one week or another, he would have it on his return (*perchè non importandoli haver l'audientia da Sua Maestà Ces^a. più una settimana che l'altra l'haverà poi*). The Bishop of Arras hearing of the circumstance, and being told how much Courtenay resented it, sent immediately to desire the person charged with the affairs of justice to investigate the matter, and report upon it to Queen Maria.

The Duke of Ferrara wrote a letter to the secretary whom he kept here before the arrival of the Ambassador, commissioning him to visit Lord Courtenay and to make him the greatest and most particular offers imaginable, inviting him to go and remain awhile in his territory on his passage into Italy.

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The fleet of 18 sail from Portugal has arrived in Zealand, and besides bringing spices, sugar, wine, and other merchandise, it has about 100,000 crowns in money for private individuals.

Brussels, 4th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

174. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the departure of Don Ruy Gomez, their Majesties, three days ago, proceeded to the little village of Oatlands, four miles farther from London,* not merely to give opportunity for the cleansing of Hampton Court, where they have remained so long a while, and of which the place had very great need, *but on another more important account, and perhaps a more necessary one, which, although no one dares to proclaim it, is nevertheless tacitly understood by everybody; and it will be well for the Doge to enjoin such secrecy on the subject as is due for many reasons.*

The fact is, that the move has been made in order no longer to keep the people of England in suspense about this delivery, by the constant and public processions which were made, and by the Queen's remaining so many days in retirement, seriously to the prejudice of her subjects; as not only did she transact no business, but would scarcely allow herself to be seen by any but the ladies, who, in expectation of this childbirth, especially the gentlewomen and the chief female nobility, had flocked to the court from all parts of the kingdom in such very great number, all living at the cost of her Majesty, that with great difficulty could Hampton Court, although one of the largest palaces that can be seen here or elsewhere, contain them. At present by this change of residence an opportunity is afforded for dispensing with the processions without any scandal, and for the Queen to free herself from expense, by giving permission to the greater part of these ladies to return to their homes, under pretence of very limited accommodation; and by degrees her Majesty has resumed the audiences and replaced other matters in their former ancient state, the usual officials (I am told) resuming their service about her person, and the females being removed.

All this has been done in order that by this release (allargamento), *without proceeding to any farther formal announcement, all persons may of themselves clearly comprehend that the hope of childbirth has so diminished that but little reliance can now be any longer placed on it, and that all must take patience* (si aquieti), *as has been the case with the chief personages here, and their Majesties' other intimates, who, as told me several days ago on high authority* (da alto loco), *perceiving not only that her Majesty's belly did not increase, but rather diminished, have come to the conclusion, although they have hitherto dissembled it, that the pregnancy will end in wind rather than anything else* (sia

* The departure of the court from Hampton Court for Oatlands took place on the 3rd of August. (*See* Machyn's Diary, p. 92.)

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più presto per convertirsi in vento che in altro), *although it is said, for the sake of keeping the populace in hope, and consequently in check, and very judiciously asserted constantly by those most intimate with their Majesties, that the Queen is in her sixth or seventh month; but the result of this* [*rumour*] *likewise will soon be cleared up, as it is not a thing that can long be concealed.*

The reported insurrections in the provinces, and which caused so much apprehension some days ago, their origin having subsequently been ascertained authentically, were found to be slight and unimportant, part having arisen from a great concourse of men at a grand periodical fair (*un solenne mercato che ordinariamente si fa*) held in Warwickshire? (*nel paese di Arraschier*) (*sic*), when, on account of the price of wheat, which had been raised extraordinarily by certain persons, who having a great supply wished to sell it in their own fashion, by reason of the backward season and the small hope of the present harvest, the summer being so rainy and cold, that the like is not remembered in the memory of man for the last 50 years, so that no sort of grain or corn ripens, and still less can it be reaped, a prognostic of scarcity yet greater than that of last year; so that in part from this, owing to the murmurs and complaints of the multitude, which were construed into rebellion, and partly from a report circulated in Cornwall and Devonshire that the most Serene Queen was dead, and that to deceive the people, as they said was done in the time of King Edward, they exhibited her effigy at the casement and not her real face; so having half rebelled (*mezzo ammutinati*), they said they would come towards the court to ascertain the fact. These disturbances were also caused in part by a gentleman, who, being on bad terms with his tenants, who had risen against him, and not knowing in what other way to suppress the outbreak, sent word to the court that they were in arms against the Queen; and the falsehood being discovered, he, together with eight others who originated the reports of the other unreal insurrections, were deservedly imprisoned, everything, thank God, remaining quiet and peaceable.

By the enclosed advice the Doge will see the progress of the Danish fleet, the document having been obtained by the ambassador, from an individual with whom he is very intimate, and one of the chief personages in England.

On the Queen's departure hence,* leave was given to "Miladi" Elizabeth to withdraw with all her attendants to a house distant three miles from her Majesty's; and on the Queen's expected return to Hampton Court in eight or ten days, it is supposed that said "Miladi" will not come back again, but either remain where she is, or go to another of her palaces (*un altro suo palazzo*), as she is completely free.

Richmond, 5th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* That is, from Hampton Court.

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Aug. 5.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

175. News-letter from a Member of the English Council of State to the Duke of Alva, concerning the Danish Fleet.

Although your Excellency will have heard about the Danish fleet from another quarter, I will, nevertheless, not omit telling you that King Christian armed 40 ships, on board of which, having embarked 3,000 infantry, he sent them towards the north-west, without its being known to any person whatever, not even to the commanders themselves of the fleet, what expedition it was intended to make, as he put into their hands the sealed commission, with orders not to open it until under sail towards the N.W.

The said fleet having made Scotland, the Queen there [Mary of Lorraine] being alarmed, commanded everybody throughout the kingdom to be prepared and in [marching] order, and sent soldiers (*diverse gienti et soldati*) to the most suspected places, and despatched a herald to the captain of said ships, inquiring whether he was come there as a friend or an enemy. He replied that he came as a friend, but was driven there by stress of weather; and he sent one of his gentlemen to visit her with a demand for some supplies (*commoditá*) and victuals, &c., which were furnished him; and on setting sail the contrary winds drove him to the Orkney Isles, where he yet is; but it having been discovered that he was bound for the island of Walcheren, obtained by the Emperor, where by this time due provision will have been made, and the said fleet having lost much time, the expedition can no longer succeed.

London? 5th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

176. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before their Majesties' departure from Hampton Court the Legate went again to the palace, not so much for the purpose of conferring with the Queen about the resolve formed together with her councillors concerning the restitution of the Church revenues held by the Crown, as in order to discuss the peace, Cardinal Pole having this question no less at heart for the general good of Christendom, than the restitution of the Church property for the individual benefit of England. *Although unable to learn the precise point of the discussion, believes it to be the same as was subsequently debated to-day, when the Lords Commissioners came and dined [at Richmond] with his Right Reverend Lordship, who also invited the French Ambassador and his brother; and when they were all alone together, the said commissioners made no slight complaint, in the name of Queen Mary, about a writing published in France, and announced throughout the realm in the King's name to his rear-bands, whereby he exculpates hinself, and shows that it was not his fault if the peace, negotiated at Calais, failed to take effect, as he on his part was willing to accept any terms, even less than fair; whereas on the other hand he accuses the Emperor and abuses him grossly* (et gravemente lo incarica), *laying all the*

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blame on his obstinacy and harshness, with a view not only to render his Imperial Majesty more unpopular in his dominions, but to justify himself, and prove that he [*King Henry*] *does not continue the war by choice, but from necessity. The mediators, therefore, having taken occasion from this proclamation, which they said was utterly at variance with the truth, expressed themselves moreover haughtily* (altamente), *making a semi-protest of rupture, unless, on resuming the negotiation, matters came to such a good end as due, all for the sake of rendering them* [*the French*] *more accommodating and tractable about the negotiation than they have been hitherto. Has been unable to hear what reply the ambassador made, still less the agreement come to between them, but it was finally settled to await the Emperor's commands, whether in case the business be continued here, he will send fresh commissioners or change those now here, to notify his pleasure to King Philip, the French having offered that in this matter his most Christian Majesty will abide by the Emperor's decision. Believes this to be the present state of the case, and at the latest, the decision will be known on the return of Don Ruy Gomez, when he* (*the ambassador*) *will transmit the most exact account he can of this and all the other events.*

On the return of this personage it will also be known whether his Majesty's passage across the Channel is to take place now, or to be deferred until another time, many people being of opinion, and thus is it already said in public, that as the time draws nigh for the meeting of the *Cortes* of Castille and Aragon, for whose sessions, by reasons of the great toil and trouble to be endured there, the Emperor's presence is ill adapted, he being so feeble and indisposed as he is, King Philip himself may go thither, and shortly ; it being, moreover, necessary to provide against many illegal proceedings, especially for this last in Aragon, which proceeded from the viceroy there, contrary to the statutes, having caused a man to be put to death on a charge of exporting and causing the exportation of horses from Spain to France, for the maintenance of which statutes the Doge knows how united and well disposed the Aragonese are, their entire liberty depending thereon; so it is no wonder they have risen at present, as they also did the like heretofore.

Should it, therefore, come to pass that on this or other accounts his Majesty should go to Spain, requests the Doge to tell him what he is to do, as he was desired by the Signory's despatches dated in December last to leave his secretary here, and to follow his Majesty, no other journey than that of Flanders or Italy being then spoken of.

Many days ago King Philip appointed Don Luis Vanega ambassador to the Kings of the Romans [Ferdinand] and of Bohemia [Maximilian],* to condole with them on the death of the Queen of Spain, but delayed his departure, hoping that he might convey the news of Queen Mary's delivery, and thus perform two errands

* The Archduke Maximilian had already assumed the title of King of Bohemia on the 10th September 1550. (*See* Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 54.)

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in one journey ; but will now defer no longer, and sent him off to-day.

Richmond, 6th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 7. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

177. Cardinal Pole to Henry II., King of France.

By the King's letter and from the statement made in his name by the Prothonotary De Noailles, was informed that his Majesty has taken in good part the office performed by Pole at the congress, the prothonotary also giving assurance that his Majesty is well inclined towards the continuation of this negotiation, and will never reject any terms which he can accept with honour. Although Pole has heard this very willingly, nevertheless, considering how long a time it is since the King has always evinced the same desire, notwithstanding which Christendom finds itself not only not relieved from the many evils and troubles which accompany war, but yet more heavily burdened by them, he cannot but with great pain suppose this to be a judgment and punishment of Divine justice, nor can anything comfort him, save the belief that God having given the King, amongst the royal virtues, magnanimity and moderation, his Majesty will consent to their making the peace in such a way and on such conditions as may fitly be proposed to magnanimous Princes endowed with moderation, and that he will accept them. Is the more convinced that this is the will of God, as when pondering the particular difficulties of the peace, he does not see any one of them which may not be easily removed by the combination of these two virtues ; a peace being thus made most glorious and advantageous to himself and to his kingdom, and one yielding greater comfort to all Christendom than any that has been stipulated since many centuries. In coming to the conclusion of this peace, mention is made of some restitution ; Pole knows that this word may at first sight seem rather disagreeable, not conveying any idea either of that advantage or honour which all Princes generally anticipate on making peace after such successes as have been hitherto obtained by his Majesty ; but the affairs of Christendom are now in such a state that by his making the proposed restitution in such a way as to effect the quiet of Italy, this so called restitution will in reality be a greater gain, honour, and profit, and contribute more to the security of France than any he could make by war, and by retaining that which all Italy universally wishes to have restored. As Pole does not know how it may please the King to give ear to this, he will merely add that his wish would be for him to have more honour than was ever had by Charlemagne, a King so renowned and glorious amongst the ancestors of his Majesty ; and should he choose to regulate the treaty of peace in a form becoming a king of such moderation and magnanimity as he is, and as Charlemagne did in a case which was not dissimilar, it may be hoped for to his honour and praise, he simultaneously procuring for his kingdom great advantage and security ; nor will Pole fail to pray for this, as he constantly does, that God may give him

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this supreme grace, offering his service for whatever may effect this end.

Richmond, 7th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

178. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary Erasso has returned from England and informed the Emperor that the Queen, having scrupulously (*studiosamente*) discussed the affair of the peace with the gentleman sent by the most Christian King, could merely elicit that his King is well disposed towards the peace, and that it will take place should the Emperor accept the terms already proposed by the French Commissioners.

Erasso told the Emperor that King Philip had determined to send Ruy Gomez hither, to acquaint him with his desire (*volontà*) to go to Spain, and the necessity for it, and with the time and mode of his coming to the Emperor. A letter was sent for Don Ruy Gomez to the place where he had been detained by fever, and on his arrival here, by advice of the physicians he was blooded, notwithstanding which he went yesterday to the Emperor, and told him that according to the letters received by the King from Spain, he comprehends the necessity for one or the other of them to go thither; and with regard to the King's coming to Brussels, he said his Majesty desired it beyond measure to escape from the great and constant distress in which he found himself (*per uscire delle grandi et continue afflitioni nelli quali si ritrovava*), but that he was intent principally on two things; the one, to leave the Queen firmly convinced that he would always continue to love her most dearly, and come back shortly to remain with her, she showing that she would not consent to his departure, either mentally or verbally; the other, to devise means for returning without difficulty, so as not to have thrown away so much money, time, toil, and repute; suggesting also, that as Lord Courtenay had been made to come to Brussels, so should the Queen's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, be removed from England. The Emperor, on hearing these things, sent for Queen Maria, the Bishop of Arras, and M. de Praet, and after a consultation of three . . . . . ,* the Emperor decided that the King was to come hither as soon as he can . . . . . * [convince?] the Queen of his speedy return, leaving her better satisfied that . . . . . * [he is to bring?] with him certain Englishmen suspected of illwill towards their Majesties . . . . . * [and to endeavour?] to induce (*per ridur*) the Lady Elizabeth to come and reside with these Queens;† the whole to be effected cautiously, so as not to cause commotion. This resolve (*la qual voluntà*) of the Emperor will be communicated to King Philip by Secretary Erasso, and not by Don Ruy Gomez, who by reason of his indisposition could not make this journey without risking his life, but he

* MS. corroded and illegible.

† Eleanor of Austria, Queen Dowager of France, and Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary.

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has sent his secretary to tell the King this, and to give him account of what he has treated with the Emperor. No determination has yet been made about the going to Spain of one or other of their Majesties, and it is generally said that the King will go, being thus advised by the Flemings and Spaniards, with the exception of a few of either nation who blame this advice, and accuse all those who give it of doing so for their own private interest.

Lord Courtenay, having returned from Louvain, went immediately to visit Don Ruy Gomez, requesting he would obtain from King Philip leave for him to go and see Italy. Don Ruy Gomez replied that he expected His Majesty here in the course of the month, and that Courtenay would obtain everything possible from him, adding all sorts of loving language (*ogni sorte di amorevoli parole*). *It has been told me by Don Juan Menzi* (sic), *a Spanish knight, that Lord Courtenay will be compelled either to accompany the King to Spain, or be sent in custody to Sicily, without giving any hint or notice of it, and that the like will befall the Lady Elizabeth as befell the Duke of Calabria,* whom they sent to Spain and allowed him to marry, when his children could cause the Emperor no trouble.*

Lord Paget has written to the Bishop of Arras thanking him for his courtesy in giving him notice of the arrest of the individual from France who passed himself off for his servant, and as to the information required by the Bishop about him, affirms to his having been heretofore in his, Lord Paget's, service, and that he does not know him to have any other defect than immoderate love of wine, which injures his intellects; that should any mischievous design enter his head, he would have ability to execute it well, and he recommends him to the Bishop's justice, adding that, as a reward for his good . . . [service?], he gave him a letter of recommendation for M. de Vendôme, as he was going into Picardy on certain business of his own; so the Bishop, after causing him to be examined, ordered his release, it having merely transpired by the reply of M. de Vendôme that he had been desired by the King of France, on hearing of the certificate and recommendation, to do what was requested as a mark of his constant wish to oblige Lord Paget.

Brussels, 8th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 9.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

179. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

Several months have elapsed since Pole has had letters from Morone, save of the sort which God is wont to write in works for the benefit of his servants,† as Morone has done by his labours for the service of England and their Majesties, who, from their ambassadors, and by what was written to Pole himself by his agent, have heard with much pleasure what he did in this matter, and retain a

* Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, who died in 1559. He married, first, Germaine de Foix (widow of Ferdinand the Catholic), who died 1538, and in 1539 he took for his second wife Mencia de Mendoza. (*See* Chiusole Genealogies, p. 614.)

† Se non di quella sorte che Dio suole con le opere scriver in beneficio delli soi servi.

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very grateful recollection of it, as Pole hopes Morone will know by facts when the opportunity presents itself. At present Pole is induced to write by two things of some importance; the one is, that though he had the Queen's promise about the free renunciation of the Church property upwards of four months ago, and her Majesty at the same time charged certain members of the Council, fearing God and of good conscience, to confer with Pole to give him sure information about the quality and quantity of this property, as he required, and this took place some months ago; yet, notwithstanding every entreaty, and a fresh command from their Majesties, it was impossible to obtain this renunciation in an authentic form until a week since, when, for many reasons which cannot well be written, he thought fit not to delay making the dispensation (*la dispensa*), and concluded it in such form as Morone will perceive by the accompanying copy,* together with a certain instruction containing the substance of the whole. Hopes the Pope will be satisfied with it, as a great acquisition has been made since his Holiness' confirmation of the late acts (*cose passate*), which dispensed (*dispensava*) in the form now adopted, and may be followed in other cases likewise, whereas had it been done in the form required by rigid justice (*esatta giustitia*), to which their Majesties never seem to make any opposition, not only would the form have been rejected in subsequent acts, but it would have been so disputed as to impede the execution, and any subsequent modification would have endangered what has been accomplished hitherto. This may be seen by what some members of the Council commenced attempting when they first heard of this free renunciation intended by their Majesties; they opposed it, saying that what by the consent of Parliament had been assigned to the Crown could not be renounced by the Queen without the Parliament's consent; but becoming acquainted with the moderation with which Pole purposed proceeding, they were pacified, and at length, after many difficulties which arose subsequently, the business was settled, as Morone will perceive by the information aforesaid.

The second thing which Pole has to tell Morone occurred after this settlement. The King warned him that some members of the Council had already commenced murmuring greatly about the revocatory bull (*bolla revocatoria*)† concerning the late alienations, &c., as if the things here were likewise comprised therein (*come se in esse se comprehendesseno anco le cose qui*), and that unless this suspicion were removed it might cause some great scandal, so it would be well for the matter to be kept secret, no one knowing it as yet save the Queen's secretary, who was the person who spoke about it to the King. His Majesty discussing the matter with Pole, in the presence of the Queen, she immediately rejoined that there was no occasion to trust to secrecy, but to apply a remedy; whereupon Pole answered that it had been already applied by Cardinal Morone, vice-protector [of England at Rome],

* The copy does not exist in the manuscript.

† Immediately on his accession, Paul IV. issued a bull about the alienation of Church property in general. (*See* Panvinio's Lives of the Popes, p. 687.)

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who, perceiving the suspicion which might arise, had warned the Pope (although it is seen by the bull that his Holiness had not in view the things done in England) (*le cose fatte quì*), who, for the removal of any scruple, had ordered another bull to be drawn up, adapted to the affairs here in England, and that Pole was expecting it by the next courier from Rome. Should it not have been despatched, he requests Morone to send it forthwith,* and to pray the Pope to confirm this last dispensation given by Pole according to the desire of their Majesties, which being done, he hopes that thenceforth matters in England will proceed more quietly. Refers himself for the rest to the letters of Messer Gio. Francesco and of the Abbot of San Saluto.

Richmond, 9th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

180. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

In a former letter congratulated him on his being elected Cardinal, nor in rejoinder to his most gracious reply, dated 16th July, will he do more than return thanks for its loving expressions.

Caraffa's letter was accompanied by three briefs addressed to Pole by the Pope, and one for their Majesties, to whom he immediately presented it, acquainting them with what the Pope told him, and with what he heard by Caraffa's letter, and through his own agent, of his Holiness' great desire for the peace, and how much he promised himself from their piety in this and every other matter. This seemed to give them much pleasure, and to make them anticipate every paternal office from his Holiness for the quiet and advantage of Christendom, and of England in particular, they being extremely satisfied with the ample testimony of this his disposition, as demonstrated by his reception and despatch of their ambassadors.†

With regard to the peace, Caraffa will have heard, as Pole wrote to the Pope, that the French ambassador's brother, Prothonotary de Noailles, came to England to thank the Queen on behalf of the most Christian King for her good offices about the peace, towards which his Majesty seems still well disposed, and would be glad that this negotiation should be continued, so as to produce some good result; and with Pole also he performed the like office. This being made known to the Emperor, the answer purported that he also was well disposed, if the peace could be made on fair and fitting terms; after which reply the French ambassador and the prothonotary, with the Chancellor and the other two personages who were sent by the Queen to the congress, conferred with Pole, who told the ambassador and the prothonotary what had been received from the Emperor, and how he held to the proposal made at the conference about the restoration of the Duke of Savoy. After much general conversation, in which it is easy for all sides to agree, it was settled to think of finding ways and means to facilitate the conclusion of this business,

* *See* Froude, vol. 6, pp. 391, 392 (ed. London, 1860).

† The English ambassadors had their first audience of Paul IV. on the 10th June 1555, and seem to have left Rome on the 20th of the month. (*See* Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 1, pp. 96, 100.)

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it being hoped that the arrival of the Duke at Brussels, as also the summer season, might be of use, and that by stopping the war on land and sea, some good conclusion might be effected. Pole does not fail doing what he can for this purpose, and although certain that the Pope will have acquainted the King of France with his good disposition, will let the French ambassador know the orders received by him from his Holiness in this matter, to attend to it with all diligence, it being most worthy of the Pope to provide for these disorders, as written by Caraffa, and as expected by all Christendom.

With regard to Pole himself it is not necessary for him to say how readily he will always obey and serve his Holiness in whatever he shall be pleased to command him, as he has already informed the Pope, and according to the commission given by him subsequently to the Bishop of St. Asaph [Thomas Goldwell], who departed hence on his way to Rome on the 2nd ult. to confirm this, giving the Pope at the same time full information about the state of affairs in England, that he may be the better able to give Pole his commands. It does not seem fit to him farther to intrude his opinion in this matter, although his Holiness is pleased to ask it through Caraffa's letter, and, to save the Pope trouble, will say nothing more in reply to the brief, whereby he vouchsafed [to answer] three alone of the letters which Pole has written him,* and will merely pray Caraffa humbly to kiss his feet in Pole's name for the graciousness evinced towards him, both in the said brief and also in the one written by his Holiness to their Majesties.

Has given the Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate] the papal brief, accompanying it with ample assurance of his Holiness being satisfied with him, and ready to prove it by facts. Diomede Caraffa has had his request fully granted by King Philip, and is now on the eve of departure from England. Pole will perform the same office with the Emperor as he did with the King, assuring him of the Pope's regard for Diomede, who, from what Pole hears and sees, is in excellent conceit with their Majesties, as due to his ability (*virtù*), and to the long and faithful service rendered by him to his Imperial Majesty.

Richmond, 10th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

181. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England has sent his chief purveyor (*forrier maggiore*) to the Emperor, with letters from his sister the Queen of Bohemia,† complaining extremely of not having been able to obtain from him or her father, notwithstanding her entreaties, the sum due on account of her mother's dower;‡ adding that her consort King

* Non le scriverà altro in risposta del breve con quale si è degnata [di rispondere?] a tre mie sole epistole.

† Maria of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V., married her cousin Maximilian on the 18th September 1548. (*See* L'Art de vérifier les Dates.)

‡ Per conto della dote della madre.

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Maximilian, for this reason, and moreover because he could not get the provision assigned him for his board by the Emperor, is ill disposed towards both their Majesties. To mitigate this anger, and provide for what is due to his daughter, the Emperor is said to have found means to send her shortly 60,000 crowns, which news will be conveyed to her postwise by this purveyor, in the Emperor's name and that of the King.

Three ambassadors have arrived, one from the Duke of Mantua to reside with the Emperor, the other two from the Milanese, who will depart to-day on their way to England to complain to the King both of the military force (*l'armata*) required by the Duke of Alva, and of other intolerable demands to which he has subjected that territory.

A report circulated here at the court on the authority of letters from Antwerp, that King Maximilian, King of Bohemia, had by many signs displayed Lutheran opinions, which very greatly surprised and displeased the Emperor, who, having received letters from his brother assuring him that this was false, ordered the report to be contradicted by his chamber attendants (*dalli suoi della camera*). It was subsequently reported that Queen Maria will go to the King of the Romans (he by reason of his affairs, and on several accounts, being unable to come to the Emperor), as it is requisite to settle matters of very great importance between them, but that this decision will not be made until the coming hither of the King of England, on account of whose coming, and for the need of the army, the Emperor has had a loan negotiated at Antwerp for 150,000 crowns, which will be disbursed by several German and Genoese merchants; it is not said on what security, nor at what rate of interest, but it is considered settled, and the arrival from Seville of the 300,000 crowns is expected daily.

Brussels, 11th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

182. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The office performed by the English mediators in the presence of Cardinal Pole with the French ambassador and his brother, consisted in a remonstrance against the writing published in France, with this in addition, that King Henry was to be told in the Queen's name, that should he wish for any adjustment, it would be requisite for him to send hither a person with sufficient authority, not merely to treat, but also to offer and propose some better form of convention than was proposed by the mediators, or than they would ever be able to imagine; and that his most Christian Majesty should send credentials to the prothonotary to this effect. To the first part, touching the complaint about the writing, the ambassador said that neither he or his brother knew anything of its contents, but even were it such as the mediators represented it to be, it ought not to surprise them, as neither the King nor any other prince should fail doing or saying whatever turned to his account, regardless of any one, and least of all of the

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enemy; and also because it contained nothing untrue, referring himself for the fact to the mediators, who were very well acquainted with all the past circumstances, and therefore knew whether the King, both by restitution and without it, and by referring the disputes and his claims to arbitration, would or would not have come to terms. Then, respecting the last part, that the King was to send a person with authority to treat, the prothonotary replied, as he had also said previously, that whenever they made a similar announcement to the Emperor, whatever his decision might be, both about the person [*appointed to negotiate*], *as also with regard to the faculty, more ample, or more limited and restricted, the like would be formed by the King; but as to sending to propose and make any offer, he said, making a display of resentment, that on no account would he represent such a thing, not only because it was contrary to the will and intention and dignity of the King—who, although he desired the peace, and was willing to make it, did not seek, and still less solicit it — but because, by their order, he had lately written to the contrary, that his Majesty was to send a power to approve or reject the proposals of the arbitrators, and he therefore did not choose to be ridiculed by his Majesty, nor to be considered frivolous and indiscreet for having willingly consented to deliver such a message, and that therefore this letter of credence was unnecessary; but that if such was the Queen's intention, they could not do otherwise than put the proposal into writing, signing and sending it to the King as a paper from the Commissioners and not from the French ambassador. No farther answer or rejoinder having been made by the mediators, the ambassodor and the prothonotary took leave ill satisfied.*

On the morrow, the 7th, Cardinal Pole, to give account of what had passed, and owing to the receipt of a despatch from Rome, went [*from Richmond*] *to the Court* [*at Oatlands*], *the Pope having charged him, not merely strongly to urge the Queen to exhort King Philip to persevere in what he is doing, but adroitly to let it be understood that whichever of the sovereigns shall fail to come to fair terms, his Holiness, in virtue of his grade and office, cannot but evince such resentment as becoming towards that one who will have been the cause of so much detriment and ruin to Christendom.*

Two days later, the prothonotary, accompanied by the ambassador his brother, went to the Queen to take leave on his return to France, it not seeming to him that he could any longer remain with honour to his King, there being no business or negotiation to detain him. The Queen spoke very graciously to him, giving assurance of her being well inclined to remain in peace and friendship with the King, and that she will not fail again to do her utmost, in order that this negotiation may produce some good result, soothing the prothonotary greatly, and saying she would desire the Chancellor to give a written minute of what he is to tell his King, which it is supposed will have been drawn up by order of her Majesty, with the counsel of Cardinal Pole, having been modified (mitigato) *in better form. He will perhaps depart to-day, leaving little or rather no hope of adjustment, unless Don*

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Ruy Gomez come with some better resolve from the Emperor, now that the Duke of Savoy has returned; but the general opinion is, that although during these two months, whilst awaiting the effects produced by the Turkish fleet, and such large armies in Piedmont, the negotiation will be kept on foot—the fashion in which this last office was performed, showing that it merely had for object to create delay—yet no agreement can take place, as both parties, but especially the Imperialists, hope either by coming to a battle, or by taking or recovering some important place in Piedmont, to gain greater repute and advantage in the agreement than they have at present.

Then, with regard to the Duke of Savoy, on the 3rd, the very day of his arrival at Brussels, he announced it in an autograph letter to Cardinal Pole; that he would await such resolve as should be given him by the Bishop of Arras and the Emperor, both with regard to his own affairs, as also about being able to negotiate with France, as in this matter they insisted on negotiating with him, and not with the Emperor; and that he would let Cardinal Pole know the result immediately. And as the French have frequently said, that were the Duke to go or send thither they would offer him satisfactory terms, the Abbot of San Saluto by his order wrote to the Constable that the King being thus well disposed towards him, should be pleased to manifest the fact by some detail, in order that the Duke may in some way be better convinced of this good inclination, it not being fair, if but for the sake of his honour, that he should consent to send and treat on this general basis (questa generalità) *without first hearing farther about these conditions.*

Has been told as a great secret, and as such it would be well for the Doge to keep it, that the Abbot of San Saluto, perceiving that the offices performed by these French mediators and agents and their mode of proceeding, did not only not tend towards the adjustment, but on the contrary utterly excluded it, the distrust between the parties increasing—it seeming to Cardinal Pole and him, that it was detrimental for the negotiation to protract matters farther—determined to turn the course of the treaty into a surer and faster flowing channel; so without communicating the thing to anybody but his right reverend Lordship, he wrote to the Bishop of Arras six days ago, expatiating to him on whatever he thought most fitting in the writing (quella scrittura) *given to him (the Abbot) by the Constable at the conference of Calais, and the contents of which he* (Michiel) *has never been able to ascertain, and is told that neither the French Ambassador nor his brother, nor any of the mediators, have knowledge of them; and contemporaneously the Abbot wrote to France, to the Constable, sending him the copy of what he had written to the Bishop of Arras, in order that the King may see in what manner and with what opportunity he took the step; but by no means did he let the Bishop know that what he wrote him proceeded either from the Constable or from France, keeping the affair of the writing a very close secret, but letting it appear that he acted spontaneously, in order that should his proposal please the Emperor, the King may not disapprove of it, when communicated*

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in like manner to him. At present, on the replies which may be expected from the two Courts from day to day, the hope and decision of the business will in great part depend.

By the same despatch from Rome, the Legate received from his Holiness the confirmation of all his decrees; the bulls for all the bishoprics in England being sent this once, gratis, without payment either of annat or anything else, although some of these English bishops offered to pay them spontaneously; and in addition to this, there was the brief erecting the Lordship (*dominio*) of Ireland into a kingdom, which title Henry VIII. usurped at the time of his secession from the Church, constituting himself "supreme head," as he also did in all ecclesiastical matters.

Cardinal Pole is strongly urged by the Pope to despatch the settlement of the affairs of his legation, and to see what he can do during the next two months respecting the agreement with these sovereigns; the Pope having scruples about recalling him at present, owing to the heat in Italy, but evincing a great wish to have him about his person for the need of the reform, provided his right reverend Lordship does not find it necessary to remain in England. Cardinal Pole in reply refers himself entirely to the Pope's will, with regard either to staying or going.

By the last advices from Spain, it is heard that the 6,000 Spaniards destined for Italy would be near the seaside for embarkation by the middle of next month.

Richmond, 12th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

183. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Council of Ten.

Most Excellent Lords,

King Philip's ministers and councillors, perceiving that all the difficulties of the adjustment, reduced themselves to the restoration of the parties despoiled on either side—to facilitate the negotiation, and to discover the intention of France—caused Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla to tell the Abbot of San Saluto to propose that whenever the King of France may choose to restore Corsica, the Emperor, on the other hand, will reinstate Duke Ottavio Farnese. The Abbot instantly announced this most adroitly to the French Ambassador here, writing also to the Constable, showing by many arguments, that of all the acts of restitution to which the French must at length necessarily condescend, should the agreement ever be effected, none would matter less to the King than the surrender of Corsica, not so much by reason of the small profit which it yielded him—he being unable to do much damage to his enemies in that quarter where they are always armed and prepared for defence, but on the other hand being obliged to incur great cost in garrisons, for its preservation, it being surrounded almost in every direction by his enemies, and in the centre of their dominions—as yet more by reason of the great detriment and dishonour of which he would rid himself, by not allowing the island to be a constant refuge (nido) *for the Turkish fleet, with the risk of its infesting his*

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own coasts and shores, by introducing it into harbours so near at hand, very much to the injury of all the Christian powers, and especially of Italy, who owing to him is exposed to perpetual depredation; in addition to which, he would perform an act of mere justice, holding it without just title, and without having received any offence from those who possessed it, his dominion being obtained by mere force and power. On the other hand, the Abbot represented the great advantage which the King would obtain by freeing himself from the expense of Parma, and the repute he would gain with the whole world, not only from being considered the chief author of the relief of a personage so miserably oppressed as Duke Ottavio, but from having completely reinstated him.

According to the reply now received by the ambassador, it does not seem that any one gave ear to these proposals, as they thanked the Abbot greatly for his assiduity and good will, and told him that the King did not think fit to accept the proposal, as since the Duke has been his confederate and under his protection, he not having lost anything of his own, neither would his Majesty give what was his in order to enable the Duke to recover what he lost at a more remote period; nor did he choose to strip himself to clothe others; but that nevertheless in order to decide better, he would await the opinion on this subject of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who, being absent from the Court, his Majesty had as yet been unable to hear it; and that he would then write more positively, showing hitherto that he holds the Duke in small account, it being perhaps his intention to keep for himself what belongs to him [Duke Ottavio], should he succeed as he hopes in recovering it from the enemy. The Abbot having given account here of the reply, and it seeming to them that this design was at an end, they commenced another, proposing that in lieu of the restoration of Corsica, Sienna and its whole territory should resume their pristine Republican form of government, both the Imperialists and the French abandoning whatever they hold there, and thus are the affairs of one Republic squared by means of another; concerning which proposal, the Imperial and French ambassadors said they would report to their sovereigns, who will decide the matter.

Richmond, 12th August 1555.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

184. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In reply to the King's enquiries as to whether he had any news from England, said he had heard nothing save the continuation of the report that the Queen was still desirous to adjust the disputes between his most Christian Majesty and the Emperor. The King replied, "It really is so, nor is there less inclination on the part of Cardinal Pole, who often discusses the matter with my ambassador, but there is nothing whatever of importance." Answered that he nevertheless understood that for this purpose Don Ruy Gomez de

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Silva had gone to the Emperor. To this his most Christian Majesty rejoined that he well knew he was gone, and that the King of England likewise wished for an adjustment (*compositione*), though he really did not know whether he had made the journey for this or some other cause, but that it was impossible to negotiate with the English ministers, because what one does the other undoes by reason of their partialities and disunion (*le partialità et disunioni*), most especially between the right reverend Chancellor and Lord Paget. He then said that the Queen had dismissed the greater part of the Court and withdrawn to Oatlands, and that she herself admitted she was not pregnant, and that of this his Majesty had been assured by a person to whom she had confessed the fact with her own lips. In conclusion, the King alluded to the general report that the Danish fleet had been in Scotland, and said it was astonishing, and for a few days had caused him great anxiety, but that at length, by letters from the Queen* and from his Lieutenant in Scotland, he had ascertained that it had never appeared off that coast, nor had they ever heard any news whatever of it.

Was also informed by the Cardinal of Lorraine that the French ambassador in England had been requested by Cardinal Pole to induce (*di disporre*) his most Christian Majesty to send one of the two bishops who attended the conference as his ministers, with a commission empowering him to treat such adjustment as might be proposed on the coming of the Duke of Savoy, but that the King replied that he could give no other commission, nor one more ample, nor more particular, than what he gave at the time of the conference; so as the Emperor was not then satisfied with it, the King did not know how to devise any plan save that the Emperor should determine to do himself that which he wished others to do, as he the King would not send any other ministers for this purpose.

In reply to an enquiry why they were expecting the Duke of Savoy, the Cardinal of Lorraine said, to try and adjust something with him, but the King holds the parties under his protection in such account that if the Emperor will not satisfy them, neither will France on her part give satisfaction to the Emperor's dependents (*ma il Re tiene tal conto de quelli che sono sotto la sua prottettione, che se l'Imp^re non satisfà quelli dal canto nostro, nè anche S. M^tà Xm̃a vorrà satisfare quelli dal canto di S. M^ta Ces^a.*).

Poissy, 14th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

August 14. Parti Comuni Consiglio X. vol. xxii. p. 40.

185. Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta about the salary of the Venetian Ambassador in England.

It having been carried in the Senate on the 2nd instant, that to the monthly salary of 150 golden crowns received by the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, our ambassador in England, there be added 30 ducats, so that he may have 180 golden ducats per month, the payment to commence on the said 2nd instant:

Put to the ballot, that the present treasurer of this Council and

* Mary of Lorraine, Queen Dowager of Scotland.

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his successors be charged, commencing on the 2nd of this present month, to give to the agents of the ambassador aforesaid 180 golden ducats per month for his expenses during the time of his stay at that embassy.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 3. Neutral, 2.

Exiit Ser Melchior Michael, consiliarius.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

186. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor sent secretary Erasso to Antwerp to raise a loan, and has had several letters from him saying he cannot at present stipulate with any merchant owing to news brought by a courier from England, purporting that on the 11th instant, between Dover and Calais, he saw 22 French ships attack the fleet bound from Spain with 300,000 crowns for account of the Emperor, and 50,000 for the Queen of England, his Majesty having granted this export-permit for the residue of the 300,000 already conceded her, besides a considerable quantity of money for the Antwerp merchants, who were in doubt whether this engagement took place with the fleet, said to be of 27 sail, or with the one of 25 sail which departed lately for Portugal loaded for the most part with grain, the rest of the cargoes being merchandize of various sorts of great value. The courier added that this sea-fight commenced at 11 a.m. and lasted until nearly night, and that three ships were burned, without knowing whether they were Imperial or French. Three days have elapsed without any confirmation of this intelligence, but secretary Erasso writes that some merchants have exhibited letters from their correspondents at Rouen who had the same news, with some variation, about which your Serenity will hear more authentically from the ambassadors Soranzo and Michiel.

The Florentine ambassador had audience of the Emperor, and acquainted him with the proceedings of the Turkish fleet at Piombino and Elba, telling him that although the Duke was not the least apprehensive, if it returned with the French fleet, that they would be able to do anything of importance, yet he greatly feared lest the French, who hold the fortresses of the Siennese, should reinforce themselves in such wise that, being at present equal to the Imperialists and perhaps outnumbering them, they should become greatly their superiors; wherefore it would be necessary for the Emperor to provide troops or charge the Duke to do so, sending orders to Naples for the funds required for their payment. He also requested the Emperor to give the title of Governor of Sienna to Don Francesco de Toledo and to confirm him in that post, as he could not send a more adroit minister for what was required there, or more dear to him, the Duke, by reason of the close connexion and good friendship between them.* He then besought his Majesty earnestly to give the archbishopric of Trani to the son of the late Duke Alessandro, and presented the Emperor with a quantity of most

* Don Francisco was the brother-in-law of Cosmo de Medici, the consort of Eleanor de Toledo.

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excellent fresh plums called "*Massimiana.*" His Majesty told the ambassador he was well disposed to comply with the Duke's requests, and would give him a reply on the return of the courier sent by him to the King of England about the demand for the archbishopric, which is in his gift as King of Naples; and the Emperor requested the ambassador to write to the Duchess to take good care of what remained of other similar fruit, as he liked it beyond measure (*et richiese al detto amb^re^ che scrivesse alla Duchessa, che fusse buona custoditrice delli altri simili frutti che restaveno, che oltra modo li delettaveno*).

The English ambassadors who returned from Rome, after making obeisance to the Emperor, departed immediately, and at the very time when I sent to announce my intention of going to visit them, they sent to say they were getting on horseback to continue their journey, apologizing and expressing regret at being unable to come and see me, as they wished, to demonstrate their gratitude for the many courtesies received from your Serenity, about whom and your affairs (*le cose sue*) they expressed themselves in the most loving terms possible.

Brussels, 16th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

187. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Several letters have arrived to-day from Calais, giving a different account of the engagement between the Imperial and French ships. The Marquis di Terra Nova, who is on his way back to this court from England, writes that the French, who had 17 armed ships, attacked 27 Flemish merchantmen on their voyage from Spain, and that three out of the entire number were burned, without giving farther particulars.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Empire says he has received advice that the French ships were only six, very large and very well armed, and that they went to attack the Flemings, in number 17, ten of which detached themselves from their consorts, steering with a fair wind towards England, and that the seven were compelled to fight, and one of them having thrown fireworks (*fuoghi artificiali*) into the French squadron, burned four others which went to their assistance, and the flames spread to the Flemish ships likewise, so only two of them were saved and one of the Frenchmen. These various advices have been communicated to the Emperor, who has no true account of the affair from any of his ministers.

Lord Courtenay, whilst riding for his pleasure through Brussels, had his attendants attacked by some Spaniards on account of the former disputes, and he wishing to favour his followers by reproving the Spaniards, they threatened him, so seeing a number of Spaniards hastening to the assistance of their countrymen . . . . . .* he returned in haste to his lodging, and on the retreat . . . . . four of his attendants were wounded, and some of the Spaniards also.

* Mutilated.

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He went therefore to the Bishop of Arras and made great complaint of the assaults (*persecutioni*) to which his retinue had been four times subjected, and his right reverend Lordship promised him that he should not again suffer similar annoyances, attributing the blame to prostitutes, and disputes of that sort between menials (*tra quella gente plebea*); and he invited Lord Courtenay to accompany him to mass in the Cathedral, to show the world that what took place was owing to rogues, from other causes and not from lack of goodwill on the part of the Imperial ministers towards the English nation.

Don Ruy Gomez has recovered his health, and told the Emperor that with his good leave he can go back to the King of England. This, he says, has been conceded him, and that he will certainly depart, hoping to meet his Majesty on the road rather than to find him in England.

Brussels, 18th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

188. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

Late on the 14th instant, received his letter of the 27th July about the vacancy of the church of Trani. In order not to be anticipated by others, wrote immediately to the King, acquainting him with the Pope's earnest wish about it, and as Monsigr. Agostini likewise had received a similar commission Pole thought it desirable before speaking to the King that Agostini should hear from his Majesty the difficulties of the case, so that Pole might then be better able to remove them. On the morrow Agostini told the King how earnestly the Pope wished the church of Trani to be conferred on his Datary, testifying to his rare and worthy qualities, &c. The King inquired whether he was a native of the kingdom of Naples and could reside on the see, and evincing in general terms his due observance towards the Pope, deferred particulars until he spoke to Pole, who went to him the next day, and having performed the office enjoined him by Caraffa, perceived at once, as he knew before, that there was no occasion to render the King more disposed than he already was to oblige the Pope in whatever depended on him, and that he would very willingly have gratified him in this matter, regretting and showing concern at being unable to do so, as he was bound not to infringe the promise given by him to the Emperor and to the kingdom of Naples to nominate a native of it to any church in his gift, vacant through the death of a foreigner, in like manner as if the vacancy occurred by the death of a Neapolitan, it remained optional with him to appoint a foreigner. Pole replied that to his knowledge Trani had nevertheless been conferred on two foreigners successively, to which the King rejoined that this perhaps took place before he made the promise. Pole then requested that this reply might not be conclusive, and so the King promised to give him fuller information on the subject, as he did yesterday by sending to him the Regent Figueroa, who after many assurances of the King's wish always to gratify the Pope, repeated what had been said about his Majesty's promise, adding

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how religiously he kept his word. Pole then said how much the Pope relied on the King's courtesy, and in some degree on Pole's mediation by reason of his Majesty's graciousness towards him, alluding also to the excellent qualities of the person proposed; and to this being the first favour requested in his Holiness' name, and to convince Figueroa of the Pope's wish in this matter, showed him Caraffa's letter, and let him take it with him that he might show it to the King. He also said that as his Majesty had received this privilege of nomination from the Apostolic See, it would be the more fitting to oblige the Pope in this matter. Figueroa departed saying he would again speak about it to the King, and return on the morrow, as he did with this decision, that Pole was to announce the impediment to the Pope, who, being a Neapolitan, would understand its importance, his Majesty promising in the meanwhile not to appoint any one else. As to the date of the promise, Figueroa did not know it exactly, but it was at the time when Serepando, Archbishop of Salerno, was sent by the city of Naples to Brussels, where the writing is. The King also told Pole how much he hesitated to name a person not destined to reside on his see, as said by him also previously to Monsigr. Agostini.

Pole then told the King and Queen of the jubilee proclaimed by the Pope, and which they and their household will very gladly celebrate in the present week, and a copy of it will be sent to all the bishops of England and Ireland, with orders to publish it throughout their dioceses. Trusts it may please God to grant the prayers of Christendom for peace. The King spoke to him about the revocation of the Church property, suspecting that the parties concerned in England may suppose themselves comprised in it. Pole replied that the bull itself fully explained that such was not the Pope's intention, but that his Holiness nevertheless had ordered a brief to be made out, to render it more clear. Pole's agent has informed him of Caraffa's friendly and courteous offers for whatever he (Pole) requires "*nelle occorentie mie*," for which he thanks him most heartily, and in case of need will have recourse to him with all security, in like manner as Caraffa may on every account command Pole. Much has been said lately about the King's departure for Brussels; to-day it is announced for certain, and will take place in eight days, with few attendants, his Court remaining here, as he purposes returning within a month.

Richmond, 18th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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189. Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Sessa.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Has received an unsigned letter from him, not written by himself, but the affectionate and gentle reproaches it contained, convinced Pole from whom it came. Apologizes for not having answered the request of such a friend and such a bishop, whom all cardinals are bound to serve, it being their duty always to serve bishops residing at their sees, when they make demands relating to the service of God. The Bishop in his letter thanks God for what Pole has effected for the cause in England, and trusts he will continue to serve it with regard to the see of Sessa. Not only does Pole pro-

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mise to do so, but prays the Bishop to command him in all things as a father would a son, he considering himself such, with regard to the Bishop. He has written the letter to Naples as required, and Monsigr. Priuli will give him farther particulars.

Richmond, 19th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

190. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 11th instant twenty large Flemish "*urche*" on their voyage from Spain to Flanders, in company with three vessels from Civita Vecchia, freighted with alum, fell in with 18 French ships and three brigantines; a battle commenced on the 11th, five hours before noon, and was carried on until five p.m. on the morrow the 12th, with great slaughter and loss of life, and each party had six vessels burned and two sunk, the rest much crippled (*malissimo trattate*); four Frenchmen returned to Dover in such a state as to be no longer serviceable, and five Flemings were taken into French harbours. It is said that the two flagships and their admirals (*amiragli*) were burned.

Last week their Majesties returned to Hampton Court, the Lady Elizabeth remaining at the seat to which she went; and now the Queen shows herself and converses with everybody as usual, her health being so good as perhaps never to have been better, to the universal surprise of all who see her, but of delivery or pregnancy small signs are visible externally, and no one talks or thinks of them any longer. As to the King's departure, he yesterday sent the Signor Carlo da Sanguino, gentleman of the mouth (*gentilhomo della bocca*),* to Brussels, (they say) to fix his going, having already adroitly broached the topic to the Queen, who will acquiesce; so it is said he will leave in eight or ten days, postwise, leaving the greater part of his household for the sake of convincing the Queen by as many signs as he can that he purposes returning speedily; though on the contrary it is said more than ever, that he will go to Spain, and remove hence his household and all the others by degrees.

Concerning the negotiation for the peace, nothing farther has taken place since the departure of the Prothonotary de Noailles. The Abbot of San Saluto has received a reply from France to what he wrote about the disclosure made by him to (*circa l'essersi allargato*) the Bishop of Arras, commending him for what he did.

In consequence of a despatch from Rome, Cardinal Pole went to the Court the day before yesterday to announce the publication of the jubilee, and to request the King, in the name of his Holiness (who has made very earnest suit to this effect), to oblige him by conceding the archbishopric of Trani for Monsignor d'Osio. The nomination to that see, as one of the 24 of which the *jus patronatus* is reserved for the kingdom of Naples, belongs to his Majesty, from whom the Legate could not obtain the grant, as he excused himself

* The office of "*Gentilhuomo della bocca*" may be translated either "Esquire carver," "Gentleman of the mouth," or "Sewer," so I use the terms indifferently.

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on the plea of inability to infringe his promise and obligation to confer those benefices on natives of that kingdom; and the Doge will hear from Rome how this reply has been taken by the Pope. Cardinal Pole also returned thanks to both their Majesties for the finishing stroke (*ultimo fine*) put to the restitution of the Church property held by the Crown, all the Lords of the Council having at length approved it, and the bull being already published, though not without some impediment, certain English noblemen (*alcuni di questi signori*) having endeavoured to thwart it, perhaps from unwillingness to be invited by this example, for they can neither be compelled nor molested on this account, to do the like by what they themselves hold, and thus spontaneously disburden their consciences. By a subsequent despatch the Doge will see the tenour of the bull.

By a recent despatch from Spain it is said that the Castilians have already consented to give the subsidy of 800,000 ducats usually given at the time appointed by the Cortes, and they also hope for the benevolence extraordinary of 400,000, but no mention is made of the Aragonese subsidies.

Count Sforza Morone and Signor Gieronymo Crotto came hither from Milan, in the name of the community, to complain of the donative (*pensione*) lately demanded on account of King Philip from the feudatories, pensioners, and tributaries (*donatarij*) of the Milanese, as a thing due and usually paid by them to well nigh all the dukes on their taking possession of the duchy; which donative (*pensione*), signifying one year's income derived from either fief, pension, or office, is said to amount to no less than 180,000 ducats. This they requested of the King as a gift, or that he would at least defer the exaction of it until another time, by reason of the innumerable burdens and taxes to which the Milanese has been subjected, and which it continues to defray. At the audience given them by the King on the morrow of their arrival, he did not allow them to proceed far with their narrative, for, to the surprise of all the bystanders, moved by his usual graciousness, he interrupted them, saying that then and for ever he remitted them the tax; which reply so affected them that, humbly throwing themselves at his Majesty's feet, as an act of thanksgiving they offered him their property, their lives, and their blood for his service, and return completely satisfied with such speedy and auspicious despatch, having (it may be said) obtained the boon before they asked it. Has been told that, in consequence of this, and for other causes which are kept secret, the aforesaid Signor Carlo Sanguino will go to the Duke of Alva to acquaint him with the matter.

Richmond, 19th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

191. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prothonotary de Noailles returned yesterday from England, giving assurance, on behalf of the Queen, that she perseveres in her usual goodwill towards the French crown, and wishes his most Christian Majesty to send commissioners to England; but to this

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the King continues averse, and it is understood that when the Constable discusses this subject he expresses himself angrily, and especially because the prothonotary brings back word that the English ministers evince such affection for the Imperial interests that but very little remains for those of France, which increases the difficulty of negotiating; and Dr. Wotton has hinted to Soranzo that he knew all this to be passing in the Constable's mind, adding also that were the King of France to send his commissioners to England for this business, the Emperor would do the like, on which account he urges his most Christian Majesty to consent.

Poissy, 22nd August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Senato Mar, vol. 33, p. 27.

192. MOTION made in the SENATE, 2nd August.

The grant of the fair demand made by their beloved noble Zuan Michiel, ambassador in England, ought not to be withheld, both by reason of the great expense in ordinary which it behoves him to incur in that legation, as also on account of the outlay extraordinary, incurred of necessity for the honour of the State on several occasions which arose there after the arrival of the Prince of Spain, and also by reason of what he may have to incur hereafter for the same cause; which provision is the more due because their said noble has already been for about 14 months on that legation without being provided with such additional salary as decreed by the Senate for all the other ambassadors before the despatch or departure from Venice of said Ser Zuan Michiel for his legation; wherefore it will be put to the ballot that to the 150 ducats monthly salary now received by him, there be added, during the rest of his stay in said legation, to commence with the day of the present motion, 30 ducats extra, so that he will receive 180 golden ducats per month; his successor also to have the like stipend, according to the motion carried in the Senate on the 15th March 1554, which, as aforesaid, was carried before said ambassador's departure from Venice.

Ayes, 156. Noes, 39¾. Neutrals, 11.

30th May 1555, in the College.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 1. Neutral, 2¾. Kinsfolk withdrew.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

193. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Neapolitan gentleman-of-the-mouth, of the King of England, has come hither to inform the Emperor that his son will soon be with him, and from a person able to know the fact I have heard that he has written to the Emperor at great length about the very earnest suit (*efficacissimo officio*) made to him by Lord Paget not to take the Princess Elizabeth out of the kingdom, as it would certainly cause too great disturbance, and most certain mischief; and this same person told me that Lord Courtenay will shortly be allowed to depart for Italy, and during the last few days the Bishop of Arras has honoured him so in public that he compels him by force to take precedence and keep the right hand.

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Don Ruy Gomez has departed on his way to meet the King, having failed to obtain permission from the Emperor (*sua Maestà*) to go to the baths of Liège for the cure of his malady, and he went by way of Antwerp for pecuniary supply. Before his departure Queen Maria invited him to dinner, which caused him to be much envied, especially by the Spaniards.

Brussels, 22nd August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

194. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King complains that the English commissioners for the negotiation of the peace, in their conversations with his ambassador in England, said that at the late conference the French ministers uttered certain words, which the King declares he had never before heard of, the commissioners in like manner affirming not only that they did not say them, but that no such topic was even mooted. Can learn no farther particulars save that his most Christian Majesty said that although the words, had they been uttered, were not such as to matter much, yet did it seem strange to him that his ministers should be reproached with saying what they did not say. So talking with the person who narrated the circumstance to me, and is worthy of entire credence, the King said *he did not see how he could trust in the said English, or again send his minister to that kingdom to negotiate.*

Poissy, 23rd August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 24. Filza, No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

195. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My very good Lord, my bounden duty most humbly remembered. These are to excuse myself in that of long time I have not written any private letters unto your Lordship, the cause whereof being sent into Dorsetshire about her Majesty's affairs, and being otherwise the time so busied with me as I well could not, and also I participated first to Prune,* and after from time to time to Walker,† all things which I thought requisite [for] your Lordship to understand, so as that considering my own letter hath I hope so fully supplied my own writing, as I trust your Lordship will be satisfied therewith. And now, forasmuch as John Walker, your trusty servant, is the bearer hereof, to whom I have imparted my full mind in all things, and also hoping to see your Lordship myself very shortly, which is the cause, I do assure you, that I will do what I can to procure myself a journey, after the King's assent, as soon as I possibly can, which I trust shall not be long, referring myself in the rest to Walker's declaration by mouth, to whom I know your Lordship will, as you well may, give full credit, I will for this time commit your Lordship to the tuition of Almighty God,

* Query Walter Prune. *See* Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 68, 1555, July 10.
† Query John Walker. *See* Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 67, 1555, June 10.

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who ever preserve your Lordship, and grant unto you your own most virtuous desire.

In haste, the 24th of August.

Your good Lordship's most assuredly at commandment.

(Signed) James Basset.

[*Addressed:*] "To the right honourable and my very good lord, the Earl of Devonshire."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*] "Mr. Basset, the 24th of August 1555, from England to Brussels."

Aug. 24 (*sic*) [28?] MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

196. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

On the 18th wrote to Caraffa of the King's determination to go to Flanders; so on the day before yesterday his Majesty, accompanied by the Queen, came to dine in London, and went afterwards to Greenwich, Pole accompanying their Majesties all through the city, where there was a much greater crowd than usual, on account of a fair [St. Bartholomew's],* and the populace applauded them the whole way until they embarked [at Tower wharf]. Yesterday Pole went to Greenwich, where their Majesties seemed to wish him to remain. He has not failed to pray and exhort the King to do his utmost with the Emperor to promote this negotiation for peace, saying again how much the Pope had it at heart. Then to-day after dinner the King departed, and in two days will be at Dover,† and seems to intend returning (please God) in October.

The Queen's ambassadors arrived from Rome four days ago,‡ showing themselves very well satisfied with the gracious reception given them by his Holiness, and with all the other courtesies received, of which they willingly tell everybody. On the road they heard of the repeal made by the Pope of the alienation of the Church property, and from what they told me, not without some anxiety lest it cause great disturbance here, a fear which has been expressed to Pole by many others also, but he has not failed to demonstrate to everybody that the intention of the Pope was by no means to alter anything done here, as may be seen by the bull itself; but that nevertheless, to remove any doubt, his Holiness had given orders for a special declaration to this effect to be made by another bull, which it will be well to have done, and to send the bull hither forthwith. Wrote to Caraffa that the King had determined to do nothing about the church of Trani until he heard farther from the Pope, after his being acquainted with the cause which prevented the King from gratifying him in this matter, as it would be his wish to do always. This the King confirmed to Pole yet more strongly, and Pole again repeated how much the Pope seemed to desire this concession, and how meritorious was the person proposed.

Greenwich, 24th (*sic*) [28th?] August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* According to Machyn's Diary, the King and Queen embarked at Tower wharf on the 26th August, and as Bartholomew Fair did not commence until the 24th I think Machyn was correct, and that this letter should be dated 28th August.

† The King quitted Greenwich for Dover on the 29th August. (*See* Machyn, as above.)

‡ In Machyn's Diary (p. 93) it is stated that they arrived in London on the 24th August, which is an additional reason for supposing that this letter was written on the 28th.

1555. Aug. 25. Filza, No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

197. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. ENGLEFELD.

Having the opportunity of writing by this messenger, Mr. Morrise, thanks Englefeld for his friendship and the trouble he has taken in his affairs, and having some things at present to do and some suits to make, the particulars of which this messenger shall explain, begs his furtherance of them.

(Signed) Yours most bounden,
E. Devon.

Brussels, 25th August 1555.

[*Original draft, in the handwriting of Courtenay's secretary.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

198. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The post-master Tassis will depart to-morrow for Gravelines to give orders about post-horses for the persons who come with the King of England; he has desired that 50 horses be kept ready at each post-house. His Majesty writes to the Emperor that Cardinal Pole and the Chancellor have been thrice with the French ambassador discussing the peace, and they talked of treating it again in October, which is not credited, certain chief personages saying indeed that Cardinal Pole devises this mode of . . . . .* to avoid being called to Rome, *as for various and important projects of his he wishes to remain in England.* The King also prays the Emperor to decide about the acts of grace and rewards to be conferred by him, as he wishes to be free from this trouble at both courts, and the Emperor has already commenced inspecting the lists of things for distribution, as also those of the petitioners, Secretary Erasso having been with him during a long while for this purpose.

Brussels, 25th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

199. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The 300,000 crowns which the Emperor promised to furnish to the Duke of Alva through exchanges with the Genoese merchants have not been paid, and although they think the contract will take effect, yet will but a small part of the sum be sent to Italy, as the Imperial ministers have already pledged their word to distribute it in these parts, and that the first payments will be made to these said Genoese merchants, to reimburse the 24,000 crowns given by some of them to the Secretary Erasso that he might send them to King Philip for this his coming.

Brussels, 26th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* Illegible in MS.

1555.
Aug. 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

200. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Their Majesties came hither from Hampton Court yesterday morning, remaining merely to dine, and then went to Greenwich, where the Queen will remain during the whole time of the King's stay beyond sea. On departing hence, his Majesty had determined, when passing through London, to show himself in public to the people on horseback, leaving the Queen to follow him at leisure by water as usual, but her Majesty chose to give the City the satisfaction of seeing her likewise in his company, she having made the determination when in the very act of embarking; so having herself carried in an open litter, she went, accompanied not only by the English and Spanish nobility now at the court, but also by the Cardinal Legate and the ambassadors, the Lord Mayor and all the aldermen having met her at Temple Bar (*alla porta della Città*),* coming with the royal insignia and all the other solemnities, as customary when the Queen appears in public. It is not to be told what a vast crowd of people there was all along the road, which is a very long one, nor yet the joy they demonstrated at seeing their Majesties, which was really great, and the more as the London populace were firmly convinced that the Queen was dead; so when they knew of her appearance, they all ran from one place to another, as to an unexpected sight, and one which was well nigh new, as if they were crazy, to ascertain thoroughly if it was her, and on recognising and seeing her in better plight than ever, they by shouts and salutations, and every other demonstration, then gave yet greater signs of their joy, inasmuch as to their great comfort and that of her Majesty they saw her come with the King on one side of her and Cardinal Pole on the other, both of whom are universally popular by reason of the reported kindness of their nature, and of which daily proof is afforded by facts, so that the determination to make this display, most especially at the present moment, has been very useful.

The King will leave Greenwich as soon as he hears that the fleet with which he is to cross, and which until yesterday was here in the Thames to complete its outfit, shall be off Dover. It consists of 12 ships and a galleon for his Majesty's person, armed and provided in the best fashion possible,† and, in addition to this force, they are expecting some Flemish ships, to render the passage track yet more secure, as it is daily infested by Frenchmen, who without any scruple attack every vessel in order to take out of them all property and subjects belonging to the enemy.

His Majesty will be accompanied as far as Calais, that is to say, beyond the confines of the kingdom, by the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon,‡ and Lord Paget, Huntingdon, and the Earl of Pembroke will follow him as far as Brussels, the last having been appointed captain and governor-general of all the English possessions across the Channel; and besides these personages the King will

* This "rydyng thrugh London unto Towr's-warff" is recorded by Machyn, p. 93.
† Armate et provvedute di tutte le cose sue come si possa.
‡ Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon.

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also be followed by the Admiral and the Queen's vice-chamberlain, and by the sons of the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, who are his Majesty's chamber attendants, together with some others of inferior grade, the number of persons being much less than reported.

His Majesty did not choose that the Portuguese ambassador and I should follow him, as we offered to do, he himself saying that as he was going postwise on a summons from the Emperor about business, with the intention of returning very speedily, he would not for so short a time give us this trouble, but, thanking us for our ready will, said he should hold the honour in the same account through our residence, as intended by us, with the Queen at Greenwich.

Concerning the King's return, discourse varies, his taking with him the Regents (*li Regenti*), and well nigh the whole Council, implying length and delay; so on the other hand, seeing that the German and Spanish infantry and the Burgundian cavalry remain in England, as also the chapel [functionaries], the physicians, the pages, and the whole stable [department], this affords arguments in favour of brevity and speed; but everything is conjecture.

In the meanwhile, as may be imagined with regard to a person extraordinarily in love, the Queen remains disconsolate, though she conceals it as much as she can, and from what I hear mourns the more when alone and supposing herself invisible to any of her attendants. During this absence Cardinal Pole will reside with her, lodgings having been assigned him in the palace, that he may comfort and keep her company, Her Majesty delighting greatly in the sight and presence of him.

With the King's departure all business will cease; so during this interval there will be little news to give, as everything in England proceeds in the usual course, and without any disturbance.

The affair of the peace likewise will also be suspended, independently of other respects, by reason of this absence of the King, but not remain entirely dormant, as last week Messer Gasparo Ponciglione, the nephew of the Abbot of San Saluto, was sent postwise to Brussels to confer with the Duke of Savoy (whose subject he is and much in his confidence)* about all current events; and should the Emperor determine on sending persons hither with such power as required by the mediators, in conformity with the offer made by the French ambassador and his brother, the negotiation would continue, notwithstanding the King's absence, as both one and the other are more than ever anxious about it.

Has heard from his relatives at Venice that, to relieve him in part from the expense incurred for the service and honour of the State, the Doge has very graciously been pleased to grant him the same increase of salary as destined for his successors. Returns thanks for this to his Serenity and the Senate; holds the demonstration and its result equally in account, though they cannot

* As already stated, Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, was a Piedmontese, and both uncle and nephew were staunch to their sovereign the Duke of Savoy.

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increase his wish to serve the Republic, as from duty and nature it had already reached its extreme limit.

London, 27th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

201. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Imperial purveyors have departed to assign the quarters in all the places through which the King of England has to pass, and the Queens and the Bishop of Arras together have sent his Majesty six such fast hackneys (*chinee*) that they will serve him instead of post horses, and for his followers they have taken at Antwerp and other places as many as 500, to be stationed at all the post houses. The Duke of Savoy, Lord Courtenay, and the English ambassador have gone separately towards Calais to meet the King, and it is said that on hearing of his having crossed the Channel, Queen Maria likewise and the Bishop of Arras will proceed towards Ghent. The Mantuan ambassador inquired of the Bishop what he was to do about going to meet the King, and received for answer that he was to follow the example of the other ambassadors. The Florentine says that he shall not go unless told to do so by some of the Imperial ministers; the Ferrarese will remain on account of [disputes about] precedence; the Portuguese will avoid encountering Sir John Masone. I shall do as the Nuncio does, if sure of not meeting the Duke of Savoy, knowing that your Serenity does not intend such an opportunity to present itself.

King Philip will lodge in the palace with the most Serene Queens [Eleanor and Maria, Queens Dowager of France and Hungary], and the purveyors have marked the habitations for all the lords of these provinces who have been called for the 12th instant, some say in order that the King may persuade them to give money to carry on the war, some because the Emperor purposes publishing his cession of these provinces to him, as he did Naples and Milan; others to make them consent to accept the Duke of Savoy as governor of said provinces, and consequently it will be heard whether he purposes taking the Duchess of Lorraine for his wife or not.

Several personages of this court, and of those who have arrived from that of the King of England, say it will soon be decided which of their two Majesties goes to Spain, and they will settle whether Queen Maria is to go to treat the matters for adjustment with the King of the Romans, or (as said by many) the King of Bohemia shall come hither for that purpose, especially as he has written a humble and very loving letter to the Emperor in justification of himself for the second time, purporting that, because he favoured certain preachers of rare ability, who were accused by some persons of having Lutheran opinions, his Imperial Majesty must not believe that he approved of them in this particular, adding the following circumstance, that on one of them the Cardinal of Trent had conferred some benefices.

The Pope has desired the Nuncio to acquaint the Emperor with the mode in which the galleys were taken by the Prior of Lombardy [Carlo Sforza], and to tell him that it was just they should be taken

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back to Civitavecchia, and that such therefore was his Holiness' will. The Bishop of Arras gave a favourable reply to the Nuncio, who took occasion to say that this business will be settled to the satisfaction of the Pope and the Emperor, to whom the Imperial ambassador at Rome has written that his Majesty would do well not to give him any cause for altercation with his Holiness, as he does not seem well disposed towards his Imperial Majesty. The Bishop of Arras evinced great displeasure on hearing of the arrest of Lottino, secretary of Cardinal Santa Fiore* [Guido Ascanio Sforza], especially because, after the election of the present Pope, it was said that he had told the Emperor many things to the discredit of many cardinals, which the Bishop denies, but says nevertheless that it would be well for certain persons who are too anxious to injure him not to go investigating matters, which, if divulged, might get themselves into trouble.

The Duke of Savoy, before his departure, requested the Ferrarese ambassador to write to his Duke, requesting him, as a favour, to give his Excellency the felons sentenced in his territory, and such as shall be condemned hereafter, that he may employ them on board certain galleys which he purposes fitting out.

Brussels, 1st September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2.

202. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The royal virtues and goodness of their Majesties having had the force to bind him to the Court for their service, he considers it his duty to write to the King occasionally, but is unwilling to molest him; and as the first office enjoined him by the King on his departure was to endeavour to comfort the Queen, who could not but be much distressed by the absence of such a King and consort, he will now merely tell him with regard to this matter, that besides the great pleasure derived by her, as she tells him, from writing to his Majesty and reading his letters (the basis of her consolation being the hope she has that God's providence will preserve him in health and prosper his affairs), no slight remedy for her grief is that which the King has devised and ordered by keeping her occupied with public business, about which Pole found her yesterday very anxious, owing to the King's letters; and her Majesty acquainted him with certain things about which the King wrote that provision was to be made, and on the day before she sent to him the persons named in the memorandum signed by his Majesty, that he might hear their opinion concerning the matter in question, as he is certain the King will have been informed. Prays God that he may have a good passage, and that his affairs may prosper.

Greenwich, 2nd September 1555.†

[*Italian.*]

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* Panvinio writes the name S. Fiore, but Cardella prints it Santafiora.

† In the MS. this letter is dated as above, and by a despatch from Giovanni Michiel to the Signory it is seen that King Philip crossed from Dover to Calais on the 4th September 1555.

1555.
Sept. 2.
Senato Terra, vol. 40, p. 51.

203. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning costs incurred in honour of Anthony Brown, Viscount Montagu, when passing through Venice on his return to England from Rome, where he had been ambassador.

Two hundred and twenty-six ducats and 16 *soldi* having been expended by order of our Signory by our officials of the office for "old accounts" (*rason vecchie*) in payment of the expenses of Viscount Montagu (*il Sigr. di Montagu*), an English nobleman who came to this city, as appears in detail by the account presented to the College, it is fitting to provide for liquidation of the entire sum.

Put to the ballot, that, by authority of this Council, there be given from the moneys of our Signory to the aforesaid officials of the office for "old accounts" 226 ducats and 16 *soldi*, in payment of all the costs incurred for the cause aforesaid.

Aloysius Rhenerio, S.C.
Aloysius Mocenico, S.T.F.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 3¾. Neutrals, 2.

1555, 24 August, in the College.*
Ayes, 21. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

204. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 29th ult. the most Serene King left Greenwich, accompanied by the English noblemen whose names have been already written, and although from beyond Gravesend, whither he went by water as usual, he proceeded post-wise for greater despatch, yet nevertheless, being accompanied to the seaside by his guard of 100 English halberdiers, he on the first day did not get farther than Sittingbourne, a distance of 15 miles, where he was received with great demonstrations of honour, having been met three miles in advance by the Lord Warden, Captain of the Cinque Ports, and Lord Lieutenant (*Governator*) of Kent, with a company of gentlemen of the county, in number 200, all on foot, clad in one livery; and on entering the town they found tables prepared in the streets as a mark of rejoicing, everybody being boarded and lodged gratis. On the morrow he went but 10 miles beyond, to Canterbury, where he stopped on account of the convenience of the lodgings, and where he still is, only 10 miles from Dover, awaiting news from the Admiral of the arrival of the Flemish ships, and of fair weather for crossing, having been detained hitherto by both one and the other, as to secure himself against any danger he will not put to sea without this Flemish convoy.

* Although the account was not passed by the College until the 24th August, the expenses were incurred at the close of June, as may be inferred from the entry relating to Lord Montagu, date 28 June 1555, and from a paragraph in the Foreign Calendar, date Brussels, 21 July 1555 (p. 180); whilst from "The Journey of the Queen's Ambassadors," published by Lord Hardwicke, it is seen that on its way home the embassy was at Bologna on the 1st of July 1555, and at Trent on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of that month. Lord Montagu apparently parted company from his colleague the Bishop of Ely, and went to Venice incog.

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Much to my pleasure I accompanied Cardinal Pole and the other noblemen on the day when they went with the King to his barge, to see him take leave of the Queen, who on that occasion really expressed very well the sorrow becoming a wife, and a wife such as she is, invested with the regal habit and dignity, for without displaying much extrinsic disquietude, though evidently deeply grieved internally, she chose to come with him through all the chambers and galleries (*sale*) to the head of the stairs, constraining herself the whole way to avoid, in sight of such a crowd, any demonstration unbecoming her gravity, though she could not but be moved when the Spanish noblemen kissed her hand, and yet more, when she saw the ladies in tears take leave of the King, who, according to the custom of the country, kissed them one by one. On returning, however, to her apartments, placing herself at a window which looks on the river, not supposing herself any longer seen or observed by any one, it was perceived that she gave free vent to her grief by a flood of tears, nor did she once quit the window until she had not only seen the King embark and depart, but remained looking after him as long as he was in sight; and the King on his part mounted aloft on the barge in the open air (*il qual montato in piedi in un alto della barca*), in order to be better seen when the barge approached in sight of the window, and moreover, waived his bonnet from the distance to salute her, demonstrating great affection. Now whilst his Majesty is at Canterbury, not only every day, but every hour, expresses are on the road from the King to the Queen, and in like manner from hence to his Majesty, the gentlemen-in-waiting being always booted and spurred ready for a start.

Shortly before he departed, the King sent for Cardinal Pole, and all the Lords of the Council, into the chamber, and in very suitable language recommended the government of the kingdom to them during this his absence, alluding especially to justice and religion, leaving a writing in which, as I was told by the Legate, were noted all such warnings as he deemed most important and necessary, with a detailed list (*una particolar nota*) of such persons as could be trusted and employed for any necessary business or office, a matter which, although discussed previously, surprised every one by reason of the judgment and tact displayed in it by his Majesty, who then, thus in public, turning towards Cardinal Pole, besought him very earnestly in his own name and that of the Queen to assume this charge, in conformity with his own patriotism and the wish of their Majesties, desiring all the others to defer to him in everything. This same office had been performed by the King with the Cardinal the day before, they being alone together, his Majesty for this purpose having gone very privately in person to the Legate's own apartment, taking him quite by surprise. Cardinal Pole told me that by so much the less did he think fit to combat the wish of his Majesty, as he trusted, and was indeed certain, that the will of their Majesties, being in accordance with his natural obligation would also have the approval of his Holiness, from which, by another second obligation, both as a member of the apostolic see and as the Pope's representative, he could not depart. Henceforth, therefore, to the great comfort of their Majesties and the whole kingdom, all

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public and important business will be discussed and decided according to the opinion and advice of his right reverend Lordship, who, for the avoidance of envy and molestation, will not interfere with private and ordinary matters, leaving their despatch as before to the other members of the Council; and this will perhaps be the chief cause, besides the others, for his remaining here.

The Prothonotary De Noailles foresees that the decision announced to him by the mediators with regard to resuming negotiations here, even should it be put into a better form than was proposed to him, would not at all please his most Christian Majesty, whose reply to the English ambassador resident with him purports that having sufficiently declared his mind and intention at the conference of Calais, it was superfluous to send again hither to explain better than was done then, and that should it be necessary to propose any new scheme here, recourse might be had to his ambassador, who will reply to whatever shall be necessary. Such was the answer sent hither by the English ambassador [*Dr. Wotton*], *the French ambassador not having had letters thence for many a day, as lest he should give notice of all King Philip's projects connected with this departure, all his packets are detained at the ports, whether coming or going.*

Notwithstanding this reply, the Abbot of San Saluto does not fail to discuss these matters daily with said ambassador, the negotiation as written by me now passing through another channel, but as yet I am unable to ascertain whether any reply has been received, either from Brussels or from Missier Gasparo, the Abbot's nephew, who was sent to confer with the Duke of Savoy, though it may be supposed that everything is reserved for King Philip's arrival at the Imperial court.

Yesterday at the Court it was reported that there had been a second sea-fight in the British Channel, between some Flemish "*urche*," on their voyage from Spain, and French ships, eight of which last had been captured, and that two of the Flemings were sunk, but as yet entire credence is not given to this account.

Shortly before the King's departure a Spanish gentleman, Don Francisco de Ribera, resident in Peru, sent thence with a salary of 40 ducats per diem, and full authority from the inhabitants of that province, arrived at Hampton Court, to treat and decide with the Emperor about the division of the territory already acquired, and such as will be obtained hereafter, that it may be conceded in perpetuity to the heirs and successors of those on whom it shall have been bestowed, and not for one or two lives at the utmost, the petitioners compounding for this grant by payment of a sum of money on the best terms they can get, having long earnestly urged the matter in vain, the denial proceeding from scruples of conscience, which were freely dictated to his Majesty by a bishop, who is a friar and a doctor of divinity, whom the Emperor seemed to believe more than all the other theologians who have spoken and written to the contrary. This Don Francisco is now going to Brussels with King Philip, who is in favour of the bargain, which would yield him so considerable a sum that the mere mention of it is alarming. On board the ship in which Don Francisco came from

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Peru to Spain, the vessel having foundered at sea, he lost upwards of 50,000 ducats, held by him in no account, as he says that on his return they will be repaid him twice over by the natives (*da quelli del paese*).

London, 3rd September 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

205. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Five leagues hence Queen Maria has prepared a grand banquet and hunt, to gratify (*carezzare*) the King of England, of whose passage across the Channel no intelligence has as yet been received.

Persons who come from Calais say that some French armed ships were off the harbour, but not in sufficient number to prevent the King's passage. The Emperor has again desired the Prince of Orange to march with the army as soon as he can towards the city of Arras, and proceed beyond, to prevent the French from burning that part of the county of Artois, as they continue doing.

Here there have assembled nearly all the deputies and some of the Lords of these provinces, of whom the demand for money will not be made until the King arrive.

The Marquis of Terranova, on his return from England, came yesterday to visit me, and said that by the Emperor's order he was to depart for Sicily, to arrange various matters with the Viceroy, both about the Turkish and French fleets and the affairs of Tunis, his Majesty having let him know that he will thus render more service than by remaining here, as he had intended, wishing honestly to favour with the King of England the suits of many Sicilians against the Viceroy, who is too much protected by the Spanish ministers at both courts; and he expatiated greatly on the Viceroy's misconduct, as detrimental not only to the Sicilians, but to his Imperial Majesty.

Brussels, 3rd September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

206. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Last night a courier came to the Emperor with news that on the day before the King of England had made a good passage across the Channel in four hours with four ships, not choosing to wait for the others destined for his convoy, being thus counselled in order that the French might not suspect him of being then on his voyage. Yesterday he lodged at Dunkirk, to-day he will be at Bruges, and to-morrow at Ghent; and he has written to the Emperor that on Sunday the 8th he will arrive here, where no preparation has been made in honour of his entry, as he comes post-wise, but it is said that, including all his followers and those who accompany him from the neighbouring towns, and who will go to meet him from hence, there will be well nigh 2,000 horse. The Count of Egmont, who is the chief personage of these provinces, after the Prince of Orange,

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has been sent by the Emperor to go to see him (*a visitarla*), and his Majesty has ordered all persons able to supply provisions for men and horses to furnish all Englishmen accompanying and following the King, without receiving any payment, which will be made by his Imperial Majesty subsequently.

Brussels, 6th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

207. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Before the King of England quitted that kingdom, its passage ports were all closed according to custom, to prevent the news from being spread abroad, and the French ambassador having found means to send his most Christian Majesty a messenger by an express boat, which was discovered, and detained for some days, the English ambassador apologised to his most Christian Majesty, in the Queen's name; and the King, who wishes her to remain neutral, said that although she was the wife of his enemy, on which account she might incline more towards the Emperor than towards him in the negotiations for peace, yet such was his opinion of her goodness and integrity, that should any adjustment be effected between the Emperor and himself, her Majesty's mediation would prove the best.

King Philip's journey is said to be chiefly for the purpose of deciding which of their two Majesties is to go to Spain; and either because such is the wish here, or because the Emperor desires quiet, it is considered at the French court well nigh settled that his Imperial Majesty will be the one to make the voyage, landing first in England.

I am assured on good authority, that his most Christian Majesty has ordered his ambassador in England, in case the Queen or others propose terms to him respecting the agreement with the Emperor, similar to those suggested at the late conference, to demonstrate his Majesty's absolute resolve not to alter his commissioners' terms; but should fresh proposals be made, he is to take time to reply, and acquaint his Majesty with them, though there is little prospect at present of any negotiations producing a good result.

Poissy, 6th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

208. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the most serene Queens [Eleanor and Maria of Austria] the Duchess of Lorraine, the Bishop of Arras, and several lords of these provinces, departed on their way to meet the King of England, who is expected here this evening, when the townspeople, according to the custom of these provinces, will receive him by the light of torches, although it will be daylight, 400 having been prepared for this purpose. At Bruges and Ghent some presents have been prepared for His Majesty, some say in money, and some in refreshments; yet the ambassadors have made no preparation to go and meet him, so I shall abstain from doing so, as besides what I

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wrote to your Serenity about the Duke of Savoy, I am confined to my bed by a violent pain in my side.

Brussels, 8th September 1555.

P.S.—The most Serene King of England has arrived with the number of horses and in the fashion announced by me, his Majesty riding abreast with the Duke of Savoy. None of the ambassadors went out to meet him.

His Majesty went immediately to the *Casino* to kiss the Emperor's hand.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

209. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Contrary winds detained the King at Canterbury from the 30th August until the 4th instant, Don Ruy Gomez de Silva having in the meanwhile come back hither, unable any longer to endure absence from his Majesty, having recovered his health, and being accompanied by the Marquis di Bargas,† gentleman of the chamber both having come from Brussels to wait for him at Calais. His Majesty embarked on the morning of the 4th at 8 a.m., according to English reckoning, and at the 13th hour by that of Italy, and had so good a passage that in two hours and half, as written by him to the Queen in his own hand, he crossed without any danger or suspicion from coast to coast, and in little more than three landed at Calais, his good fortune being so much the greater as shortly afterwards such a storm of wind and rain arose that all the ships then at sea ran great danger, and were driven here and there during 24 or 30 hours, and "*malissimo trattati*," and amongst them were those of the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Warden, who, together with the others, having accompanied the King to Calais, chose to return immediately.

At Calais, besides other demonstrations made on receiving his Majesty with the honours suited to the place, he was presented with the keys of the town and castle; the staplers offering him 2,000 ducats ready money, and the mayor, in the name of the town, 500, which sums were afterwards very generously given by him to the soldiers of the place, who escorted his Majesty to Gravelines, he having done the like by the donatives received at Sittingbourne and Canterbury, which by his order were distributed amongst the poor; nor on leaving Calais did he fail to use another act of liberality towards Lord Grey,‡ captain (*sic*) of the fortress of Guisnes, to whom, in acknowledgment of his valour and loyalty, out of his own money he had a purse given, containing 500 golden ducats. At Gravelines he found the Duke of Savoy, with 4,000 infantry, he having, with good reason, come to guard the pass for him, as it is a

* "The *Casino* was a lodge in the park at Brussels, near the Louvain gate. The Emperor purchased it in 1551, and in 1554 repaired and improved it, previous to going to live there." See *Stirling, Notices of the Emperor Charles the Fifth in* 1555 *and* 1556.

† Marquis de Vargues? (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558. Index.)

‡ William Grey, 13th Lord (of Wilton), English Lieutenant at Guisnes. (*See* the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1553–1558. Index.)

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frontier town; and thus accompanied, taking with him, amongst the rest, the Earl of Arundel,* who had not intended to proceed farther, having sent all the Spaniards in advance, and remaining with the English alone, he rode post-wise towards Brussels.

The Queen in the meanwhile, not content with having sent two of her chief chamberlains in the King's company for the purpose of being acquainted with all that takes place, writes to him daily in her own hand, and despatches couriers, demonstrating in every way her great desire, though it is not to be told how much comfort and consolation she derives from the conversation and society of Cardinal Pole, according to whose account she gradually reconciles herself to this absence.

With regard to affairs here, is told that, according to the King's suggestion, a sort of privy council will be established for matters of state and of importance, those in ordinary and such as relate to justice being referred to the one which already exists, wherein many persons who are considered sage have seats, but they apparently do not enjoy such esteem and repute as to qualify them for this other, for which (as understood by the writer) the only persons hitherto destined are the Cardinal, the Chancellor, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke,† the Treasurer,‡ the Bishop of Ely,§ Lord Paget, and Secretary Petre; but until the return of some of them who are with the King, it is impossible to know with certainty, and for the present affairs continue to be treated and decided as before, with this in addition, that when necessary those of weight are communicated to Cardinal Pole.

The French ambassador has had audience of the Council on account of the Queen of Scotland,‖ who has often complained of many acts of insolence and outrages committed on both sides of the Borders, without any punishment being inflicted on the English, contrary to what she does by her own subjects, who, when found guilty [of similar misdemeanours], are severely punished by her; concerning which the royal Council having written strongly to the captains and governors on the Borders there, sending thither also lately the Earl of Shrewsbury to confer with the Scottish governors, and discuss the grievances on either side, and apply a remedy, at this interview, from the site of which the Queen was not far distant, the Earl did not execute the orders of the Council, nor comply with the contents of their letters; so the ambassador demanded fresh letters and fresh provision, so as entirely to remove all cause for greater disturbance.

Messer Gasparo, the nephew of the Abbot of San Saluto, who was sent to the Duke of Savoy, met his Excellency four leagues on this side of Brussels, so Messer Gasparo's conference was deferred until the Duke's return to Brussels.

The English ambassadors lately returned from Rome¶ have

* Henry Fitz-Alan, 21st Earl of Arundel.
† William Herbert, 20th Earl of Pembroke.
‡ William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester.
§ Thomas Thirlby.
‖ Mary of Lorraine, Queen Dowager of Scotland.
¶ Anthony Brown, Viscount Montagu, and Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely.

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rendered him thanks for the generous demonstrations made them by the Doge, both at Venice and throughout his territory, which, being held by them in great account, they have proclaimed and continue proclaiming everywhere, showing their grateful recollection of them; the like having been done by the Earl of Bedford,* who wrote to all his family of the liberality and courtesy with which he had been treated; and a few days ago a gentleman came, in the name of the Earl's mother† and of his consort,‡ they having sent him from the country upwards of 20 miles off, to offer him [Michiel] anything in their power (*tutte le cose loro*), presenting him at the same time, as a mark of their gratitude, with a large stag killed in their forests at a hunt, such a present, in England, being considered suitable and handsome.

London, 9th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

210. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Papal Nuncio having received letters from the Abbot of San Saluto (Cardinal Pole's secretary), sent to show them to the Constable. They were dated London, the 22nd ulto., and purported that before the King's departure the Cardinal would not fail exhorting him to persuade the Emperor to consent to the stipulation of an agreement with France, the Cardinal adding that King Philip was well disposed.

Poissy, 9th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

211. The SAME to the SAME.

The French ambassador in England has written to the King that Cardinal Pole exhorted King Philip on going to his father to urge him to make a truce with his most Christian Majesty, and the King answered that for himself he was inclined to perform every possible good office with the Emperor, but could give no farther reply until he had spoken with him, and as he is not yet known to have arrived at Brussels, nothing more is known about this business; but some persons are of opinion that, with the opportunity for showing that he does so at the request of his son, the Emperor might condescend to it.

Paris, 12th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. 69, p. 144, tergo.

212. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

In case the King depart he is not to follow him, but remain with the Queen, and if the King should have crossed to Flanders, and

* Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford.

† Anne Sapcotes, widow of Sir John Broughton. (*See* Collins' Peerage, vol. 1, p. 266.)

‡ Margaret St. John. (*See* Collins, as above, p. 272.)

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been followed by the ambassador, and his Majesty proceed to Spain, the ambassador will return to England to the Queen.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 7. Neutral, 29.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

213. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Many months having passed without my speaking to the Queen, who had been so long in retirement on account of the delivery, I now, although no better occasion presented itself than that of recommending some of our merchants to her, did not think fit any longer to delay waiting upon her, as I did yesterday, when, besides the aforesaid office, I congratulated myself on the good and prosperous state of health in which I found her, as in the opinion of all the persons with me she had never, thank God, been seen so well, still less better, to the great comfort of your Serenity, who wished it, I said, to be such by reason of your ancient and great affection for this most serene crown, and particularly for her Majesty and her consort, for one and the other of whom your Serenity desired such increase of prosperity and such auspicious result for all their proceedings as became their great goodness, piety, and conformity of will; congratulating myself at the same time, having been persuaded so to do by the most illustrious Legate, on such a generous and Christian resolve as had emanated from the upright election and judgment of her Majesty with regard to the restitution of the Church revenues and property, which, I said, in like manner as it was a confirmation of her zeal for religion and Christian piety, the light which our Lord God had been pleased to give her, becoming daily more manifest, would become the brightest of mirrors, not only for her own subjects but likewise for all other nations, and both one and the other seeing therein its glorious reflexion, would be induced to imitate her Majesty, and sedulously follow this example.

The Queen's reply, which was more kind than usual, showed that the compliment pleased her greatly; she thanked me for my congratulations on both circumstances, and showed great readiness about the affairs of the merchants. She then called the Bishop of Ely and Lord Montagu, lately returned from their embassy to Rome, and who having accompanied and presented me to her Majesty had respectfully drawn aside to a remote part of the chamber, and said to me, "These personages have related to me how honourably and kindly they were received and treated by your lords, from whom receiving, as I do daily, greater proofs of the love and affection they bear me, I pray you to thank them to the utmost, in like manner as I thank you greatly for the present received," she herself distinctly describing the coloured silk, which some months ago, as known to your Serenity,* was asked of me in her Majesty's name, and arrived lately, I being unable without great reproach, as the request was made to me earnestly more than once, to fail executing the commission, nor

* The Ambassador's letter, informing the Doge and Senate that Queen Mary wished for a gown of Venetian silk, has not been found.

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when performed did I think it becoming the dignity of the post unworthily held by me to ask or seek its payment, which was never offered. Concerning this silk, addressing herself to Lord Montagu and the Bishop of Ely, and speaking aloud so that the ladies and the Venetian merchants and many others who were present heard her, she said so many things in English, which were communicated to me afterwards, as clearly to show that what she had received she liked very much. In my reply, therefore, I said that even had the demonstrations in favour of the ambassadors been much greater than reported to her, they would have fallen short of your Serenity's wish, by reason of what is due to her Majesty's grandeur and merit; and as to the silk, that I most humbly kissed her hands for the favour conferred by commissioning me to do a thing which she said had proved so much to her satisfaction. Having then commenced talking about the King's journey, her Majesty telling me very passionately with the tears in her eyes that for seven days she had no letters from him, I comforted her by [anticipating] a speedy return, and having dwelt on this subject as much as seemed fit to me, perceiving the great pleasure it gave her Majesty, I then took leave.

I have given your Serenity a more detailed account of this audience than is perhaps becoming, that you may fully understand the kindness of her Majesty's manner and nature, as also her great affection for you, and the great account moreover in which she holds your demonstrations and good offices by receiving them so gratefully; nor in the meanwhile, with regard to the silk, which (I am informed) did not cost more than 40 ducats, as for the honour of the Signory I shall never demand payment, it will be reasonable for it to go to your Serenity's account (*sarà di ragione vadi a conto della Serenità vostra*).

London, 13th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

214. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

In my foregoing I wrote about the arrival of the King of England, and that he dismounted at the "*Casino*" of the Emperor, who went down stairs to wait for him. The King knelt before him requesting leave to kiss his hand, to which the Emperor would not consent, and taking off his own bonnet instead and holding it in his hand, requested him earnestly to rise, in the act of doing which the King insisted on kissing his left arm, and the Emperor embraced and kissed him so affectionately that the tears came to his eyes. The King immediately called by name the Admiral [Lord William Howard], the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and some other Englishmen, and presented them to his Majesty, who received them joyfully (*con allegro animo*) but did not allow them to kiss his hand, as customary with him with regard to those who are not his own subjects. He then ordered another chair to be brought, and making the King cover desired him to sit down, as he did after much resistance, doffing his bonnet well nigh at every word. The King

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went through the park to sup with the Queens and the Duchess of Lorraine on their return, not from meeting the King, as it was said they would, but from the hunt, taking with him the Duke of Savoy, to whom on his journey he showed signs of great love and honour, especially near Calais, when, seeing his Excellency dismount, he returned the compliment, keeping him for a good while embraced; and now that the Duke is confined to his bed with fever and smallpox, the King sends Don Ruy Gomez to visit him daily, as do the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras, both their Majesties choosing to have an account of him every hour, and it is heard that he is getting better.

On the two following days the King was alone with the Emperor morning and afternoon, two hours each time, and yesterday once in the afternoon until night, sitting with him at a table, with a drawer of writings before them. All the ambassadors have been to visit King Philip, and I presented him with the letters of credence, saying that your Serenity, bearing him great affection and reverence by reason of his so many and glorious virtues, had commissioned me to visit and congratulate him on his auspicious state. His Majesty answered me that he considered it certain that you loved him in the same way as he knew you had loved the Emperor, his father and lord, and that from his own will and by command of his Imperial Majesty he had always reciprocated this sentiment, and would persevere in the said goodwill and friendship, and when opportunities offered oblige the State in whatever he could, repeating this most lovingly and receiving me with great graciousness, quickly doffing his bonnet to me completely four times when uttering these words, and when I made a suitable reply to what he said about remembering my having been ambassador to him.*

The Emperor has given orders for the obsequies of his most Serene mother, for which purpose the black cloths and a torch for each have been given to 200 poor people, the trades of Brussels being desired by him to send a certain number of their members to assist at this funeral pomp, and along the street from the palace to the cathedral for the passage of the King and Queens they are making the stages (*le sbare*), which will be covered with black cloth. The mass will be sung by the Bishop of Liège, the natural son of the late Emperor Maximilian, who has come hither for this purpose and to visit the King, and the ceremony is to commence on the 17th and will terminate on the morrow. Consultation has been held about inviting the ambassadors, and owing to the dispute for precedence between England and Portugal it is said they will not be asked, as in these times both the Emperor and King Philip are but too much interested in not giving offence to either of those crowns; but the English ambassador says that although he may not be invited he purposes attending the ceremony with the other Englishmen here, who say that after the funeral they shall return home, nor would they accept the lodging provided for them by the King in order that their expenses might be paid, thanking his Majesty for this courtesy, and

* In November 1548, when Federico Badoer accompanied the Prince of Spain from Genoa through the Venetian territories, the Prince being on his way to Brussels.

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requesting him to allow them to select a dwelling to their own satisfaction.

It is said that on the termination of the obsequies the King has had leave from the Emperor to change his mourning apparel, and two days afterwards he will go to a hunt arranged at a short distance hence by Queen Maria.

Long letters, said to be autograph and in French, from the Queen of England to the King, arrive here daily, as also several persons of his court, and effects belonging to himself and his courtiers.

Brussels, 14th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

215. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Michaelmas term Parliament assembled, the summons having been made on the 10th instant, and the session, lasting 40 days as usual, will end on the 21st proximo. The cause for its being summoned is unknown save to a few, who keep it secret; many persons say it will be either to ask for money, owing to the heavy expenses and great debt on hand, or else for the King's coronation, to detain the King here as long as they can owing to the repute and profit derived by the realm from his presence, in addition to the wish of the Queen; or to make some proposal to France, in order that should war break out they may demand and obtain the means for waging it.

Last week Don Luis de Caravajal, having crossed from Spain, arrived at Dover with 10 well-armed caravels, on board of which he has brought 800,000 ducats, according to the Spaniards at the court, though the merchants say 300,000, 60,000 of which will remain in England, the cofferers (*thesorieri*) having gone to receive them, for payment of the Household, and of the debts left by the King, and the rest will be taken to Flanders. Besides this, there is a small sum of from 20 to 25,000 ducats belonging to the Queen, being part of the loan of 100,000 for which her Majesty contracted in Flanders, the balance never having been paid until now.

They are now intent here on examining the Archbishop of Canterbury, there having gone for this purpose to Oxford (where he is in prison), besides a bishop, Dr. Martin, and some others delegated by Cardinal dal Pozzo,* to whom his Holiness committed the cause *ad referendum*, not choosing it to proceed according to the examination and process drawn up (*formato*) and taken to Rome by the ambassadors before the kingdom resumed its obedience to the Apostolic See, having ordered their revision, and that when the process is completed it be sent back to Cardinal Dal Pozzo, so that after relating it to the Pope they may proceed to the sentence and its execution. Should the Archbishop recant, which is not expected,

* Dal Pozzo, *alias* Du Puy, *alias* Jacopo Puteo, a native of Nice in Provence, made Cardinal by Julius III., 20th December 1551, and Paul IV. appointed him Inquisitor General. Cardinal Puteo died at the age of 69, in 1563, immediately after his appointment as Legate to the Council of Trent. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 314–315.

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although he may save his life, he nevertheless cannot according to the canons be any longer admitted to the ministry (*ministerio*) of that Church, so they must necessarily appoint him a successor, who will, it is supposed, be the most illustrious Legate, provided he be not recalled to Rome to reside with his Holiness.

Certain Englishmen in Italy have sent the bull concerning the alienation of the Church revenues and property, in order to alarm the people here, lest they likewise be molested for this cause, some of the most disaffected having disseminated it to impress this opinion and create as much disturbance as possible, so to prevent the matter from going farther, it has been necessary to imprison some of them; and to free the others from suspicion, and give them full assurance, they have sought the transmission of another bull from Rome, with a particular and express declaration that the Church property here is not included in that alienation, again confirming all that has been done in this matter by Cardinal Pole.

After the Chancellor's return from the conference of Calais he fell into such a state of "oppilation," that besides having become (as the physicians say) jaundiced (*itherico*), he by degrees got confirmed dropsy, and had it not been for his robust constitution, a variety of remedies prescribed for him by the English physicians having been of no use, he would by this time be in a bad way, his physiognomy being so changed as to astound all who see him. The Emperor has sent him the remedy he used when first troubled with dropsical symptoms on his return from the war of Metz,* which remedy cured him, and should God grant that it take the same effect on the Bishop of Winchester, it will be very advantageous for England, he being considered one of the most consummate chancellors who have filled the post for many years, and should he die he would leave few or none so well suited to the charge as himself.

The Captain Marco da Risano came hither to obtain from King Philip, as he did immediately, his absolution from outlawry in Naples, but the writ not having been presented in time, the Government would not admit its validity. He was also licensed to sell and alienate the other gratuities (*utili*) given him by the Emperor in Naples, so he returns perfectly satisfied.†

London, 16th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Vol. 69, p. 145.

216. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador with the EMPEROR.

To congratulate the King of England in their name on his well-being and his voyage. Should he hear of the King's determination to go to Spain, to announce that the Signory will send an ambassador to reside with him, the ambassador Michiel having to remain with his most Serene Consort. To do this in case the ambassador Michiel should not have accompanied the King, but if he be with him, is to deliver the accompanying letter, and in case his Majesty

* In the year 1552. *See* the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 1547–1553.

† Of this Marco of Risano, mention has been made in Vol. 3, Venetian Calendar, Preface, pp. xi, xii; and the fact of his presence in England in the autumn of 1555, is now officially confirmed by the Venetian Ambassador there at that time.

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should have returned to England before receipt of the despatch, is to send said letter to the ambassador Michiel.

Ayes, 201. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

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MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in Vol. 5, pp. 41–44, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c., date as above.

217. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

As nothing can be more agreeable to him than to obey the commands received from the King on his departure, he thus serving God, the Church, his Country, and the best of sovereigns, informs his Majesty that the Queen passes the forenoon in prayer, after the manner of Mary, and in the afternoon admirably personates Martha, by transacting business; so urging her councillors as to keep them all incessantly occupied, thus mitigating her grief for the King's absence, fancying him present in their persons. Her chief consolation is the hope of his return, and by following the course pointed out by him; matters thus proceed becomingly and rightly, and yet better will they proceed on the return [from Brussels] of the personages appointed by the King to take part in the government,* but best of all when the King himself shall be present, as they have already commenced perceiving the truth of the saying "*oculus Domini*;" and as the eye of the Queen has produced such an effect, that of the King will leave nothing to desire; so daily prayers are made for his return.

By the accompanying letters from Rome is informed that when the Pope heard of his intention with regard to the distribution of the Church property, which their Majesties had permitted, on his Holiness' authority and that of his Legate, he greatly approved of it;† so from day to day Pole awaits the confirmation of what has been done.

Concerning the erection of Ireland into a kingdom, a bull has arrived similar to the one brought by their Majesties' ambassadors, with this in addition, that it was furnished as due with the golden seal.

With regard to the bull, whereby the Church property of England excepted from the Pope's renunciation is mentioned by name, Pole has written for it to be sent immediately; is expecting the return of his messenger (*nuntij*), to whom they purposed giving it for conveyance.

Touching Pole's recall, the Pope said he would form no decision until he knows what has been done in the affair of Canterbury (*in causâ Cantuariensi*), and what can be hoped about the peace, for which he seems vehemently to wish.

Greenwich, 16th September, 1555.

[*Latin*, 38 *lines.*]

* Namely, Lord Howard of Effingham, and the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, and Huntingdon, who arrived in London on the 4th October. (*See* Michiel, 7th October 1555.)

† Cum Pontifici maximo relata fuissent, quæ ipse cogitarem constituere de bonis ecclesiasticis dispensandis, quæ MM. VV. ejus auctoritati, atque ipsius Legato permisissent, ea Sanctitas ejus valde probasse.

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Sept. 17. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

218. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day had audience of the King at Villers-cote-Retz; asked him whether he had news of King Philip's arrival at Brussels, and what he thought might be decided about the passage of one of their Majesties to Spain. The King replied that he had arrived, and that the passage being necessary for the need of Spain, was determined on, though it remained doubtful which of their Majesties would make it, for although the Emperor was not recommended to go, both on account of his health, which his physicians fear could not bear the voyage, as also because the war continuing, his interests would suffer greatly from this move, yet did he seem very anxious to cross, his son in like manner showing himself very ready to go; but that he (King Henry) thought the decision would be known in a few days. Replied that should some agreement be effected, these difficulties would in great part disappear. The King rejoined, "Cardinal Pole does not fail performing good offices, according to his wont, and keeps this hope alive, but I do not see any point on which to base it, the Imperial ministers conducting themselves in a way to deter me from making peace with them, as through Cardinal Pole and the English commissioners it was agreed heretofore, with the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Bishop of Arras, to negotiate a reciprocal exchange of prisoners, and to send an agent from either side to the frontiers. I on my part sent one, who remained there two months expecting the Emperor's commissioner, and as he never made his appearance I recalled mine; so it seems to me that these are bad signs, which do not permit me to believe in an adjustment between us."

La Ferté Milon, 17th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Vol. 69, p. 145.

219. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Have desired the ambassador Badoer, on hearing that the King has resolved to go to Spain, to inform him that they will send an ambassador to reside with the King. As it is also possible that before Badoer receives this order, King Philip may have returned to England before going to Spain, have desired him to transmit this letter to him (Michiel), so that he may execute the commission.

Ayes, 201. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Vol. 69, p. 147, tergo.

220. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

On the 4th instant, the King of England, the Emperor's son, crossed the sea, and proceeded from Flanders to Brussels, to see his father, the chief personages of the Imperial court having set out to meet him. They have to decide whether one of their Majesties, the Emperor, or his son, should go to Spain. The fleet of the most Christian King and the ships of Flanders, some 50 in number, met off the island of England, and fought during one day, with the

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loss on both sides of some ships sunk and others burned, and the French ships carried into their ports three of those of Flanders.

Ayes, 204. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

221. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and the Queens are gone to the hunt two leagues hence, and return to-morrow.

Brussels, 19th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

222. SAME to SAME.

The King sent the Earl of Arundel to tell the ambassador of the Queen his Consort to absent himself from the obsequies, as he had said he would not do, lest between him and the Portuguese ambassador, who also wished to be present at them, some dispute should arise which might prove disagreeable to both sides; and to request him (Sir John Masone) to believe that he (King Philip) had the honour of the Queen as much at heart as his own, he considering it such. Thereupon Sir John Masone chose to go and answer the King in person, telling him that for the honour of the most Serene Queen, and that of the kingdom, he could not abstain from going to the funeral, as neither by reason of antiquity, nor power, nor for any other cause, ought he to give way to the Portuguese ambassador, over whom precedence had been assigned heretofore [to the English crown] by the Popes, and by the Kings of France, the natural enemies of England, and by the Emperor, and that his Majesty therefore should beware of not making the world say things prejudicial to his most Serene Consort, and consequently to himself, but that if the King chose him to do so, he protested to his Majesty that on no other authority than on that of the Consort of his mistress would he do so; and that were he to receive a similar command from the Emperor, he should not obey him; adding (according to his own account, and that of the rest of the English), with much vehemence, a variety of other reasons. To this the King replied, that having been informed by the Portuguese ambassador, that he chose to take precedence of him, not only as King of Portugal, but as being more nearly allied in blood with the Emperor than the Queen of England is, and as the laws and customs in Spain were to this effect, his Majesty hesitated about this casualty, and lest the King of Portugal should complain of him about it, he determined that neither of the ambassadors should attend the ceremony, awaiting some other sort of opportunity, when he promised him to settle the point of precedence; so Sir John Masone departed utterly dissatisfied, the like being the case, on this same account, with all the other English.

On the termination of the obsequies, some of the chief personages of the courts, both of the Emperor and the King, and especially Don Ruy Gomez, having heard of the foul language (*male parole*) which the ambassador kept using, taxed him with indiscretion

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for presuming so strongly to urge the rights of the Queen of England, where her consort was, and that he could not bear any other title than that of agent, as he will be henceforth considered here, alleging that when he went to meet the King, his haughty bearing was such that not only did he not dismount, but would not allow Lord Courtenay to alight; reproaching him also with having informed the Lords of the Council in England by letter, that Lord Courtenay's servants had been maltreated by Spaniards at this court, and that the other English likewise were as ill looked on as possible, which, on his Majesty's return to England, might induce them to do some great harm to his retinue (*a quelli della sua corte*). On hearing these things, Sir John Masone went to see Ruy Gomez, who would not admit him, and also prevented his having audience of the King; whereupon he was heard to say, by several persons, "*Oh God! if the King treats me so ill, I who was of his faction, following Lord Paget in favouring the marriage, what will he do to those who opposed him?*"

On the morrow the ambassador went to the King, at the time when his Majesty appeared in public, to make his apology, saying that he did not get off his horse, to avoid impeding the King's progress, and adding other things to justify himself. Not only did his Majesty receive him coldly, but after hearing his excuses ordered him like a servant to tell the English Lords here to keep in readiness to go to a hunt, prepared by the most Serene Queen Maria, to use his own words, "for us English" (*per noi altri Inglesi*), sending a horse for each of them, because they had come with the King postwise [and therefore had no horses of their own]; nor did he invite Lord Courtenay, because (it is said) the Bishop of Arras having sent one of his brothers to invite him to a supper at which the rest of the English were present, Courtenay had him told he was not at home.

These English Lords evince a great wish to return home, all complaining of the exorbitant cost they are compelled to incur here by reason of the great scarcity, and the Earl of Pembroke says that without having horses 40 crowns a day do not suffice him for his ordinary expenditure; but according to report they will not all be allowed to depart, and some of them, should they choose to go away, will leave their eldest sons [as hostages?].

The Emperor has sent to Antwerp for 10,000 crowns' worth of jewels, and it is supposed that he purposes making presents of them to these [English?] Lords. Couriers arrive daily from the Queen of England, and are despatched to her, and to-day one of her chamberlains came to the King, as also the Lieutenant d'Amont [Simon Renard], who resided as ambassador with her from the Emperor.

Brussels, 20th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Senato Terra, vol. 40, p. 59.

223. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning costs incurred by the Venetian Governors of Verona, in honour of Viscount Montagu.

By order of our Signory our Governors of Verona expended 440 ducats in doing honour and making presents to the Duchess of Alva,

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[as also to the most illustrious the Lord Viscount Montagu, ambassador from the most Serene the King and Queen of England.

Put to the ballot, that our treasurer "*alla cassa grande*" do credit the Government of Verona, on account of the subsidy of 1554, with the 440 ducats aforesaid.

Hieronimo Zane, S.C.
Andreas Baduario, S.T.F.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 7¾. Neutral, 0.

1555, die 6 Septr. in Collegio.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25. Filza, No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

224. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. Englefeld.

The return of the bearer of this affords him an opportunity of writing; "and yet, because it were very long to write all I have to say, and for that at this present I have not such leisure as convenient I may impart my whole mind unto you by writing; I have committed unto him the particular declaration of all such things as I am desirous you should understand touching my case here." Asks an answer at his leisure.

Has drawn a balance of 77*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* which remained surplus after disbursements in Walker's hands, as appeared by his account book. "Was constrained, for that I was unfurnished of money," though he is aware that Englefeld and his other friends had destined that sum for certain of his creditors.

Has signed two blank parchments, the one conferring a vacant prebend on Walker, the other giving a vacant benefice in Cornwall "unto my chaplain Sir Gryffyth."

Brussels, 25th September 1555.

[*Draft; last paragraph cancelled.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

225. The Emperor Charles V. to ———, Count of ———, in the Netherlands.*

My Cousin,—having conferred (*communicato*) with the King of England, my son (who has lately come into these provinces), about the affairs of our kingdoms and states, considering my personal indisposition, on which account I am henceforth unable, as done by me hitherto, for the defence and preservation of my countries here and their subjects, to undertake the journeys and toil they require, I, for these causes and other good considerations, have determined and resolved to visit my countries and kingdoms of Spain, and to cede absolutely to the said Lord King the said countries here, in which some time ago† he was received and sworn to for my sole and only heir, as future Lord and Prince. And although I greatly wished, before my departure hence, to visit the said provinces, I nevertheless find that, by reason of my indisposition, I could by no means bear such fatigue; so it has seemed better to me to cause there to be summoned hither, for the 14th of October, the principal lords and states of the said provinces, to make the afore-

* *See* despatch of Federico Badoer, dated 2nd October 1555.

† "In 1548, Philip was sent for by his father to receive the oath of allegiance from the States of the Netherlands." (*See* Stirling, Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V., pp. 1, 2.)

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said cession solemnly in their presence, according to my resolve, and that they may receive the said Lord King as their Prince and Lord; of which thing, most dear cousin, I have chosen hereby to give you this notice beforehand, and at the same time to order you to attend on the said day, and favour this renunciation, and without fail to receive the said Lord King for your Lord and Prince.

May our Lord God preserve you.

From the city of Brussels, 26th September 1555.

(Signed) CHARLES.

[*Translated into Italian from the French by the Venetian Ambassador, Francesco Badoer.*]

Sept. 26. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

226. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL CARLO CARAFFA.

Is very sorry to hear what Caraffa writes to him about the Cardinal Chamberlain,* both for his own sake and on many other accounts, most especially by reason of the regret which he is very certain it will have caused the Pope, to make such a demonstration against such a son (*un tal figliolo*), but is much comforted by his hope in the Pope's paternal benignity, and that the galleys which gave rise to this mischief being restored (as he trusts has been already done), his Holiness will show himself a merciful and clement father, and thus gratify the kindness of his nature (*la benigna sua natura*) much more than by preserving his own dignity and that of the Apostolic See (as Caraffa says he has been compelled to do), giving at the same time great satisfaction to those whom Pole is very sure his Holiness would by no means distress (*contristare*), and especially the King of England, who is so obedient a son to him, and so well deserving of the Apostolic See. Being unable to do more about the see of Trani by word of mouth, has made amends by writing to his Majesty. Since the King's departure has been always here at Greenwich with the Queen, in accordance with the wish and request of their Majesties. Caraffa will have heard that Parliament is to meet towards the end of next month, when it is hoped the King will have returned. Has nothing more to say about the peace, which he will take every opportunity to farther, according to the pious intention of his Holiness.

Greenwich, 26th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. Printed in Vol. 5, pp. 15, 16, "Epistolarum Reginal di Poli," &c. No date of time either in the manuscript or in the printed volume.

227. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

Was pained to hear by the letters of Cardinal Caraffa what had befallen the Cardinal Chamberlain (*Cardinalis Camerarii*), both on account of his friend and colleague, and because, although the Pope loved him like a son, he had been compelled to act thus unwillingly, as unless the root of this offence were severed immediately, it might cause yet greater inconvenience, Pole comforts himself with the hope that everything may soon be pacified, having heard that the Emperor and the King of England have willingly conceded the restitution of the galleys taken from the Pope's harbour, in which case he trusts his Holiness will pardon Sforza, considering the

* Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal "Camerlengo" of the Roman Church, imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo for having caused two French galleys to be taken from Civita Vecchia to Naples, and on account of his Imperial bias and hostility to the Pope and to France. (*See* Cardella, Lives of the Cardinals, vol. 4, pp. 140–143, and Andrea Morosini, Venetian History, vol. 2, pp. 259, 260. Ed. Venice, 1782.)

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nature of these difficult times and the King's intercession. Pole desires this by so much the more as he wishes the Pope to succeed in effecting a general reconciliation, and in freeing Christendom from the present most destructive war, as treated by the Pope on his accession, and in accordance with the orders given by him to Pole.

Greenwich, 26th September 1555 (?)*

[*Latin*, 25 *lines*.]

Sept. 28. Original Despatches. Venetian Archives.

228. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Arduino, the Protector of the "patrimony" of the kingdom of Sicily, has been twice to the King of England, and after representing to him the state of the revenues there, which were pledged for 900,000 ducats, and that the 10 galleys which ought to be paid by the "chamber" would be compelled to disarm, because they are not paid, he told him that, should his Majesty trust him, he would, within four years, not only free him from debt and heavy interest, but find means to pay the galleys, and save an additional 150,000 crowns annually upon the ordinary expenditure (*che trarria cento e cinquanta mille scudi all' anno di più dell' ordinarie spese*), all which would be effected solely by removing Don Juan de Vega from the government of that island, as all the Sicilians who are at Brussels, and demand this, will give a donative of some 400,000 crowns; and that his Majesty, by ridding himself of a minister who perplexes all the officials and every good regulation in that kingdom, will obtain the advantages formerly enjoyed by the Emperor, and much greater ones. The King in his reply evinced more inclination to adopt his suggestions than he did when speaking to the Marquis of Terranova, who entreated him to remove this Viceroy, lest he drive to greater despair the already desperate Sicilians; and his Majesty desired him to return this evening to speak to him on the subject.

There came hither with the King of England a Spaniard, sent by the feudatories in the Indies to obtain [a decree] from the Emperor, that the estates conceded by him to some persons for life, and to others for themselves and their children, may descend to their heirs and successors, offering within 10 years to bring to Spain as much gold and silver as will free the revenues which are pledged until the year 60 (*fino nell' anno* 60), stipulating that on this account, and in order that he may make use of the sum for his other necessities, they, during the aforesaid 10 years, will give him annually a million of gold. Concerning this matter several consultations have been held, and as the term within which the money is to be paid seems too long, and yet greater the suspicion lest they in the end elect a king of their own, alienating themselves from the Spanish crown, everybody considers the business most difficult to decide, especially because they think that by penetrating farther into the interior of the country, and finding new nations, they may be able to enslave

* I derive this date from the Italian letter written by Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Caraffa on the same subject.

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them. They offer other similar terms, part of which were proposed heretofore and rejected.

Brussels, 28th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

229. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England, in reply to the King's letter about her armed ships securing the Emperor's passage to Spain, seems ready to accommodate him, and some say that should his Imperial Majesty please she will come to some place at the sea side to see him; for which the King, thanking her, wrote back, that in order to be nearer her he will go and reside at Bruges, a day's journey from Calais; and it is said that the Emperor will avail himself of part of the 4,000 Spaniards with the army and on the frontiers, to whom five arrears of pay (*cinque paghe*) have been sent, and to-morrow payment of the court salaries will commence.

The Duchess of Lorraine, understanding that no determination has been made about her remaining here or going to Spain, requested Queen Maria to obtain permission for her from the Emperor or the King to go and live in Italy, in her city of Tortona, from whence she derives the dower left her by the Duke of Milan, asking as a favour the palace or castle of the Marquisate of Vigevano, as it is near at hand, and a very stately and delightful residence. In reply the Queen told her to be of good cheer, as the Emperor would treat her not merely like a dear niece, but as a dear daughter.

Don Ruy Gomez and Don Juan Manrique continue saying that the Emperor's departure will not take place so speedily, and I have heard from the Nuncio that the chief cause of the delay is to see what the Pope will determine on after the restitution of the galleys, as should he declare himself the Emperor's open enemy, his Imperial Majesty will not quit the Netherlands, as King Philip cannot avail himself of Germany as the Emperor does, nor will he rely on assistance from the King of the Romans, the good will between all these kinsfolk not being such as required by their close relationship. Several persons say the Emperor has circulated this report to facilitate the business which King Philip has to treat in the English Parliament, and to obtain a larger sum of money from these provinces, to whom he has notified by letter that on this his departure he would willingly have gone to see them in person, had he not been prevented by indisposition; so he requested them to assemble at Brussels on the 14th of next month, when he would tell them what he had to say, wishing to leave his son as his successor, from whom he was certain they would receive such satisfaction as they could desire in matters of justice, and in their defence against enemies.

His Imperial Majesty's departure causes a general lament, it seeming to the Flemings that with him security departs, as likewise all the welfare enjoyed by them through his authority and prudence, and by reason of the demonstrations of goodwill made by him

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towards this nation in preference to that of Spain, and they are apprehensive lest the King, being much more partial to the Spaniards than to any of his other subjects, should give them many high official posts (*molti governi*), and lest the present war be protracted without the requisite pecuniary supply, the King being at present without money, and the Duke of Savoy (who will, they fear, be made their governor) very poor indeed, and the troops on these frontiers, both horse and foot, creditors for very considerable sums, whilst the ministers say that since last March they have paid 1,350,000 crowns.

I have heard that before the Secretary Finzino [Pfintzing, or Phintzing?]* went to the King of the Romans many consultations were held as to whether the Emperor should give absolutely the administration of the affairs of the whole empire to the King of the Romans, or reserve the authority over those of Italy for his son, with the title of his "Vicar" there; and in like manner as this would be greatly to the repute and advantage of the King of England by reason of his Italian possessions, and those which have always been dependent on the Emperor, so would this division not only dissatisfy the King of the Romans and the King of Bohemia (especially as this last is heard to have openly adopted Lutheran opinions), adding new grievances to the old ones, but so alarm the princes of the empire as to induce them to take some hostile step against his Imperial Majesty ;† and although I have been told by a person of quality that the Emperor has already arranged to give this charge to his son, yet I have understood that until the return of the Secretary Finzino this cannot be asserted positively, and the Vice-Grand Chancellor of the Empire, who has arranged his affairs so as to go and reside with the King of the Romans (*S. M. Reg.*), says he has orders not to depart until the return of the said Finzino.

King Philip goes twice every day to the Emperor, in the morning, solely to pay his respects to him, and in the afternoon to transact business, and on every festival he goes to mass in various churches here for the satisfaction of the inhabitants.

Brussels, 29th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30.
Filza, No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

230. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, to Mr. Englefeld.

"I most heartily thank you for your gentill letter which by Mr. Bassat this messenger I have received." Thanks him for his great services, "manifold and incomparable." Refers him to Basset for the news.

Brussels, 30th September 1555.

[*Draft or copy.*]

* I derive this name from letters addressed by King Ferdinand to the Emperor, dated Augsburg, 26 September 1555, and Vienna, 31 October 1555, published by Dr. Karl Lanz (Correspondenz des Kaisers, &c., vol. 3, pp. 685 and 690, ed. Leipzig, 1846).

† Qualche atto non buono contra sua Maestà Cesarea.

1555. Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

231. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Four days ago an embargo was laid on all vessels in the river, even those of private merchants, in order again to fit out the fleet for the return of the King, the Queen having become very angry when she heard that to save expense the one which took his Majesty across had been dismissed and disarmed. Thus has it been done accordingly, fresh stores of victuals being laid in for the said fleet, the outfit being speeded so that by the 10th or 15th proximo it may be ready to sail for Calais, where, as confirmed daily, the King will arrive, to be here at the opening of Parliament. *I am now told moreover by certain English personages of authority that it may also treat the succession of the kingdom, in the event of the possible demise of the most Serene Queen without children, either for the purpose of utterly disallowing as illegitimate, and consequently incapable, Mylady Elizabeth, although appointed heir by the will of her father King Henry* (mancando come potria avvenir la Serenissima Regina senza figlioli, ò per reprobar in tutto come spuria et per consequente inhabile la persona di miladi Helisabet, benchè instituita per testamento herede dal Re Henrico suo padre), *or else disposing of the succession in another form, or else again to approve of the said Elizabeth, and confirm her in the succession by fresh authority and a fresh choice* (novo voler) *of the kingdom; there being also a talk of marrying her to some foreign prince; which result, whether effected in one way or the other, provided it come to pass, will be announced to your Serenity from Brussels and from France.*

I understand that the Abbot of San Saluto receives frequent advices about the affair of the peace, and confers occasionally with the French Ambassador here, though, despite the utmost assiduity, I have not succeeded in learning any particulars, save that everything remains dormant until the King's return.

The Chancellor is this day sending one of his gentlemen express to Rome with the process and . . . . . [examination?] drawn up afresh against the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Queen strongly urging his Holiness to despatch the trial, that they may forthwith . . . . . [appoint?] a new Primate; and as the choice is to fall on the most illustrious Legate, it may possibly yet be made in time for him to take his seat and vote in the next Parliament, into which, although a member of the royal council, he would not be admitted unless as bishop or archbishop of some English church.

The ships "Barbara" and "Vianuola" have arrived safe at Margate, so that there will be much business to transact on account of these vessels, besides the many disputes of daily occurrence with the crews. It is necessary for their sake and that of the other merchants resident in England, that a consul should be elected, the post having now been vacant for five or six years, to the diminution of your Serenity's authority and privileges here; and I again request that you will charge the proveditors for the London factory to frame and expedite the motion for the election of the said consul.

London, 1st October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555. Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

232. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The post-master of Augsburg having been sent by the King of the Romans to the Emperor, arrived here yesterday, bringing the "*recess*" of the Diet,* and separately the articles established in the matter of the religion, that the Emperor may sign them. Shortly afterwards the secretary Phinzing came with an autograph letter† of three sheets from the King of the Romans, apologizing to His Majesty for having been unable either to prolong the Diet as the Emperor desired him to do, or to oppose the Acts passed by it, and which he terms "perpetual peace between Catholics and Lutherans." Concerning the religion‡ it is said that his Imperial Majesty cannot as Emperor, nor ought he nor will he as a Catholic, sign these articles, having refused his consent to them some months ago. Although this decision has displeased both the Imperial court and that of King Philip, they nevertheless say that in the midst of so much mischief there is this good, that the King of France will thus lose the chief foundation of his popularity in Germany and the assistance of many of its inhabitants. With regard to the administration of the empire, the King of the Romans is of opinion that, for many sage respects, the Emperor should leave it to him entirely, as he did heretofore when he went to Spain, without giving the title of Vicar in Italy to the King of England, a thing which might cause much scandal, but that, nevertheless, touching his own private interests, he refers himself to the Emperor's prudence and affection. I have heard some of the King of England's servants say that the King of the Romans does wrong to thwart the Emperor's intention by language of such a sort, and by not allowing the Emperor, during his lifetime, to do what he can for the benefit of the Italian possessions of his son, whose authority must necessarily cease entirely on the Emperor's death.

The Emperor has had a number of letters (written in the French tongue) despatched to all the Lords of these States, requiring them to be here for the 14th instant, in order to be present at the cession of the said States, which he purposes making in favour of his son, letters of the same tenour being addressed to all of them, and to the cities and towns and every small jurisdiction. It is said that this term is made to precede the meeting of the English Parliament, because the Queen has written to King Philip that she understands many people in the kingdom think it strange to talk of crowning him, he not having yet received from his father the cession of his patrimonial States, although it is known that his Majesty, and no longer Queen Maria, has the government of them in his hands, for which reason it is said he will soon go and take possession, and obtain such donatives as are usually made on similar occasions. The Queen also wrote back to him that she cannot accommodate him with the 15 additional ships which she has at sea in ordinary

* This letter, dated Augsburg, 24th September 1555, is printed in the "Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.," published by Dr. Karl Lanz, vol. 3, pp. 683–686. Leipzig, 1846.

† *See* Lanz, as above, pp. 686, 687.

‡ The proceedings of this Diet are recorded in Foreign Calendar, Mary, entry No. 421, p. 189, date Brussels, 8th October 1555, but without any allusion to the title of Imperial Vicar in Italy, as demanded by the Emperor for the King of England.

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(*quindeci navi di più ch' ella tiene armate ordinariamente*), but that she will detain certain merchantmen until the time of the Emperor's voyage to Spain. She has also sent the King some game pasties (*alcune salvaticine acconcie in pastizzi*), which, as shown by him in public, he prefers to other viands. The Spanish soldiers on these frontiers having sent to the King (by reason of the Emperor's long delay) for pecuniary supply, being creditors for many arrears of pay, he replied that he knew the Emperor had already destined them five months' pay; but when the courier rejoined that this might be delayed some days, and that the soldiers could no longer wait, as many of them were dying of hunger, the King then desired one of the "maggiordomos" to send them a certain sum for subsistence immediately; and when the maggiordomo told his Majesty that the treasurer had only sufficient ready money for household purposes, the King rejoined, in a way which was much commended, that the household must dispense with it, and that he was to send them the sum immediately.

Brussels, 2nd October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

233. Cardinal Pole to Peter Vannes.

Perceives by his letter about the collectorship that Vannes has been misinformed about what Pole did in this matter, in like manner as he erred in supposing that Pole had been misinformed about Vannes' disposition towards him, as he had never heard from anyone that it was otherwise than good, Pole's having always been the same towards Vannes, although in this matter of the collectorship [of Peter's pence] he did not think it fitting to exert himself in his favour, observing also the same course with regard to others, and leaving it to the Pope to decide as he pleased. It is true that Pole's agent informed him that it having been suggested to the Pope to give this collectorship to the person who came to serve him in his legation as Auditor, he (the agent) did his utmost to prevent the Pope from being moved from his purpose of making the appointment as he did. This may have made Vannes suppose that the agent did so by Pole's order, whereas in fact he knew nothing about it until after the conclusion, which, however, did not seem to him otherwise than very fitting, by reason of the many merits of his Auditor, and his toil in England. And to tell Vannes freely his opinion, although with regard to the past Pole has compassion for Vannes, and for the others, yet nevertheless Vannes' fall and fault (*caduta et mancamento*), seem to him such as should be considered the more serious as he was then a minister of the Pope holding this office [of collector], so that Pole would consider it more fitting for him to receive benefit from this reconciliation in any other way than that of retaining this office, But in like manner as Pole had no occasion to interfere in this matter, so will he always be ready on any other opportunity to demonstrate his goodwill towards Vannes.*

Greenwich, 4th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* I am unable to ascertain in what year Vannes renounced the collectorship, nor do I know the name of Pole's auditor who succeeded him; but see Turnbull, Nov. 25, 1554.

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Oct. 4.
Dispacci, Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 7, B.

234. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and COUNCIL OF TEN.

The persons from whom I write having heard what is contained in the public letters are Cardinal Medici* and the Duke of Urbino,† who, with much affection and reverence for your Serenity, told me that I should always know what passes through their hands, as if I had been present. The Duke conversing with me said, "I am not the Pope's counsellor, but his captain, and although I have always desired an opportunity to prove myself in nowise degenerate from my ancestors, yet am I not so anxious for war, as not to prefer the benefit of him I serve to my own, which might be derived by me through it. Should the Pope ask my opinion, as he says he will in everything, I shall not fail to tell him freely, that the quarrels between his Holiness and the Emperor are not such as ought to give cause for so important a war as this would be, in which the interests of all Italy are so deeply concerned, and that I know not with what forces of his own, nor through what assistance from his friends, he can hope for a good result from it, all our troops being necessarily (*havendo ad esser*) disorderly and raw, and having to do with an enemy provided with good and veteran soldiers; and that wars should be waged with the hope of gaining and acquiring something, nor do I see how such a hope could be entertained by the Pope, who might be sure of preserving his own state, as in the present times it is not for the Emperor's advantage to make himself fresh enemies; that an eye must be had to the Pope's want of money, and to the present scarcity of everything at Rome, which cannot expect supplies of many things save from the kingdom of Naples and from Sicily; and that of the promises of the King of France both of foreign troops and money made through his ministers here, the Pope could avail himself solely with delay and difficulty." His Excellency also expatiated to me on the mode whereby the Emperor, at small cost, might do great mischief to this See Apostolic, and bring it to a bad pass, namely by way of Germany, great part of which desires nothing but its oppression and debasement (*l'oppression et bassezza sua*). He also alluded to the last sack of Rome, and to the position of the papal territories in the midst of those of the Emperor and the Duke of Florence.

Rome, 4th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4.
Original Letter Book penes me, Letter No. 4, p. 4.

235. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The dispute between the Pope, and the Emperor and his ministers,‡ has increased since the receipt by the Imperial am-

* The Milanese Gianangelo de' Medici, who succeeded Paul IV. with the title of Pius IV.

† Guido Baldo II., fifth Duke of Urbino. For his biography, *see* Dennistoun's Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. ii. pp. 78, 117.

‡ Dispute caused by the arrest on the 31st August 1555, and imprisonment in Castle St. Angelo, of the Emperor's adherent Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal Santafiora, *Camarlingo della Chiesa Romana.* His arrest is mentioned in a letter dated Rome, 2d September 1555, to King Philip and Queen Mary, from Sir Edward Carne. (*See* Foreign Calendar, p. 183.) This was the commencement of those acts which caused the war between Paul IV. and Charles V.

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bassador* of letters from his court dated the 19th ultimo, purporting that his Majesty had refused audience to the Nuncio, who was told by Monsignor di Narni, that unless the Pope released the Cardinal "Camerlengo," and other friends and servants of his Imperial Majesty, and abstained from acts derogatory to his the Emperor's dignity, he would come in person to maintain it. The court had not yet heard of the seizure of the estate of the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna, nor of the voluntary surrender of those three castles, about which there was a lawsuit between the Colonnas and the Prince of Sulmona, into the hands of the Imperial ambassadors; neither was anything known about the interception by the Pope's agents of several despatches, which were opened by them, they having been forwarded to and fro between Rome and Naples by the Imperialists, some moreover being addressed by the ambassador to the Emperor, whose anger when acquainted with all these things may be expected to augment.

The Pope, being irritated by the letters from Brussels, summoned Consistory for the 2nd, with the intention of announcing to the Cardinals that he was bent on war, in order not to be anticipated, and that he might be able to resist in time those who purposed attacking him (*a chi havesse animo di offenderla*); but when Consistory assembled, a right reverend cardinal, the one who told me what I am now writing, went to his Holiness, and said to him that the last thing and the most easy, was to wage war (*era il rompersi*), and that therefore his Holiness should proceed with a little more reserve, and remember that he was universal father, from whom alone the pacification of these two princes [Charles V. and Henry II.] was hoped, and that if he made himself a party and the enemy of one of them, it would then be quite desperate; to which the Pope replied, "What business is it of the Emperor's if I choose to punish a subject of mine (*un mio sudditto*); what would you have me do?" The aforesaid cardinal rejoined, "Holy Father! with Princes certain regards are necessary, as for instance, should it be chosen to proceed against a friend of the Emperor or of the King, to let their Majesties first of all hear the causes, and justify one's self; but be this as it may, I would for the benefit of this See Apostolic, and of Italy, that your Holiness should commission such cardinals as may please you, to confer together, and endeavour to find some expedient for allaying these disturbances." To this the Pope assented, and having called S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], Carpi [Ridolfo Pio], Augsburg [Otho Truchses], Morone, Cueva, and Medici, who are all considered of the Imperial faction, and choosing Cardinal Caraffa to be the seventh, his Holiness in their presence commenced justifying all his proceedings, giving them to understand that what he had done hitherto he did because thus was it fitting (*perchè conveniva cusi*); and he charged them to confer together, and consult about the means for allaying the present disturbances, giving them also leave to discourse with the Imperial ambassador,

* Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis de Sarria, who made his entry into Rome on the 6th July 1555. (*See* letter from Sir Edward Carne, 16th July 1555, Foreign Calendar, p. 179.)

1555. should the Imperialists choose to come to fair terms they would find his Holiness quite disposed towards the commonweal, and were they to act otherwise he should not fear any sovereign, as the Lord was on his side.

On the morrow these seven cardinals assembled in the house of the Cardinal S. Giacomo, where there was also the most illustrious the Lord Duke of Urbino, who arrived in this city the day before with 10 posters (*con 10 poste*), and the Count of Montorio. For the moment they did not choose the Imperial ambassador to be present, lest all hope of devising an adjustment should be quite lost through his punctiliousness and language with regard to Cardinal Caraffa.

As soon as they met, after saying many things about the Emperor and the Pope, touching their intentions and designs, on coming to the particulars for which they had assembled, it was said that in order to find some mode of adjustment, they must first of all arrange for disbanding the Papal and Imperial forces now on foot, concerning which two difficulties had arisen; the first, that the Imperial ambassador declares he had received a promise from the Pope's own lips, that should the Imperial troops withdraw he would be content to retain solely 1,000 foot and 400 horse, and that his Holiness now said he should remain in arms (*armata*) with 2,000 foot and 800 horse; which difficulty seemed important, not so much for the thing itself, as because it concerned the honour of the ambassador, who had already announced it, and also of the Pope, who said the contrary, and chose to be at liberty to do what he pleased in his own territory (*in casa sua*). The other difficulty consisted in its having been said in the Pope's name, that he did not see by what means he could secure himself against the Emperor and his ministers. To these two difficulties, a personage who wishes for peace and quiet replied, that as to the first, 1,000 foot and 400 horse, more or less mattered little, and that for so slight a cause, the road should not be left open for so many inconveniences as would accompany the war. To the second, about being guaranteed, the mode seemed to him very easy, through writings, instruments, bonds, or treaties, by all of which means, if they serve to end wars already commenced, he was of opinion it would be much easier and more fitting for Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Urbino, and the Count of Montorio to quit the assembly, and that the Imperial ambassador should be sent for, from whom they might hear his decision (*con li quali tutti modi se si da fine a guerre gia cominciate, credeva che molto più facil cosa, et più conveniente fusse, che licentiati il R^mo Caraffa, il Duca, et il Conte, si mandasse à chiamare l'Amb^re dell' Imp^re, &c.*). Marquis Sarria made his appearance, and repeated all the complaints against the Pope, laying great stress on the opening and detentionof their despatches, giving it to be understood that he could no longer remain at this court without derogating from the Emperor's dignity; whereupon the cardinals seeing him almost determined, said to him plainly, "Lord Ambassador, if you depart, there is no longer any remedy, and you will have been the cause of whatever detriment may befall his Imperial Majesty;" which words having moved him, he took time to present a writing, and the congregation (*congregatione*) dissolved.

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The times being so critical, and this negotiation so important, I have chosen to give your Serenity as true and detailed account of it as in my power, adding that a person able to know it has assured me that the Pope is much inclined towards the common weal (*al bene*) and peace, though his kinsfolk (*li suoi*) are impatient for war, and as they can represent things as they please, good offices are suppressed and evil ones exaggerated.

Rome, 4th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct 5.
Dispacci, Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 7. B.

236. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Council of Ten.

The Duke of Urbino has informed me that yesterday he was a long while with the Pope, and told him all the misadventures which might result from the war; so that he thought he had greatly moved the mind (*mosso assai l'animo*) of his Holiness, who said he thanked the Lord God for having made him speak to his Excellency. But the Duke says he does not know how much he can promise himself from the Pope in this matter, as although he saw his Holiness inclined towards peace, he on the other hand perceived Cardinal Caraffa quite bent on war, and performing every possible office to draw the Pope into it, because his right reverend Lordship has assured the King of France of his hope that the Pope will league and ally himself with his most Christian Majesty. The Duke says, moreover, he shall let it be clearly understood, that for his Holiness he will hazard his state and his life, but shall reserve his honour for himself; and that, therefore, for a defensive war he will do everything, but should they choose to invade others and render it offensive, he must know precisely with what forces they would take the field, as on this first occasion he will not do so solely with raw and disorderly Italian troops, at the risk of losing repute; and that in that case he should tell the Pope that he will serve him with sword and tabard (*con la spada et la cappa*), but that his Holiness must assign the command to others; though should sufficient forces be given him he would not fail to do his master service.

Rome, 5th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. v. pp. 44, 45. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c. Without any date.

237. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

Does not think it necessary to tell the King what he and his fellow councillors did when they met at the Chancellor's, who on account of ill health had been forbidden by the physicians to quit his house, as he knows that everything is written to him by Pole's colleagues.*

Concerning the most Serene Queen and her assiduity in the despatch of business, she is so intent on it as to require her energy in this matter to be checked rather than stimulated, for besides passing the greater part of the day in this occupation, she then, should there be anything to write to his Majesty (as is always the

* In date, London, 7 October 1555, Michiel alludes to a cabinet council recently held at Winchester House, the Ministers having come from Greenwich to London for that purpose, so I date this letter Greenwich, 5 October.

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case), this sort of office delighting her extremely, performs it during the greater part of the night, to the injury of her health, as known to the King, who alone can apply a remedy.

Knows nothing more about the affairs of Rome from his own letters than already written by him, and although the correspondence of others contains a variety of news, he at any rate does not doubt but that the Pope will have such regard for the interests of King Philip, as his piety and deserts with the Apostolic See require. The King writes that should the Pope recall Pole he will use all his influence and prayers to prevent it. Assures his Majesty that although after so long an exile his abode in his own country is most pleasant to him, yet is his willingness to remain there induced less by patriotism (*patriæ amor*) than by love of their Majesties' piety, justice, and clemency, a tie which joined him to his country, to which he would otherwise have been as useless as his country to him, and to that tie he most readily submits and delights in it.

Greenwich, 5th October 1555.

[*Latin*, 27 *lines*.]

Oct. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

238. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

By a gentleman who came express, the Queen of England has sent her consort a ring, with the sole commission to tell his Majesty that she wishes him health, long life, and speedy return.

Last night a courier arrived here from the Cardinal of Trent [Cristoforo Madruccio], with letters for his agents with the Emperor and the King of England, charging them immediately to inform both their Majesties, that the Pope had consented to release from prison Cardinal Santa Fiore [Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal Camerlengo],* on his giving security,† and that from other signs the Pope is evidently devoid of passion with regard to their Majesties affairs. Don Garcilasso [de la Vega], who had been appointed to perform another office with his Holiness, will nevertheless go to Rome to acquaint him with the resolve about the Emperor's departure for Spain, and with the cession of these States and of the kingdom of Sicily made by him to his son. He will also request the Pope in the name of his Imperial Majesty and of the King of England to reinstate Marc' Antonio Colonna, and to release Camillo [Colonna] and others from prison.

It is also said that Don Garcilasso will be commissioned subsequently to announce the Emperor's departure for Spain to your Serenity.

Brussels, 5th October 1555.

[*Italian*.]

* The arrest of the Cardinal Santafiore, which may be said to have commenced the war between the Emperor and the Pope, took place on the 31st August 1555, and was announced to Queen Mary by Sir Edward Carne on the 2d September. (*See* Foreign Calendar, p. 183.)

† The Cardinal Camerlengo gave bail for 300,000 crowns, not to quit Rome. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 142.) In Foreign Calendar, "Mary," date Brussels, 8th October 1555, there is a letter from Sir John Masone informing Queen Mary that Cardinal Santafiore had been set at liberty on "large surety," and that there was "good hope that Colonna shall shortly be restored to his estate again."

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Oct. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

239. SAME to SAME.

The King of England has sent a Spaniard into Artois with orders for the 2,000 cavalry to march to the neighbourhood of Marienburg, where the Prince of Orange is with the army, and his Majesty has again sent them money. This the King has done owing to the movements of the French, who have withdrawn their best troops from the frontiers, and are mustering at Marienburg.

Brussels, 6th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

240. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago the Admiral [Lord Steward of Effingham], and the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Huntingdon, who, besides the presents of gold chains brought by them, and which are said to be worth from 1,300 to 1,500 ducats, returned from Brussels, and say they were so well received by the Emperor and the Queens,* and by the whole Imperial court, during their stay there, and throughout the journey so well treated, banqueted, and honoured, that they come home fully satisfied, so that these demonstrations will have advantageously confirmed their goodwill.

They were charged to ask the Queen on their return for 30 armed ships to accompany the Emperor and the Queens in their voyage on board the fleet, which is daily expected under the command of Don Alvaro de Bazan; and whereas on the first arrival of these English noblemen at Brussels it was said and written thence that their Majesties would come hither to see the Queen, so is it now asserted, on the contrary, that they will steer the straight course, without stopping, both to save their own time, and expense to this country, by not setting foot in it. The vessels are being prepared, and will soon be ready; those which are to serve have been detained, and the rest are now released from the embargo.

Although the King's return is spoken of contradictorily, most persons, and principally the Spaniards, saying it will not take place in the whole course of this winter, as the guards and all the rest of the household are ordered hence to Brussels, yet, nevertheless, the Queen's chamberlain, Master Bassett, having returned thence, assuring her he will be here as speedily as possible (*quanto più presto*), but not before the Emperor's departure, her Majesty, who had already commenced complaining, thus remains comforted.

There has also returned from Brussels *the nephew of the Abbot of San Saluto, Missier Gasparo, he having been sent back hither about the affair of the peace, concerning which, although both sides have again said that until King Philip's return everything will remain suspended, I know that the Abbot has frequent conferences with the French ambassador, and lately gave him a writing annotated* (notata) *in Missier Gasparo's own hand, and, I know not whether on this account, as probable, or for some other reason, the ambas-*

* Eleanor of Austria, Queen Dowager of France, and Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary.

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sador sent an express to France immediately, though what the writing contained, or why Missier Gasparo came back, I have been unable to ascertain, despite the utmost diligence. I am told for certain that before the departure hence of the Lieutenant of Amont, ambassador resident here from the Emperor, which took place about a fortnight ago, he had a long conference with the Abbot [Parpaglia], the ambassador saying that he would take part in this negociation, though it is not known whether of his own accord or by command of others, as he is considered a shrewd and active diplomatist, who knows* "di andar a trattato dall' Imperator," *and he has the reputation of knowing moreabout the French than the others; so he went away with this. . . . . The result of his journey remains to be seen.*

The Lord Chancellor has retired hither to his own residence [Winchester House] away from the Court and from business, that he may be better able to attend to his health, of which he has great need, as day by day he becomes worse rather than better; but in matters of importance the government consults him and hears his opinion, there having lately come from Greenwich all the other royal councillors, with Cardinal Pole in person, the session of Parliament being at hand.

London, 7th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 7?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 5, pp. 42–44, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c., without any date.

241. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

Is averse to wearying the King by letter, but knowing that he is always glad to hear of the Queen's health, and how she bears his absence, not merely through her own letters, but also by those of others, above all from those of Pole, whom on departure he especially charged to comfort her in all matters. Writes therefore to say that her Majesty is well, and passes the chief part of the day in prayer and divine service, and part in the transaction of public business, thus consoling herself for the absence of her consort, as written in his former letters, seeing him present either when praying God for his well-being, or when treating with his councillors such matters as have it in view, according to the King's order. Yesterday, when amongst other things the outfit of a fleet was discussed,† the Queen consoled herself greatly with the hope of the King's speedy return, which is earnestly desired by all good men.

Encloses letters addressed to him (Pole) by Cardinal Caraffa, and which pain him, not merely on account of his friend and colleague [Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza], but by reason of the vexation thus caused to the Pope and the King, but trusts that the restitution of the galleys will satisfy all parties. The Pope's regret at having been compelled to take this step is manifested by Caraffa's letters, which are as authentic as a brief (*quæ vim brevis habent*).

* Simon Renard. *See* the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar 1553–1558. Index.

† *See* Giovanni Michiel, 7 October 1555, where allusion is made to the Fleet, and to the residence of the Court at Greenwich.

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By these letters the King will perceive how anxious the Pope is for his Majesty to gratify him with regard to the see of Trani.

Greenwich, 7th October 1555?

[*Latin*, 29 *lines*.]

Oct. 8. Original Letter Book, penes me. Letter No. 7, pp. 13–16.

242. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning Cardinal Caraffa sent one of his gentlemen to me, telling me to be at the palace at the 22nd hour, as his Holiness wished to speak to me. I went accordingly, and being introduced into the Pope's chamber, found four cardinals there, namely, Carpi, Mignanelli, Saraceno, and Medici, and shortly afterwards the ambassador of the most Serene King of England [Sir Edward Carne] came, with whom, and with three of the cardinals (except Carpi, who was talking with the Pope), we remained discussing various matters until his Holiness called the cardinals to him in the same place where Carpi was, and they commenced talking together in so low a tone that all Carne and I could hear was this, that when Carpi and Medici said, "Holy Father, it is better for your Holiness first of all to despatch the ambassadors, as we shall then remain together, and it would be too long a while to keep them waiting." The Pope replied, "We choose them to be present here, that they may write to their princes what we will tell them in your presence, and that of others who are to come;" and thus by degrees there made their appearance the Cardinals Cueva, Burgos, S. Giacomo, Augsburg, Puteo, and Caraffa. His Holiness called both of us ambassadors, and commenced saying very fluently in the Latin tongue as follows:—"We suppose, lords ambassadors, that you are aware of what is passing at the present time. We, then, who did not think of this charge, God having given it us, and being elected to this burden, although incompetent and ill able to support it, we chose to consider what becomes our office; and seeing the affairs of the Church in a bad way, we were quite intent on this reform, in order completely to close the mouths of those who have nothing to talk of but us and our habits (*et delli nostri costumi*), saying that we daily promise councils and fresh reforms without any result being ever witnessed; and to tell you the truth, we know not what answer to make them. Our first thought was and is, with the assistance and counsel of these our venerable brothers, to find means for reforming such matters as necessary, they being in great number; and whilst thinking thus to serve God and support with dignity the grade he has conferred on us, we being intent on this thought with our whole heart, the devil, therefore, who confounds everything, and sets in motion all the infernal furies whose ambition is never satiated, plotted not only against this Holy See, as we know for certain, having spies in several places, and indeed everywhere, but against our life, and the life of our relatives (*et a quella delli nostri*); nor, lords ambassadors, can we say this without pain and much sorrow. The things are certain, nor is there any doubt of them; they will be revealed in due season, and they have therefore compelled us to arm; nor shall words persuade us to disarm, for we very well remember what befell Pope Clement, who having

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received fair words from the ministers of the present Emperor, had scarcely dismissed his soldiers ere there took place that horrible capture of Rome and that fatal and frightful sack, than which there was perhaps never one more cruel nor more iniquitous. What class of men, which sex did they spare? What sort, we will not say of outrage, but of impiety did they omit? And we say for certain, and believe we speak the truth, that was the greatest act of cruelty ever perpetrated at any period, for at other depredations of cities and empires it was impossible in the first flush of victory to prevent mischief, but the fury of the moment being allayed, men then returned to their senses, nor did a sack ever last more than two or three days at the utmost. This unhappy and miserable city was sacked for 10 consecutive months, during which Rome endured every sort of tyrannical violence. This example moves us greatly, and we have it before our eyes; nor, so far as depends upon ourselves, will we be taken unawares and deceived, as Pope Clement was. We well know that our forces are feeble, but our cause is that of God, who founded this see, and will defend it; and although, as known to you, magnifico ambassador" (and this he said turning towards me), "there have been many who sought to destroy it, they nevertheless could not succeed in doing so, and they and their descendants ended horribly, history abounding with these facts. This supremacy of the Church must be given to the first city in the world, it having been *Domina gentium*, and of which He said, *Imperium sine fine dedi*, so we hope it will be perpetual as the world. We therefore wish to preserve it; so our mind being entirely bent on peace, we will not make war, unless provoked and induced by necessity. Were men satisfied with their own, and did they not seek and create opportunity for occupying what belongs to others, everybody would enjoy quiet. We sent for you that you might communicate to your princes what is aforesaid, and before repeating it elsewhere we thought fit to perform this office with you, as we shall moreover do with regard to what may happen from time to time." The Pope then ceased speaking, and the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, the eyes of all the cardinals being fixed on his countenance, said that he would write to his King; and as they expected me also to speak, I thanked his Holiness for this confidential communication; and the ambassador of England and I being dismissed, the Pope and cardinals remained, Cardinal Morone having in the meanwhile joined them.

I leave it to your Serenity to infer what his Holiness meant by repeating this day, in the presence of so many cardinals and of the English ambassador, well nigh the same things as were said by him to other ambassadors from your Serenity, and to me myself repeatedly; but I will mention that my having been called to the palace to-day, which is a day extraordinary, and it being known that in the presence of so many cardinals the Pope addressed himself to me and to the ambassador from England, has given rise to various reports, and some persons came to visit me at unusual hours for news, in which matter I acted with great reserve, as due.

Rome, 8th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

1555.
Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

243. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Several consultations were held lately, about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy, and as he is to have the government of these provinces, it was determined that the King of England should exhort him to marry, and to take the Duchess of Lorraine, to which he has never chosen to consent, notwithstanding either his Majesty's prayers and persuasions, or the foul language (*male parole*) of Queen Maria, to the effect that he had so long kept her and the Duchess in hope of this. The King being satisfied with the Duke's reasons, that it was not for his advantage to marry, being deprived of his state, and poor, said that he would nevertheless give him the government of these provinces, with the title of Regent as held by Queen Maria, adding those of Lieutenant and Captain General, which it is said will be proclaimed after the Emperor's departure, and that he and the Council with him will go and reside at Mechlin; and according to the Duke, King Philip purposes appointing the Bishop of Arras president (*capo*) of the Council, a thing very much desired by his Excellency. The formation of the Council of State which is to reside with the King in person has also been discussed, and for its president (*et per capo di esso*) the persons proposed are, the Viceroys of Navarre, of Aragon, and of Sicily, and Don Ferrante Gonzaga.

The lords of these provinces, and the deputies of the towns, who were summoned to be present at the cession, which on the 16th instant the Emperor will make to the King of England, have already assembled here, and are expected to announce the decision formed, about the pecuniary supply lately demanded of them.

M. de Praet, Knight of the Order of the Fleece, and the chief in authority with the Emperor in the Council of these provinces, had an apoplectic fit, and died; for which his Imperial Majesty, the King, and Queen Maria have evinced great regret.

Brussels, 10th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

244. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

Is greatly comforted to hear of the release of the Cardinal *Camberlengo* [Guido Ascanio Sforza] after the restitution of the two galleys, which has much pleased the Queen and the whole court; it being heard that this news produced the same effect on the Emperor and the King; nor does Pole doubt but that the commencement of this mischief being removed, everything will be quieted, and his Holiness be enabled to attend more conveniently to the execution of his holy project for the benefit of the Church, by pacifying these princes. On his departure hence, having appointed eight of the principal members of his council to consult about the most important current affairs of this realm, the King evinced a wish that Pole should attend the consultations (*che Io volessi intervenire a questo consiglio*), and earnestly requested him to do so; to which he replied that saving the due obedience which, as his minister, it behoves him have for the Pope, he would never shun (*non fuggirei mai*) any post assigned him by their Majesties,

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whom he wished to be convinced that they, having in view the end proposed by them, for the honour of God and the advantage of England, his Holiness would be content that he should attend the consultations, as he has done assiduously, together with the Queen, and the other deputies; never, however, choosing to sign the decrees (*deliberation*) like the rest, until he knew the will of his Holiness, whom he acquainted with this invitation by means of his agent, and anxiously awaits the Pope's commands.

Greenwich, 10th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

245. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

It has been said by certain Spaniards of quality, that as the King of the Romans makes a difficulty about consenting to the King of England being Vicar in Italy, the Emperor, who had intended and promised his brother to renounce the empire to him, will now not do so, departing hence without giving him any other administration than he is entitled to by his investiture.

I have been told on good authority that the King of England has written to the Queen his consort, that he is most anxious to gratify her wish for his return, but that he cannot adapt himself to it, having to reside there in a form unbecoming his dignity, which requires him to take part in the affairs of the realm, though with her counsel and that of her councillors; he instancing the following particular, that as in Spain, and at present here, he has ruled absolutely in all things, it would seem too strange to him to go back, without sharing the government of England with her. He also requested her to have justice done on those Englishmen, who from malice plundered and ransacked the house of certain Spaniards, and from what I have heard, they did so in revenge for wounds inflicted at this court on some of Lord Courtenay's servants.* A member of the Queen's Council has written to her ambassador resident with the Emperor, that she will soon recall him with the title of chief secretary, his stay here being no longer necessary as his Imperial Majesty departs for Spain. This news is much regretted, both by him and all the other English at this court; it being known that the like will befall the one accredited to your Serenity, and that her Majesty chooses to gratify her husband by letting the ambassador Vargas† negotiate, he remaining at Venice in the King's name, on the Emperor's departure for Spain.

The Duke of Cleves has sent hither a purveyor to engage a lodging for him and stabling for 200 horse, as he is coming to pay his respects to the Emperor before his departure for Spain, and to visit the King of England.

Brussels, 13th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* On the 28th October 1555, two men were hanged in Fleet Street for "*the robere of a Spaniard*," as recorded in Machyn's Diary, p. 96, and from Badoer's despatch it may be inferred that the execution took place owing to King Philip's demand for it.

† Don Francisco de Vargas. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary." Index.)

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Oct. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

246. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Besides the outfit of 30 ships to convoy the Emperor on the voyage to Spain, the government also sent lately to put Dover Castle in order and provide what is necessary, so that should the Emperor in passing wish to have an interview with the Queen, he may be lodged and received in that place with less inconvenience to himself, in case, which does not yet seem settled, they determine on seeing each other.

In three or four days her Majesty (as the meeting of Parliament is approaching) will come back to one of her palaces in London, either St. James' or Westminster, and not move again, her hope of the King's speedy return diminishing daily, as the Spaniards who remained here depart hourly, with a mind, so far as they themselves are concerned, not to revisit this country for a very long while.

The execution of the sentences against the heretics has been resumed, it having been ordered recently that the late Bishop of London [Ridley], and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, be burned alive at Oxford, where they are in prison, there being no hope or visible sign of their choosing to recant.

The merchants of the two chief London companies, the Staplers and the Adventurers, are intent on providing and remitting to Flanders a considerable sum of money, amounting to 40,000*l.* sterling, on account of a debt owed there by the Queen, they being her Majesty's securities; and although in the course of time and in divers manners they are reimbursed by her, yet nevertheless in the meanwhile they are inconvenienced, and consequently suffer loss.

The Lord Chancellor, having retired to his own house away from business,—the great seal remaining in the hands of the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby],—does not only not improve, but loses ground daily, and with difficulty can he go either up or down stairs, so that, unless the hand of God assist him, he can last but a few months.

London, 14th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15.
Filza, No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

247. Philip, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, King, to [Stephen Gardiner] the Bishop of Winchester.

Reverend Father in Christ, our councillor faithful and beloved.

Report hath been brought to us of thy unsatisfactory state of health, and this news hath not a little troubled us, because on thy health the health of that kingdom seemeth in great part to depend, wherefore on many accounts thou shouldst take care of it; and do thou certify us concerning the same frequently, for as we should feel great grief from its being unfavourable, so from its being satisfactory we shall derive great delight. It remaineth that, as far as thy health allow, thou take care of the affairs of that kingdom (*istius regni rationibus consulas*), but in such wise, as by no means to injure thy delicate health, which we earnestly recommend

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to thee, and that with thy invariable prudence thou preside over all affairs, as our love for the most Serene Queen, our comfort, and the general advantage of that kingdom seem to require, which will greatly gratify us. Farewell.

Brussels, the Ides of October 1555.

[*Directed without:*] "To the Reverend Father in Christ, our well-beloved and faithful councillor, the Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor of our kingdom of England."

[*Latin, on paper. Contemporary copy, sent to the Earl of Devonshire in Mr. Basset's letter dated 26th October* 1555.]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

248. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The cession of these provinces has been deferred until the 23rd instant, as some deputies from Friesland, who (with all the others, and with the lords who have already arrived here) are to be present have not arrived; some say because the country is again flooded, *others because certain inhabitants of those provinces* (*although ineffectually*) *opposed sending them to consent to this cession, pretending that on the death of the Emperor they must depend on the Empire as of yore, and not on the Emperor's son* (pretendendo morto che sia l'Imperatore dover haver a far con l'Imperio come hebbero antiquamente, et non con il figliol dello Imperator).

It is said that the Emperor will make this renunciation habited in his state robes (*vestita in pontificali*), and the King will then go to Louvain, the capital of Brabant, to swear observance to the privileges, then return hither, and subsequently, after his father's departure, do the like in the other chief towns of these provinces; and for this purpose his Majesty is now studying with extraordinary diligence, in order to understand and speak French better [than he does], so as to be able to negotiate with these lords and other persons of condition who speak no other language, which is here called Walloon (*che qui è chiamato Valon*).

The Electors of the Empire have written to his Imperial Majesty, requesting him, before his departure for Spain, so to adjust the affairs of Germany that hereafter the States (*li stati*) may not experience inconveniences by his absence, and evince their intention either that he do leave such full authority to the King of the Romans as to render it unnecessary for him to send to his Majesty in Spain, or else that he do remain in the Empire. The Emperor has given no answer, either to the Electors or to Don Martin Guzman, who came hither from the King of the Romans to discuss this matter with the Emperor, and it is supposed that he delays it in expectation of the arrival of the Archduke Ferdinand, who comes ostensibly for the purpose of doing homage in his father's name to the Emperor on his determination to go to Spain, yet it is nevertheless believed by many persons that he has been sent for the purpose which the Emperor has determined to effect,* of marrying him to the sister of the Queen of England, that he may succeed to that

* *See* entry, No. 121, p. 97, date 4th June 1555.

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crown, as his Imperial Majesty's son has no hope of an heir by his consort. Should this come to pass, it is believed that the King of the Romans will consent, and cause his son, the King of Bohemia, to consent likewise, to the King of England being made Imperial Vicar in Italy by the said King of the Romans, on the Emperor's renunciation of the Empire. (*E nondimeno creduto da molti, che sia stato fatto venir a quel fine, che altre volte ho scritto alla Serenità vostra, esser volontà dell' Imperatore di far che esso Arciduca habbia per moglie la sorella della Regina d'Inghilterra, et venga à succieder a quella corona, poichè il figliuolo di Sua Cesarea Maestà non è in speranza di haver con la Regina successore; et se avverrà ciò, credesi che 'l Re di Romani contenterà, et farà contentar quello di Boemia suo figliuolo, che 'l Re d'Inghilterra sia vicario dell' Imperio in Italia fatto da esso Re di Romani, havendo rinontiato S. M. C. esso Imperio.*)

The King of England has despatched a messenger to the Queen to acquaint her with his reasons for having the rest of his retinue (*il rimanente della corte sua*) sent to Brussels, saying that it is from inability to return to her so immediately on account of his many occupations in these Provinces, and because on the Emperor's departure he shall have need of all his servants, in like manner as at present he avails himself of many of his Imperial Majesty's household. Some persons are of opinion that King Philip acts thus in order that during the next session of Parliament the English may comprehend that he is not so anxious to return to that kingdom as they seem to fear (*quanto loro mostrano di temere*), as also fully to convince the Flemings of his love for them, and of his firm resolve to rule them in person, and moreover to tranquillize those in England who do not approve of his making himself absolute master of the country.

He likewise wrote to the Queen that he wishes her to resume as it were spontaneously the negotiations for peace with the King of France, which according to reason will not be so difficult to stipulate with him as it was and would be with the Emperor; praying her besides to mediate so vigorously as to let him know that should he reject fair terms she would bestir herself against him (*si moverà contro di lui*), the causes for the great hatred with the Emperor having come to an end, his Imperial Majesty departing for Spain and having renounced all his states and worldly affairs to her consort.

Yesterday King Philip gave leave to Lord Courtenay to go to Italy or to any other country (*provincia*) he pleased, commending him greatly for this his wish to see the world, and promising him moreover letters of favour wherever he may require them. Subsequently he came to see me twice, telling me that this favour so long desired and sought by him was not only granted with great facility, but that the King urged his departure, which is to take place in a fortnight, and that his chief intention is to reside some time in Venice, and that immediately on his arrival he will go and kiss your Serenity's hand. I congratulated him greatly on his having obtained this satisfaction, assuring him that he would be well received by your Serenity by reason of his excellent parts

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(*per le sue eccellenti conditioni*), and that he would remain well pleased with the choice made by him of going to see and enjoy the quiet and beauty of so glorious and blessed a city (*la quiete et bellezza di si gloriosa et felice città*).

Brussels, 16th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 17–18. Filza, No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

249. James Basset to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.

Thanks for his "special goodness and great gentilnes shewed unto me [in] divers ways at my being at Brussels." Desires credence for bearer in what he has to say. Excuses himself that he has not had time to write since his return to England, as also to show your Lordship the Queen's goodness towards you, the opinion of her Highness' learned counsel touching the sending of your wrytte for the Parliament, the effect and service of that is done by Hummerston your purveyor,* a request of Mr. Secretary Peters' touching the buying or exchanging of a piece of land with your Lordship, the state of my Lord Chancellor, and of all other things, herewith I think fit for your Lordship to understand, I have fully instructed this bearer to declare the same unto you, praying that I may be advised by him again of those things which requireth a . . . . . [answer?], trusting your Lordship will take in good part these few lines, being constrained to be shorter than I would for want of leisure, as this bearer can declare.

17th–18th October 1555. From England to Brussels.

[*Original holograph.*]

Oct. 19. Original Letter Book, penes me, p. 33.

250. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday letters arrived from the Imperial Court dated the 7th, whereby it is heard that Don Garcilasso de la Vega, gentleman of the mouth to that Emperor, had received his commission and was to depart on the morrow, for the performance of good offices with his Holiness.

Rome, 19th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

251. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The most Serene Queen opened Parliament to-day, according to the appointed term (*termine*), coming from St. James', whither she retired (*si è ritirata*) on her return from Greenwich, to sit, as in the last Parliament, on a lofty and well-decorated throne, carried by two mules in the guise of a litter (*venendo come l'altra volta nell' ultimo Parlamento a seder in una grande et ben guarnita sedia, portata da dui muli ad uso di lettica*), accompanied in state (*regalmente*) not only by all the lords, barons, and prelates of the

* I derive from the Domestic Calendar, Mary (pp. 70–72), the correct orthography of the name Hummerston, which in Basset's letter is abbreviated and indistinct.

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kingdom, clad in the habit suited to this occasion, but in addition to these personages by the most illustrious Legate likewise, the Queen having chosen him to attend it, for this day, although not entitled legitimately to a seat in Parliament. After the mass of the Holy Ghost, sung by the Bishop of Ely, and the sermon preached by the Bishop of Lincoln [John Whyte], her Majesty proceeded into the great hall, where, in the presence of all those officially summoned, the Lord Chancellor, having rallied a little, choosing at any rate to be there in order not to fail performing his office on this occasion, made the usual proposal, stating the cause for assembling Parliament, which was in short solely for the purpose of obtaining pecuniary supply. His right reverend Lordship laid before the House the great need of the most Serene Queen, from having on her accession found the revenues of the crown so exhausted and consumed that not only was she unable to avail herself of them for the many and heavy expenses, which he enumerated one by one, incurred by her compulsorily for the honour of the realm, both before and after her marriage,—with regard to which he did not omit to say that King Philip whilst in England had spent much more than her Majesty,—but that having found considerable debts left by her father and brother she had been compelled to make fresh ones for their acquittance, still remaining responsible for a great part of the old ones. Her Majesty in the meanwhile had not chosen to avail herself, as she might have done, of the taxes and subsidy conceded by Parliament to her brother King Edward, amounting to upwards of 1,200,000 ducats, but remitted that sum for the sake of not burdening anyone. Neither did she choose, as she might and ought to have done in justice, to avail herself of the revenues and estates of many of her rebels, amounting to a very considerable sum, but to demonstrate thoroughly her benignity and clemency, she made them a free gift bothof their lives and lands. Therefore in the Queen's name the Chancellor requested Parliament, in consideration of the present public necessities, to devise means for their relief, saying, moreover, that at this commencement her Majesty had not chosen to keep this her proposal any longer in suspense, nor allow it to be made by others than by herself, but, proceeding openly, had willed to proclaim and announce it immediately, anticipating such speedy supply as by reason of the great affection of her subjects she felt sure she should witness. The Chancellor added that if any member had anything else to suggest, to the profit and advantage of the realm and for the common weal, he was not to omit doing so, in conformity with the obligation and duty of everybody, nor to fail thus to act readily and willingly as becoming ; and his right reverend Lordship having spoken with much more energy (*gagliardamente*) than by reason of his indisposition anyone would have expected, the business of this first day of the session ended. During the next two days they will occupy themselves with the election and confirmation of the Speaker, namely, the member who speaks and proposes for the Lower House, after which the motions and resolutions will be made, and communicated by the writer to the Doge with due diligence. Many of the peers are still absent, but will make their appearance from day to day, though the Earls of Arundel and West-

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moreland have excused themselves on the plea of indisposition, and their apologies have been accepted.

The Queen remains not a little distressed by an order received two days ago from King Philip by Don Diego de Azevedo, his lord steward, for him and the few Spanish noblemen remaining here to cross over to Flanders, together with the Spanish and German halberdier guards, and the pages and stable department, the only part of the household which is to remain being the confessor, with two other Dominican friars (*frati predicatori*), and the chapel. This general preparation for departure, thus daily confirming by facts the remoteness of the King's coming, cannot but, by reason of intense love and longing for her consort, inspire the Queen with doubts of his return, and consequently cause her sorrow, although she is constantly comforted by letters and messages from his Majesty giving fair hope of soon seeing her, and also by the presence of Cardinal Pole, who never leaves her, having apartments here likewise, and residing ordinarily in the palace.

The Lady Elizabeth, who resided permanently with the Queen at Greenwich, has had permission to proceed to a house of her own 17 miles hence; nor during the whole time of her stay at Greenwich did Cardinal Pole ever see her, although they had rooms very near each other in the same palace.

Last week pay was given to the men destined to serve on board the fleet, the whole of which will soon be despatched, 12 vessels having already dropped down the river and put to sea, and they are hastening the outfit of the rest.

Besides the commission given by him to his ambassador resident in Spain, the King of Portugal, for the same purpose, has sent hither one of his gentlemen to the Queen, requesting her not to allow English ships to continue, as they have done for the last three years, their voyages to the Guinea coast, which is under his jurisdiction, as they are injurious to him and his subjects; giving it to be understood that should the English be fallen in with by the Portuguese and by his Majesty's own coastguard lately armed for the purpose, and be maltreated, the Queen must not take it amiss, as he cannot do otherwise than preserve his own coasts, not choosing aliens, nor any but his own subjects, to frequent them or to navigate there.

The Queen referred the matter to her Council, which has not yet formed any decision, as before answering the ambassador they choose to have the rights (*le ragione*) of the parties concerned well understood and examined.

London, 21st October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

252. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Orange has arrived here from the army, by the Emperor's order, to be present at his Imperial Majesty's renunciation of these states to his son, the Emperor telling him and the other lords the precise causes which had induced him during his lifetime to make this cession and depart for Spain. There were present at this colloquy, the King and all the knights of the Fleece, of which

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order the Emperor gave the King the Grand Mastership (*l'autorità*). The answer made in the name of the assembly to his Imperial Majesty was, that with regard to the cession of the States, of which the King was by right the legitimate successor, they regretted to hear it for no other reason than because the Emperor would consequently execute his resolve of going to Spain, which departure oppressed them (*premeva a loro*), as although his son had great ability, and was adequate to any great administration, yet nevertheless the Emperor's mature prudence, his great authority, and more especial knowledge of the Netherlands (*questi Stati*), and of his powerful enemy the King of France, were apt to produce greater effects for the common weal; adding that they also greatly regretted the determination which they understood had been made by the Queen Maria to accompany his Majesty, as although a certain class, goaded by poverty, had occasionally complained of the numerous pecuniary contributions imposed by her, yet did all in general now much more lament her leaving them, as in these present times her prudence and ability qualified her most admirably for their government and defence. The spokesman of the assembly, without unbosoming himself openly, evinced by several phrases, their dissatisfaction that the Duke of Savoy, or the King's Spanish ministers, should rule these Provinces, saying that the Emperor being most just and conscientious with regard to them, had to beware of the infringement of their privileges, purporting that they were to governed by no one but his Imperial Majesty or the King, or by one of their own nation.

On that day (the 21st) nothing further was determined, his Majesty not having positively settled to make this cession, but decided on it next day, or the day after, hoping that from what was said by Count Horne, the Frieslanders would no longer make a difficulty about coming hither; but in addition to the fact of their not having come, other difficulties have arisen, as the authorities in Flanders (*quelli di Fiandra*), laying claim to a dignity superior to that of the other States, have already shown that they will not consent to the ceremony taking place in Brabant, strongly urging the Emperor, moreover, to restore the privileges of which he deprived them at the time of the rebellion of Ghent; but the authorities of Brabant do not admit the superiority, because their province is a duchy. The authorities of Louvain, on the other hand, saying that should the Emperor determine to make the cession here in Brabant, and not in Flanders, he ought to make it at Louvain, as capital of this Province, and they also require the King to go there previously, to swear a second time to observe many of their privileges, which since the first oath, have been infringed. To remove these difficulties, his Majesty delays making the cession from day to day, although for the last four days an apartment in the town hall has been furnished with tapestries and a canopy.

The Emperor has sent M. d'Andelot a second time to Zealand, to hasten the fitting out of the fleet for his passage, or to make such arrangements as he shall think best for his Majesty's accommodation, and that of the Queens, who, to facilitate the Emperor's departure, he having as yet been unable to make the requisite

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pecuniary supply, offered, especially Queen Maria, to pawn their jewels, in order to raise the money, the King promising and making assignments on merchants in the Netherlands for their redemption at the appointed time. It is said that Queen Maria evinces a yet greater wish for immediate departure, the more she hears of the sorrow expressed by the Flemings at having these Provinces governed by the Spaniards or others; it is also said very publicly that all this is a feint on her part (as practised heretofore with other ministers), as she by no means desires the Emperor's departure, both for her own personal interests, and on account of the present war.

It is heard that the French with 400 cavalry and infantry endeavouring to victual Marienburg, the Imperial Colonel Lazzaro Svendi, with two companies of German foot and a few horse, barred their passage; so there was a skirmish, a few being killed on both sides, and the colonel was wounded; the Spaniards say that the provisions did not get in the second time.

A courier departs to-day for Italy, with orders for the Duke of Alva, for the satisfaction of the Duke of Florence, to appoint a governor in Sienna, and a general of the Tuscan forces, and moreover to assure him that, according to his demand, the Emperor will send him money and every supply in his power for the defence of Sienna and recovery of the places subject heretofore to that city.

The Spaniards say publicly that they believe the Pope has a secret league or understanding with the King of France, and that he has told Duke Ottavio [Farnese] that by comporting himself well in this war he will act to the satisfaction of his Holiness.

The Nuncio's assertions that the Pope is excellently disposed towards the Emperor and the King of England are not admitted.

Brussels, 23rd October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

253. Act of Abdication of the Netherlands in favour of Philip II. by the Emperor Charles V.

Charles, Emperor. We make known to all men present and to come, that considering that for the future, by reason of the age and indisposition of our person, and from other inconveniences, we shall be unable to make journies, and endure fatigue and toil, as we have done hitherto, for the preservation and defence of our patrimonial states, and other provinces in these parts (*et altri paesi per di quà*), and of our good vassals dwelling therein; and seeing that Philip, King of England and of Naples, our very dear son, is of a competent age to have the government and entire administration of them; in which provinces he was heretofore received, allegiance being sworn to him as our only son and heir for future prince and lord, with the obligation to perform the ritual solemnities as required; and the realm of England being very near these provinces, the said Lord King our son will thus have better convenience for governing and ruling that kingdom and the provinces in these parts (*et li paesi di quà*), and for defending them against the undertakings and assaults of the enemy; we have determined and resolved to visit our kingdoms of Spain, and to withdraw

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thither to live the rest of our age (*età*) in repose and tranquillity, and therefore cede the said provinces to him absolutely; and wishing to carry into effect this our resolve, we, for these causes and other just and reasonable considerations, which in our presence, and that of our son the King of England, we caused to be proclaimed [by Philibert of Brussels?] in full and solemn assembly of the Lords States of the said provinces, relying entirely that they will be content, and receive (as they have already done) the aforesaid King in our name, have spontaneously, and of our frank and free will, authority, and absolute power, ceded, released, and transferred, as moreover by this present act we cede, release, and transfer to our said son, King of England, of Naples, &c., all and whatever there may be of these provinces hereabouts (*di questi paesi di quà*), and the duchies, marquisates, principalities, counties, baronies, lordships, villages (*ville*), castles, and the fortresses therein, together with all the royalties (*realtà*), &c. &c.

Given in our villa of Brussels (*Data nella nostra villa de Brusselles*),* on the 25th of October 1555.

Document transmitted to the Venetian Senate in a despatch from Federico Badoer, dated 26th October 1555.

[*Not printed by Robertson.*]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

254. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday afternoon the Emperor made the cession of these States to his son, the lords and delegates having requested his Majesty no longer to detain them, by reason of the great scarcity which they experience here, their daily expenditure exceeding 1,200 florins; his Majesty has declared that he made the renunciation in this town solely for his personal convenience, assuring all parties that the King will confirm the old privileges, re-establishing such as are desired, and conceding fresh ones.

His Majesty came from the Villa (*Casino*) through the park on a mule, in a long black gown, wearing the Order of the Fleece, the King of England having gone shortly before him. The Emperor seated himself in the town hall (*nella sala maggiore*), having on his right hand the King, who wore the same Order, and on his left Queen Maria, near whom he made the Duke of Savoy sit, and a little beyond, the Knights of the Fleece, and the lords and delegates of the provinces; all except the Duke remaining with their heads uncovered. A member of the Council of Brussels† then narrated the causes which had induced his Majesty to make this cession, namely, his age and illness; and after other words in honour of their Majesties, he made use of such notarial terms as are ordinarily adopted in public acts of renunciation and cession. The Emperor,

* The site of the Emperor's *villa* "in the park of Brussels, near the Louvain gate, is "now covered by the national or legislative palace of Belgium." (*See* Stirling's Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V., p. 13, ed. London, 1853.)

† Philibert de Bruxelles, President of the Council of Flanders. (*See* Robertson and Mignet.)

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apologising for weak memory, with a memorandum in his hand, narrated chronologically what he had done in the course of his life, the toil, inconvenience, and peril undergone by him by sea and land, and his undertakings for the defence of these provinces now joined with England, and of his other realms, for the preservation of the Empire, and for the increase (*accrescimento*) of the religion, saying of each circumstance, "*By the grace of God thus did I,*" "*Thus did it befall me;*" adding that, no longer feeling himself so vigorous as required for the government of so many States, and knowing his most serene son to be equal to the weight of these burdens, he chose to give the remainder of his own life to the service of God, and cede these States, as he had done, and would do others, to the said King, proceeding to this particular, that it might even come to pass for him to return to see them again, the renunciation affording him the comfort of knowing that to them he left a prince worthy of the faith and devotion they had always shown their sovereign, and to the Prince subjects as meritorious as himself (*et al Principe, sudditi corrispondenti al suo merito*). Then turning to his son, he exhorted him to assume this charge willingly for his, the Emperor's, relief; reminding him, above all things, to have regard for the [Roman Catholic] religion and equity.

At these last words the King rose up, cap in hand, and then kneeling before the Emperor, said that he should have wished his Majesty during all the rest of his life to have governed both these and all his other realms, but that as such was his Majesty's firm resolve, he swore to execute the commands given him to the utmost of his power; whereupon the Emperor embraced him, with many tears on both sides, and which were shed by the Queen [Maria], and many others also.

One of the delegates replied in the name of all [his colleagues] that they would have wished his [Imperial] Majesty to grant them the grace, they having lived in safety under the government of the greatest prince who had appeared in Christendom for many centuries, to continue ruling them during the whole course of his life; but as it was the will of God to subject them to this change, they were bound to return Him thanks for having given him such a successor as his royal Majesty [of England], expatiating greatly in praise of him, and coming to the conclusion that they would all obey and serve him willingly; beseeching the Emperor not to leave these provinces, both for his own service and their advantage. The King, after saying a few words in French, as the others had done, desired the Bishop of Arras to reply, in accordance with his goodwill; so his right reverend lordship said that his Majesty accepted the burden willingly, with the hope that the Lord God would favour him, giving assurance that he would have such care of them as became their fidelity and good opinion of him; he, on the other hand, relying on their loving obedience to his ministers and commands; the bishop expressing himself in such a way as to imply that the King desired some pecuniary subsidy for the war. Queen Maria then rose and took leave to speak, saying that if during her regency

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she had in any way failed, it proceeded from the defects of her sex, and not wilfully; and she then gave account, in her usual very masculine manner, of her administration during so many years; whereupon the same delegate, in the name of all the States, greatly commended and thanked her; and finally, in a few words, the Emperor dismissed the assembly. Then, this morning, the States of Flanders and Brabant met in a hall in the Queen's palace to swear fealty to the King; which ceremony will also be performed to-morrow by the other States; and the King has confirmed all the government officials in their posts for one year.

The Archduke Ferdinand, having been met by the Duke of Savoy and the Duke de Medina Celi (who went in the Emperor's name), arrived this evening with sixty posters, and dismounted at the Emperor's villa (*casino*), being accompanied thither by the King, who went as far as the gate of the town to meet him. The Archduke arrived at Louvain, four leagues hence, on the day before yesterday, remaining there until to-day, *some say by the advice of Don Martin de Guzman,* that he might not be present at the renunciation of these States by reason of the claims, which, as mentioned by me heretofore,† his father, the King of the Romans, has, or pretends he has* (ò vole haver), *upon them; and some because it was written to him that he would do well not to come until after the cession had been made.*‡

Orders have been given by the Emperor for the harbingers to leave for Zealand for the purpose of assigning all the cabins in the ships, and making out the roll of the persons who are to follow his Majesty to Spain. Queen Maria had purposed embarking 200 horses, but the Emperor reduced them to 80, doing the like by the menial servants, not allowing any gentleman to have more than one, and he charged Secretary Erasso to supply the victuallers with money, so that they have already provided every requisite. Don Luis de Avila, general of the light horse and the Emperor's chamberlain, intending to follow him, has resigned his command. The Imperial servants have been to the King, letting him know that, owing to the Emperor's departure, they have been summoned to appear in court, and have been hard pressed to pay their debts for provisions and apparel, and that therefore his Majesty should see to the payment of their arrears; saying also that they were very anxiously expecting the publication about donatives, hoping by these two means to pay their debts. Thereupon the King held a consultation with the "Alcaldi" [burgomasters?] about what they could do; the result being that if the parties summoned will pay forthwith one third of what they owe, and give security

* Lord High Chamberlain to Ferdinand, King of the Romans.

† See entry No. 248, dated 16th October.

‡ In M. Mignet's "Charles Quint, son abdication, son séjour, et sa mort au monastère de Yuste," p. 92 (ed. Paris, 1857), it is stated that at the ceremony of the cession of the Netherlands to King Philip, the Emperor was "accompagné de ses sœurs les Reines de "Hongrie et de France, de ses neveux l'Archiduc Ferdinand d'Autriche et le Duc de Savoie," &c. &c. We now learn from Badoer, not only that the Archduke was not present, but that his absence was probably caused by circumstances to which the narrators of the last three years of the Emperor's life have made no allusion.

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through merchants of Antwerp for acquittance of the residue within two years, the burgomasters hope to quiet the creditors, whose consent the King desired them to test.*

Brussels, 26th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 26. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

255. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA [Girolamo Muzzarelli], Nuncio at Brussels.

Thanks him for the news from Rome; although he has always asserted it positively in London, yet as he had not received letters thence since a long while, many persons did not give it such credit as he could have desired. Conza can have no idea how many false rumours were circulated there by the malignants to alienate men's minds from their devotion to the Pope, availing themselves of the letters of certain Englishmen abroad in Italy on account of their bad religion (*loro mala religione*), and who, moreover, for the sake of creating tumult, sent hither lately the bull against the alienation of the church property. When Pole speaks to the Queen about this matter, she sighs and laments, saying she has not the heart to tell him all that is reported to her, but cannot conceal from him her apprehension that, should any discord arise between these great chiefs,† the disturbance in England would be so great as to render a remedy difficult. Pole has done, and does, all he can to dispel suspicion from everybody, but having no letters, his words have not such weight with the opponents (*gli altri*) as would be necessary, though the Queen seems to trust his affirmation that he knows the Pope's mind and nature better than other men; but what Conza now writes about the words of the Count of Montorio‡ was of great avail to confirm what Pole has always said, and the Queen remained much comforted.

Concerning Pole's writing, addressed to that wretched man (*a quel misero*),§ he should be glad to hear Conza's opinion of it more in detail, in order to determine whether he should allow it to circulate; although he does not know, Conza being such a friend to him as he is, whether we ought not to be more suspicious of his opinion than of that of an enemy. The Chancellor [Gardiner], whose life is now despaired of‖ (to the great sorrow of all good men), had given orders for it to be translated into English and published. Pole did not send it to the person to whom it is addressed until three days ago,¶ and perhaps had he known previously what Father Sotto wrote to Monsignor Priuli, despairing

* Onde di sua Maestà Regia li fu imposto a far prova della volontà loro.

† "Questi gran Capi,"—the Pope and the Emperor.

‡ Giovanni Caraffa, nephew of Paul IV., and brother of Cardinal Carlo Caraffa.

§ Pole's letter to Cranmer, written I suppose originally in Latin, and printed in French in the "*Collectio Epistolarum*," &c. (Vol. 5, pp. 238–274.)

‖ Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, died on the 13th November 1555.

¶ It has been supposed (*see* Froude, vol. 6, p. 413, ed. 1860), that "when this letter "reached the Archbishop, it was *very near* the period of his sentence," which was not published (at Rome) until the 14th December 1555. The trial of Cranmer commenced at Oxford on the 7th September 1555. (*See* Froude, as above, p. 372.)

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of the salvation of that unfortunate man (*di quel misero*), he would not have sent it, following the rule of Hippocrates, *qui desperatis morbis vetat adhiberi medicinam*, although this rule is not applicable to diseases of the soul, of whose health one can never utterly despair whilst life remains, as sometimes the grace of God comes with the departing spirit; and thus, if not before, does Pole pray that of His infinite mercy it may come to pass with regard to that individual (*che intervenga a costui*).

London, 26th October 1555.

Postscript.—By letters from Rome dated the 12th ulto. has received news in conformity with what Conza wrote. Praises the goodness of God for removing suspicion from all quarters, and suppressing the causes of many and great disturbances.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26?
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in Vol. 5, pp. 45–48, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c. without any date.

256. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

In his last letter abstained from writing what would have been communicated to him by the Lords of the Council, but by his Majesty's letter of the 15th October Pole perceives that from him likewise the King wishes to receive news of the most Serene Queen, and of current events in England. He read to her the paragraph in the King's letter to the effect that although he was glad to hear that she attended to the public business recommended to her by him on his departure, yet would this pain him were it in any way to injure her health, desiring Pole so to act in this matter that she may use moderation, lest too much labour affect that which is of greater consequence to him than anything else. When the passage about this care and anxiety for her health was read it touched her greatly, as did the thought of absence from that consort of whose great love she received this assurance; but she resigned herself to the will of God, whose providence directs everything. Her Majesty again attended Parliament,* when the King's letter was read and listened to universally with due reverence, the Queen by no means dissembling either her affection for her beloved consort or her respect for his royal person. The proceedings of those two days, and the Chancellor's statement, will be known to the King both by the Latin translation of his speech and by the acts sent to his Majesty; but Pole will not omit to say that in these two days, when speaking in Parliament, the Chancellor seemed to him not only to surpass himself in ability, eloquence, discretion, and piety, in which he is wont to excel all men, but to surpass his own physical strength, for whilst serving his sovereigns and his country by word of mouth, he so subdued his malady as to show no sign of corporal infirmity. Should the Lower House, when it comes to vote, show the same mind in matters relating to religion, and the honour and advantage of the Crown, as evinced by their Speaker, there is no doubt that

* The session of Parliament here alluded to was opened on the 21st October by the Queen in person, who made her second appearance there two days later to confirm the appointment of the Speaker. (*See* Michiel, despatches dated 21st and 27th October.) It is therefore probable that Cardinal Pole wrote this letter to King Philip from London.

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everything will be settled satisfactorily. Nothing could be more holy than what he said about religion, nothing more honourable than his mention of their Majesties; alluring everybody to further their interests, as common to those of the republic, and of this fair hope is given by what has been done during the last few days. Concerning the church property placed by their Majesties at the disposal (*arbitrio permissis*) of the Pope and his Legate, which has been adjudged by them to the clergy, experienced English jurists are of opinion that the renunciation must be confirmed by Act of Parliament, but who will follow the prudent course recommended by the King; nor does Pole doubt of the general assent, as those who were at first of a contrary opinion do not now consider the difficulty of the case to be so great, as it seems to consist in distributing the property in such a way as not to impose on those who are bound to exonerate their Majesties any heavier burden than the church property can bear, and that the persons in receipt of pensions may not be defrauded when they become due (*tota vero difficultas versari videtur in partiendis ac distribuendis bonis illis, ut qui exonerare majestates vestras debent, iis non plus oneris imponatur, quam facultates ecclesiarum sustinere possint, nec quibus pensiones debentur, ii, cum tempus solvendi aderit, fraudentur*). Will act diligently in this matter with the clergy and all the bishops, including those of the diocese of York actually in London, he and they being agreed, not only to act about the distribution of the church property, but to regulate all matters relating to the reform of the Anglican Church, and to convoke a synod for that purpose.

Has received letters dated Oxford from the Reverend Father Soto, giving him account of what he did with those two heretics* after their condemnation, one of whom would not even speak with him; to the other he spoke, but it profited nothing, it being easily intelligible that no one can save those whom God has rejected; and thus, according to report, the sentence was executed, the people looking on not unwillingly, as it was known that nothing had been neglected with regard to their salvation (*itaque de illis supplicium est sumtum, non illibenter spectante populo, cum cognitum fuisset, nihil esse prætermissum, quod ad eorum salutem pertineret*). The late Archbishop of Canterbury, whose sentence of condemnation is now expected from Rome, does not show himself so obstinate, and desires a conference with Pole (*atque se cupere mecum loqui*). If he can be brought to repent, the Church will derive no little profit from the salvation of a single soul; but they are awaiting what may be expected from the next letters of Father Soto, and will certify it to his Majesty. Soto also writes that theology (*doctrinam scholasticam*) is greatly neglected at Oxford, no works of that sort being expounded publicly, so he thinks it would be useful to appoint an interpreter of the doctrines of Pietro Lombardo† (*magistri senten-*

* For the burning of Ridley and Latimer at Oxford on the 16th October 1555, *see* Froude, vol. 6, p. 385, ed. London, 1860.

† Pietro Lombardo, born near Novara in the 12th century, was so able a theologian that his work entitled "*Sententiæ*" obtained for him the title of "*Magister Sententiarum.*"

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tiarum explicationem), an office which, if approved of, he would undertake. Having communicated this to the Chancellor, Pole, according to his opinion, treated with the Queen (*cum Serenissimâ Reginâ egi*) for the Hebrew lectureship, which has few or no pupils, to be exchanged for this one, in such wise as to cause no detriment to the former professor.

Complains of difficulties about safe-conducts demanded by him from the French government.

Is expecting the return from Rome of his envoy with the declaratory brief concerning the bull about the alienation of the church property.

London, 26th October 1555?

[*Latin*, 84 *lines*.]

Oct. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

257. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England has had letters *from the Queen his consort informing him that many violent opposition members having been returned to Parliament, she had sought his Majesty's coming* (procurato che venisse), *and hesitated to propose his coronation, adding that if unable to carry this act, so beneficial for the common weal, she thought of effecting it on the dissolution of Parliament with a number of peers* (signori) *and other personages of the kingdom. To this the King replied that as she necessarily desires this result* (questo effetto) *more than he does, he therefore requests her not to propose anything in this matter unless she is sure of its success, adding that* being now absolute sovereign of the Netherlands, which are thus joined with England, he will attend to their defence against the common enemy the King of France, earnestly praying her to make every demonstration to convince King Henry that unless he come to fair terms of peace, now that on no plausible pretence can they be refused by him, as the Emperor is departing for Spain, she will make the kingdom take up arms for the protection of the two countries.

The wife of that Sir Peter Carew, who heretofore, on the eve of his Majesty's departure from Spain for England, was accused of inciting the English to cut the Spaniards to pieces, has come hither from England to the King. She requests his Majesty to grant her husband permission to return home, after having suffered so much and for so long a while, and has presented a letter from her husband, who is at Antwerp, setting forth his desire to obtain his Majesty's favour and that of the Queen, which favour he had not lost from any fault of his own, saying that should he know his case to be hopeless, he will be compelled to enter the service of the King of France, which he has never chosen to do hitherto. The King, taking into consideration the quality of the individual, who is the chief gentleman of Cornwall, and a person of very great ability and authority, and the services which might be expected from him in England, has requested the Queen as a favour to forgive him his transgression.

After the ceremony of the cession, the Prince of Orange departed

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postwise on his return to the army, with the intention of preventing the French from victualling Marienburg. The Spaniards in Hesdin, in reply to a letter written by King Philip to their commander, exhorting him to persuade them to bear patiently a few days delay in the payment of their arrears, as he promised them that the Emperor or himself would soon make provision, *have answered his Majesty, contrary to the will of their commander, in the following precise words:—That necessity induces them no longer to place trust either in him or in his father, and that unless duly and speedily satisfied they shall be compelled to do a strange deed, to the detriment of their Majesties, their language being that of men no less desperate than haughty. This event has caused much comment.*

Brussels, 27th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

258. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Two days after her first appearance there the Queen attended Parliament a second time, as usual, to confirm the procurator or Speaker, Cardinal Pole being present on this occasion likewise. After this ceremony, which, according to custom, consisted solely in a panegyric on the King and Queen, and apologies for his own insufficiency on the part of the Speaker, together with a reply in the Queen's name from the Chancellor, Secretary Sir William Petre read first an original Latin letter written by the King, and then its English translation, addressed to all the estates and orders of Parliament, thereby excusing himself and lamenting his absence, which did not proceed from election or will, but from force and necessity, owing to the great need which affairs in Flanders had of his presence, nor could he at present abandon them without seriously injuring himself; saying that although the Queen, who represented their joint authority, would act in his stead, yet he would have greatly wished to be himself likewise on the spot, but if personally at a distance, he was more than present with them mentally, retaining the same thought, wheresoever he might be, for the interests of England, for their protection and maintenance, as for his own, being equally attached to both, and holding them in the like account; and exhorting Parliament, with regard to such proposals as might be made them by her Majesty for the service and advantage of the realm, to evince such goodwill and disposition towards her as they always had done, as he on his part likewise would be grateful to them; expressing himself very graciously in these and other similar terms, which were listened to very attentively, as if the King himself had been present, and hailed with applause and the usual acclamations. After the reading of the letter the Queen also said a few words, and caused many more to be uttered by the Lord Chancellor, about the King's wish, assuring them it was much stronger than had been expressed, either by word or letter, or in any other way. After this acknowledgment his lordship spoke at great length to remove any doubt or suspicion of its being intended

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to make any motion about church revenues or property, certain persons having disseminated a malicious report to the effect that her Majesty insisted on everybody surrendering them, as she herself had done, saying that this had never been thought of, and assuring the House that no one would ever receive injury or molestation on this account; and he ordered the reading of the bull made by the most illustrious Legate about the cession of the said revenues, and the confirmation of the bull lately received from Rome, so that everybody may know the fact, and become aware of the amount whereby the Crown revenues are diminished.

On the morrow both Houses determined to appoint a committee of 20 members to devise the present supply, and state their opinion in Parliament for its approval or rejection, on which they are now intent; nor as yet does it appear that they will discuss any other matter, it having been told me that on the first day he spoke the Lord Chancellor gave it publicly to be understood that they must not be disturbed by false reports, as nothing would be said about the King's authority, or of his Majesty personally, thus alluding to the coronation without specifying it distinctly. In the meanwhile the English of inferior grade, even the members of the Lower House, do not *fail giving it freely to be understood with regard to this pecuniary supply, that there will be much to do before obtaining it, alleging that there is no lack of means for relieving the Queen without burdening the people, who, by reason of their poverty, and owing to the present year's grievous scarcity, can bear no farther taxation; the measure of wheat which usually costs little more than two* "grossi," *being now worth ten; nor is there any to be had in consequence of the very heavy rains this summer, which have not only hindered the harvest, but rotted and putrified in the ground the grain, barley, and other sorts of corn sown for the composition of liquors* (per far bevanda); *this same moisture having caused great part of the sheep to sicken and die; the hay destined for the nourishment of the other animals being swamped on the field, and on these things the livelihood of the people and their resources entirely depend.** *The means of which the Queen (as alleged by them) might avail herself would be that without any scruple her Majesty, as she ought to do, should compel all the debtors of the Crown to pay up their arrears, there not being one, or but few, of the great personages here who do not owe, some five, some six, and some eight thousand pounds sterling and upwards, as under favour of her Majesty, and through their influence with the ministers, they are not only conceded time, but may be said to have full dispensation from payment. In addition to this, the opponents say that so long as her Majesty is in debt she should retain, and not despoil herself as she has done of the sort of ecclesiastical revenue lately alienated by her from the Crown, this cession causing infinite loss to her Majesty, and but little profit to others, as these revenues are derived from potent communities* (luochi) *and personages who are scarcely, or not at all, incon-*

* "The XXIX day of September [1555] was the grettest rayn and fludes that ever was sene in England," &c. &c. (*See* Machyn's Diary, pp. 94, 95.)

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venienced by the payment, which consists in great part of tenths and first fruits of vacant benefices (chiese), *which are here called "premices." So, for the sake of the poor, they seem bent on violent opposition, which, according to their custom, will end in words rather than in deeds, as neither in this nor any other government measure do they dare contradict the Queen* (non havendo ardire di partirsi da quello, che così in questa, come nelle altre proposte, vogli la Serenissima Regina).

I was told lately on good authority that Cardinal Pole, having thought fit to speak to the Queen about the peace with regard to the performance of a certain office, her Majesty answered him very sharply (molto bruscamente), *that it was no longer to be spoken of nor thought about, evincing great resentment and ill-will towards the French, so much so that the general opinion of the Court was, and still is, that ere long she will declare herself against them; but I have since heard, from the same informant, that her Majesty is now much soothed, her first violent ebullition being perhaps allayed. The Lieutenant d'Amont, late ambassador here, has written from Brussels that he had already spoken to the Emperor and the King about the information received here by the Abbot of San Saluto, and shewn to their Majesties, moreover, the Cardinal of Lorraine's letters to the Abbot. The latter was much commended for the manner in which he had transferred the negotiation to the Bishop of Arras, taking it out of the hands of the English mediators* (era il ditto abate molto laudato del modo con il qual si era mosso in voltar la pratica con il vescovo di Arras levandola dalli mediatori Inglesi). *As both the letters and the information* (le informationi) *pleased the Emperor and the King, he* [*the Lieutenant d'Amont*], *should both sides persevere in the negotiation, did not despair of its being brought to a good end. When Cardinal Pole, therefore, returned to the Queen to give account of this, as also of some other detail of greater importance (with which my friend was unable to acquaint me), her Majesty answered him that he was not to fail pursuing the negotiation, but to let it appear that he did everything of his own accord, without using her authority or mentioning her. It is also told me that the Abbot will probably go very soon to France, seeing that the hope of the negotiation increases rather than diminishes. Thus the business is not only not abandoned as desperate, but is more brisk than ever, and continues advancing.*

The departure hence of Don Diego de Azevedo with the rest of the household and the King's guards is delayed until pecuniary supply be provided for payment of the debts of the household here, and to give them the means for commencing their journey, although the Queen has done her utmost to prevent the move. Her Majesty, who at present avails herself in all matters of the counsel and assistance of Cardinal Pole, causes him to remonstrate both with the Emperor and the King, reminding them that it would be much better for the advantage of matters, both in England and Flanders, that the Emperor should postpone his voyage, at least until they were somewhat better established; laying before them not only the negotiation for peace still on foot, but proving

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by many arguments how important it is, both for his reputation and on other accounts, that at the present time the Emperor should be in person in these parts, although he be unable to occupy himself either with politics or anything else (con tutto chè non potesse adoperarsi ne travagliarsi, in negotio, nè in cosa alcuna). *This office Cardinal Pole performed willingly, he being exclusively intent on the common weal, in conformity with the wish of the most Serene Queen. Although, therefore, notwithstanding King Philip's having written by his last letters to the Cardinal that the Emperor's departure on the 20th of next month was irrevocable* (risolutissima), *it having been thus decided on account of his health, a motive, the King writes, to which he was compelled to yield, as being so just and necessary he dared not oppose it; yet nevertheless a courier was sent off to his Majesty yesterday, with a despatch as aforesaid, acquainting him likewise with all that had taken place hitherto in Parliament.*

Don Diego de Azevedo, by order of the King, informed the Lord Chamberlain, and all the other gentlemen of his Majesty's household, that they were at liberty, if they wished it, to follow him to Flanders for the continuance of their functions; their stipend being paid them in like manner should they choose to remain [in England]; so, as they are to receive their salaries, it is supposed that few or none will stir, they being too comfortable here in their own homes.

Three Suffolk men have been sent prisoners to the Tower, one of them (as reported) being a gentleman, who, on the day the Queen opened Parliament in state, allowed it to escape him, when talking with the other two, his companions, that to free the kingdom from oppression it would be well to kill the Queen. It is said besides, that thus had he intended to do, having already prepared weapons for the purpose; and on unbosoming himself to the two, they prevented its execution, and then laid the accusation, the truth or falsity of which will be proved by his sentence.

London, 27th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 27.
Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

259. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My duty most humbly remembered to your good Lordship. I have received your letter of the 12th of this instant by Mr. Francis Brown, being greatly to my comfort to understand of your Lordship's so well doing there, and specially of that you are upon so good a waiter,* thereby so well used to your own great quietness and comfort there, and to the great rejoicing of your friends here, that understand the same; and I take it for an assured argument and good token of the continuance of your well doing, that even as your first good fortune, which, as it flashed out suddenly, so it

* Allusion to Courtenay's attendance on the Emperor.

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suddenly vanished,* even so, in this second fortune of yours, which hath proceeded sensibly by so many sundry several degrees, I do firmly believe it to be an assured true token of the perfect good continuance thereof; even according to the wise man's saying, which is, that the substance acquired, little and little, hath the better foundation, and is of longer continuance; and, therefore, I reckon your Lordship hath much cause to take great comfort in this your fortune, which hath gone forward from your second delivery by so many small degrees, and shall in the end grow to that perfection which your Lordship or your friends can reasonably desire, whereof I am in such good and perfect hope, that I put no doubt of your very well doing. I took occasion to declare to her Highness, upon the receipt of your letters, of your good waiting, and of your well using, whereof I perceived her Majesty was very glad to understand, inasmuch as when my Lady, your mother, took her leave of her Highness, which was the first parliament-day [21st October ?], her Highness asked when she had any letters from you. She answered that not this five or six weeks; whereat the Queen marvelled, for there had come letters to others since, which I think she meant to me; and her Majesty declared how your Lordship used yourself there as serviceably and well as could be wished, and how gentylly and well the King's Majesty, and the rest of the noblemen, did use you there, and concluded that she doubted not but you should do the King and her good service, and that his Majesty would be as much your good and gracious lord as yourself or your friends could desire. Your mother rejoiced not a little to see her Majesty's good affection to you, and she, with the rest of your friends, were very glad to hear that your Lordship is so well satisfied with the using of you there. I conversed with my Lady your mother, in whom I found much motherly affection and great care . . . . you in thinking your Lordship shall not find all things true which you fear and suspect in her towards you. I wish earnestly your Lordship should with your often letters entertain her as is convenient, she being your mother, whereby no occasion be ministered by you of loss or decay of goodwill between you.

My Lord Chancellor, your most assured friend, doth amend; nevertheless, being the dead time of the year, he cannot increase in his amendment as he should, if it were in the spring time; but all the physicians here be in a marvellous good hope of his recovery, and the Queen's Majesty used him as well in her coming through her house at Westminster where he lieth, whilst her Majesty lieth at St. James's, and also openly in the Parliament Chamber, in the face of the whole world there, and by her often sending unto him, with such exceeding great gentylnes, as her Majesty hath made a very good demonstration thereby, what a special love and an exceeding great care she hath of him, for it is impossible to show more gentylnes, kindness, care, and love than her Majesty hath showed divers ways unto him. My Lord Chancellor never did

* Query, his expected marriage to Queen Mary. *See* Cardinal Pole's letter to him, dated Trent, 2nd October 1553.

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better in his life than he did these two days at the Parliament, and Mr. Pollard, who is Speaker, and was presented on Wednesday, and was very well liked by the Queen and the rest there, made an excellent oration; Mr. D. Curlyng hath done the same in Latin very well, which is sent to the King's Majesty from her Highness; the same to Mr. Mason, where you can see it, nevertheless I am promised a copy thereof, which by the p^t^ [post?] I will send your Lordship.

The Nether House of themselves devised that it should be committed to 20 of them to devise upon some subsidy for the Queen's relief, which they did, and agreed that the self-same subsidy should be granted unto her which she had when she came to her estate, and two fifteenths when that is done; which yesterday, being declared by the committees to the House, was . . . . of more, but appointed learned men of them to devise that for the giving of it to be made in all points in the self-same wise that the same was, she forgave.* This day it will be brought into the House, and I think we shall have a short Parliament. Heydon is not yet come, and until his coming we cannot do nothing (*sic*) in your matters. It was very happy that Hammerston hath made so good a survey, for we should else hardly have gotten any money in time to save your Lordship. Mr. Peter [Sir William Petre, Secretary of State] . . . . to move your Lordship again (*agoyng*) for exchange or buying of your manor of Whitefords, which lieth so entangled with the manor of Shute, which was the Duke of Suffolk's, as it was the occasion of continual dissension between the . . . . servants thereof. He saith that divers of your tenements of the manor of Whitford lieth on the further side of the manor of Shute, and divers of the manor of Shute lieth in the farther side of the manor of Whitford. The same is, as Mr. Peter doth esteem it, about a XL marks by the year. Thinks Courtenay had better sell this estate to Mr. Peter, considering who he is, and that he may do him some pleasure. Knows that Courtenay thinks Englefeld is of opinion it were preferable to sell in any other place than in Devonshire. Says Shute is a very stately thing, and Mr. Peter hath divers great and profitable things there. I think he can dispend in that shire about four or five hundred pounds a year, and saith that he beginneth to have a . . . . [mind?] to leave Essex and settle in that shire. If your Lordship mind to sell it, you may refer it to those you have put in commission. Gives advice about the measures to be adopted for the sale of some of Courtenay's lands.

I send for your Lordship herein enclosed a copy of a letter which the King sent to my Lord Chancellor by the last post, whereby your Lordship may perceive his Majesty's good affection towards him.

Westminster, 27th October.

[*Addressed:*] "To the Right Honorable my very good lord, Earl of Devonshire."

* I infer the writer's meaning to have been that the Queen forbad any mention of the fifteenth, as she remitted it entirely. (*See* despatch of Giovanni Michiel, date London, 4 November.)

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[*Endorsed :*] "Mr. Basset, 26th October 1555. England to Brussels."

[*Holograph original. N.B. The date in Basset's hand in the letter is 27th October, but so written that Courtenay's secretary read it xxvj., as he has endorsed it.*]

Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

260. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Was told by the King that the Constable had intercepted a number of letters of the Imperialists, including some from the King of England, one of which was written by him to his sister the Regent in Spain [Joanna of Austria], praying her earnestly to pay certain moneys taken by him on his word at interest, saying they were the first for which he had ever pledged his word; and there was also another letter which he had addressed to Don Juan Vasquez, president of the treasury board in Spain; also that the affairs of Spain were directed by three councillors, one for the government of the realm, one for military affairs, and the third for pecuniary supply. His Majesty then continued that this Don Juan Vasquez seemed to be the very intimate servant of King Philip, who wrote to him in cipher that he was about to cross from England to Brussels to kiss the Emperor's hand and speak to him about a secret which as yet he [King Philip] had communicated to no one in the world, and that if he could dispose his Imperial Majesty to give him absolutely the charge of all his states, he, the Emperor, would doubtless cross to Spain, which was also confirmed by letters from Don Ruy Gomez; so his most Christian Majesty, although as yet without news from Brussels of any farther decision on the subject, cannot but suppose that thus will it be, though not until March, the bad weather having already commenced (*cominciando già li tempi a pesare*); in addition to which, the King had been informed that at a monastery near Madrid (*presso a Madril* (sic)), called San Giusto,* much preparation (*molte provisioni*) had been made by order of his Imperial Majesty, he having announced his intention of going into retirement there. In conclusion, the King said that from all quarters he heard the Emperor was in great need of money, which additionally impeded all his affairs, and went on to say, "The Pope did manfully to imprison those noblemen" (*che Sua Santità si havea portato virilmente a reddur quelli signori in priggione*), and that the two galleys of Sta. Fiora had already been sent back to Civita Vecchia, contrary to the commands of the Duke of Alva, which arrived too late; and that the Pope knew that the Duke blamed the Imperial ambassador at Rome for not departing thence when he saw that the Pope delayed giving him audience, saying that such is the way to do with priests, which exasperated the Pope more than anything.

La Ferté Milon, 28th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* Yuste. *See* Stirling's Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V.

1555.
Oct. 30.
Deliberazioni Senato(Secreta), vol. lxix. p. 155.

261. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

Should the Emperor's will be to go without ambassadors to Spain, he is to remain with the King of England, the Signory wishing always to have an ambassador with his Royal Majesty. [*Should the King cross over to England, after accompanying him to Calais, or to the site of his embarkation, he, in the act of taking leave, is to say that as his Majesty is going where he will find the Signory's ambassador Michiel, that personage will supply his place until the arrival of a fresh ambassador, who will be appointed to reside with his Majesty.] After performance of this office he is to return home. Should he be unable to obtain audience of the Emperor, is to perform the office aforesaid with the King and the Bishop of Arras, so that his Imperial Majesty may have knowledge of it.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

262. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the arrival of the Archduke Ferdinand, King Philip and the Queens have shown him many marks of love and honour, they going together to several banquets and hunting parties, and remaining in each other's company; on which occasions his Majesty, making signs to the Duke of Savoy to go to the left, took the Archduke between them, and this he did moreover on meeting him outside the town, when the Archduke having alighted from his horse, the King did the like. The Spaniards say he came for the purpose of paying his respects to the Emperor, the Archduke's attendants declaring that his Imperial Majesty sent for him with the hope of making him marry either the sister of the Queen of England or the daughter of Queen Eleanor, who is in Portugal, and has a dower of 50,000 crowns revenue; and some say that the wife destined for him is the Emperor's daughter, widow of the Infant of Portugal, with the county of Burgundy for her dowry. Has heard that, besides the reasons aforesaid, he came for the purpose of confuting the current belief in there being a misunderstanding between the Emperor and the King of the Romans, as also between the sons of their Majesties, owing to several causes, and especially on account of certain letters full of angry expressions which passed between them a year ago.† According to report, the Archduke also confirmed to the Emperor what Don Martin de Guzman came to notify to him with regard to the will and opinion of the King of the Romans about renouncing the administration of the Empire on the Emperor's departure for Spain, *concerning which matter it is said that the Electors, and especially the Palatine, have let his Majesty know that should he make a written act of renunciation of the Empire in any form whatever, it would not be approved by them, as according to*

* In cipher between the brackets.

† Et spetialmente per alcune lettere che già fu un anno passarono tra loro piene di alteratione.

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the laws it is not feasible; and the Elector of Cologne, who is now expected here, is supposed to be coming chiefly on this account, although his professed object is to pay his respects to the Emperor before he embarks. So the chief ministers both of the Emperor and of King Philip declare that his Imperial Majesty will not make any renunciation of the Empire, but that in a few days he will cede the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily to his son, to which effect Don Juan Manrique and Don Diego de Azevedo will be sent to Spain in the name of both their Majesties, and that he will remain with the sole dignity of Emperor.

The lords and delegates of these provinces departed after taking the oaths of allegiance to the King, having previously apologized for their inability at present to give him any sum of money, both because the people are exhausted by reason of the long and uninterrupted war, as also because, according to report, he having perhaps ere long to make a progress through the provinces, they will then, as customary, be compelled to make him a present; and according to general report, before departing they gave him to understand that whilst he is present here they do not intend to be ruled by any one else, *alluding thus to the Duke of Savoy, some of whose attendants attribute this to the King's disinclination* (non ardente volontà) *to give him the absolute command, which greatly dispirits his Excellency, although* his Majesty has given him the grade of his lieutenant and captain general, and entrusts much of the business of the provinces to him, but he has not the supreme authority exercised by Queen Maria.

Brussels, 31st October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 31. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File No. 20.

263. The Doge and College to Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Are writing to our ambassador with the Emperor that should his Majesty go to Spain, and not choose the ambassadors to follow him, he (the ambassador) is to remain with the King of England, the Signory wishing always to have an ambassador with the King's Majesty, with whom he is also to perform a similar office on the Emperor's departure (*et che 'l faccia ancora questo officio con Lei partito che sarà l'Imperator*); [and that when the King goes over to England, after accompanying him to Calais, or wherever he may embark, in the act of taking leave of him, is to say that as his Majesty is going to England, where you are, your presence will supply his place until the arrival of a new ambassador, who will reside with his Royal Majesty],* and that after the performance of this office he do return home; and in case the ambassador accompany the Emperor to Spain, on taking leave of the King of England he is to tell him that the Signory, wishing always to have an ambassador with his Majesty, will elect one.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* In cipher between the brackets.

1555.
Oct. 31.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File No. 20.

264. Doge Lorenzo Priuli to the King of England.

Have commissioned our beloved noble Federigo Badoer, ambassador with the Emperor, to remain with your Majesty, by reason of our desire and will always to have an ambassador of ours with your Royal Highness.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1.
Original Letter Book, penes me, p. 43.

265. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday there arrived in this city Don Garcilasso de la Vega, who is accredited to his Holiness by the Emperor and the King of England. He was met by the Emperor's ambassador [Marquis Sarria] and the Count of Montorio, and is lodged in the ambassador's house. The time being so short I have merely ascertained that after the usual assurances of goodwill on the part of the Emperor and the King of England towards his Holiness, he will demand the reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, and the release from their securities (*liberatione delle piezarie*)* of the Cardinal "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal Sta. Fiora], Camillo Colonna, and other Imperialists, and that he, Garcilasso, has no commission from his princes about universal peace.

Rome, 1st November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2.
Original Letter Book, penes me, p. 45.

266. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day, at audience, the Pope said to me, "Don Garcilasso de la Vega, who was expected, arrived here two days ago, he has not yet been to us, on account of these holydays, and of the ceremonies performed, but from what we have been able to elicit, we understand that his commissions are very bland (*molto dolci*); when he shall have spoken with us I will communicate to whole to you, as also other important matters."

Rome, 2nd November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

267. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queens will depart in two days for a place two leagues hence, for the purpose, it is said, of completing the arrangements for the voyage.

The Queen of England has sent a courier to her consort to let him know, in addition to the proceedings of Parliament, her wish for positive information about the time of the Emperor's departure, so that she may regulate herself about the armed ships and merchantmen, reminding him that the cost required for keeping them ready is great.

* The security given by the Cardinal Camerlengo amounted to 300,000 crowns. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 142.)

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Her Majesty's ambassador has had orders to take leave of the Emperor and return to her, but the King does not choose him to be the first of the ambassadors to quit his Imperial Majesty, telling him that in a few days there will be more certainty about the time of the Emperor's departure.

Brussels, 3rd November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

268. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

An Imperial trumpet presented himself lately on the French frontiers with letters from the Bishop of Arras to the Constable, informing his Excellency in very bland language, on behalf of the most Serene King of England, that he wished an exchange of prisoners on one side and the other, and that whilst it was being treated (*et che fra questo mezzo*) they should receive better treatment than they have received hitherto, as would be commenced forthwith by his Majesty with regard to those in his custody. This letter is written in such amicable terms as would not have been so easily used had the business been treated in the Emperor's name, and King Philip has been answered that it was always the wish of his most Christian Majesty to do the like with regard both to good treatment and release of the said prisoners, so that if the King of England wished to come to any decision, he might give orders to Mons. De Lambert, who has the superintendence of his affairs on the frontiers, as his most Christian Majesty would also give like orders on his part to the Admiral, the governor of Picardy.

Has been told that lest this treaty for release of prisoners be interpreted by the Pope as the commencement of some agreement between their Majesties, the King of France sent his Holiness the Secretary Bouchiet (*sic*) to assure the Pope that even in the event of an adjustment, the King will persevere in his wish to ally himself with his Holiness.

La Ferté Milon, 3rd November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

269. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The 20 members forming the committee of Parliament determined that to relieve the Queen in her present need a subsidy should be imposed on the whole kingdom, thereby taxing everybody indifferently, as usual, without excepting or having regard either for the poor or for the needy (*impotente*), nor for any person whatever. The motion having been made in the Commons, where subsidies and taxes are first treated before passing to the Lords, there was a sharp debate between the members of the House and the committee (*li deputati*) about the tax on the poor, called in English "the fifteenth," which the committee supported in order to augment the Queen's supply, although this item does not amount to more than six or eight thousand pounds sterling; the other members opposing the grant for the sake of those who are poor and needy. This

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having been represented to her Majesty, she, with her usual compassion and love for her subjects, sent a message to the House by Secretary Petre forbidding any mention of "the fifteenth," as she remitted it entirely, thus putting an end to the debate, to the satisfaction of everybody, so that the motion passed without the slightest opposition (*senza alcuna pur minima contradittione*); but as some other unimportant difficulties (although they were subsequently adjusted) remained for settlement, they prevented it from being yet made in the Lords, where it will nevertheless doubtless be confirmed forthwith by a yet greater majority (*con maggior larghezza*). Does not write particulars about the quantity and quality of this subsidy, as report varies about it, but awaits the passing of the bill in both Houses. As yet, with regard to time, all persons are agreed that it will be levied in two years, one moiety annually, the first to commence on the 1st March 1556; and as to the amount, the highest valuation is one million of gold, to which 400,000 ducats are added by those who exaggerate most. After the despatch of this matter and of some other private bills (*cose particolari*), the Parliament will, it is thought, be dissolved in 10 days or a fortnight, the Queen, owing to the absence of her consort, being most impatient to return and enjoy her monastery at Greenwich, in which she delights marvellously (*nel qual mirabilmente si compiace*), and has great and especial care of it, having already added to the 25 Franciscan Observantine Friars, amongst whom is Friar Francis Petro, an aged man of most holy life, heretofore Bishop elect of Salisbury, and her Majesty's confessor before his exile, and one of the six individuals lately nominated by the Pope for the cardinalate.

To-day all the bishops of the kingdom assembled together, with the Legate, to hold a synod about the affairs of the religion, and of the clergy, relating to their office and ministry; the bishops in these matters proceeding much to Cardinal Pole's satisfaction, they being all persons who by him and everybody are considered very exemplary . . . . . with regard to doctrine; and by residing ordinarily in their dioceses, and by preaching, lecturing, and teaching, they do not fail in any way using all due diligence.

They likewise, apart from the laity, will, as is their custom, offer the Queen a portion of their revenues, which will be so much the greater as great is the advantage now derived by them from the cession in their favour of the church property hitherto held by her Majesty.

Cardinal Pole was to have sent lately for the French ambassador to perform a certain office with him in continuation of the negotiations for the peace, but subsequently, from what I hear, he determined to write himself to the King and the Constable. His lordship is much distressed by the movements in Italy, being apprehensive, as he told me lately, lest the Pope form some resolve which may impede and utterly destroy the negotiation. Here, in the meanwhile, amongst both lords and commons, the belief and suspicion that at any rate next spring, that is to say, after having levied the subsidy, England will come to a rupture with France, gain ground daily, and I hear that some of these chief noblemen are

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already beginning warily (destramente) *to provide themselves with tents, pavilions, and similar military requisites.*

The remonstrance of the Portuguese ambassador about the Guinea voyages (*la navigation di Ghinea*) was referred by the Queen and her Council to King Philip, from whom the ambassador hopes to obtain a speedy and satisfactory reply.

The vessels which departed hence some months ago,* bound for Cathayo, either from inability or lack of daring, not having got beyond Muscovy and Russia, whither the others went in like manner last year, have returned safe, bringing with them the two vessels of the first voyage, having found them on the Muscovite coast, with the men on board all frozen; and the mariners now returned from the second voyage narrate strange things about the mode in which they were frozen, having found some of them seated in the act of writing, pen still in hand, and the paper before them; others at table, platter in hand and spoon in mouth; others opening a locker, and others in various postures, like statues, as if they had been adjusted and placed in those attitudes. They say that some dogs on board the ships displayed the same phenomena. They found the effects and merchandise all intact in the hands of the natives, and brought them back hither with the vessels.

London, 4th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 7.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

270. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

The Pope will have already heard about the convocation of the prelates of England, both to arrange the realization (*effettuatione*) of the church property renounced (*lasciati*) by the Crown, and also to make provision for the other necessities and abuses which have arisen amongst the clergy, owing to the corruption and misgovernment of the past times; and now with the opportunity afforded by the present Parliament, without putting the prelates to inconvenience or expense, by God's grace, Pole has commenced this convocation. On Monday the 4th a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was sung in the chapel of the royal palace, after which the ceremonies usual at the commencement of synods were performed, and they then assembled in a hall of the said palace [of Whitehall]; it being thus ordered both because Pole is lodged there near the Queen, and that the Bishop of Winchester, who is very grievously indisposed and lodges in it, may attend the meeting. On that day they merely stated, first to the bishops, and then to other members of the clergy, who had also been admitted, the causes of this convocation, which Pole did himself, and found them all quite ready to do whatever was for the service of God and spiritual benefit of England. All the bishops will have to give particular account of the necessities of their dioceses, and how they are to be provided for. The first thing to be done will be the assignment (*la assignatione*) to each of the churches of the aforesaid property, of which they were

* See before, entry No. 89, date May 21, 1555.

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deprived, with orders to provide for the service of the people, and that they may be benefited thereby (*con ordine di proveder che il popolo sia servito et ne senti frutto*). An order will also be given to make a fresh taxation of the churches (*di tassar di novo le chiese*) according to the commission received by Pole in a brief from his Holiness, to whom from time to time account will be given of everything treated and established.

On the 26th ulto. Pole wrote to Caraffa about the opening of Parliament,* in which the Chancellor proposed a subsidy for the need of their Majesties; and very readily, and without opposition from any one (*et senza contradittione di alcuno*),† it was agreed to give a million of gold, to be levied in two years from the laity, and in four from the clergy, who contribute willingly to this subsidy, which free contribution is a very ancient custom in England. Believes that Parliament will close before Christmas, and should anything worthy of the Pope's notice be transacted in it, Pole will give his Holiness notice accordingly.

London, 7th November 1555.

Autograph postscript:—By the last letters from Rome the Queen and all persons of worth (*tutti i buoni*) in England have been very much comforted to hear of the good course taken by affairs at Rome, the Pope having rendered his excellent and pacific disposition manifest to everybody, of which Pole has always given ample testimony in all quarters. Prays God to grant his Holiness all quiet, so that by means of his supreme authority he may commodiously attend with paternal care and love to the pacification of these sovereigns, and accomplish all his other holy projects to the honour and service of his Divine Majesty and of his Church.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. Original Letter Book, penes me.

271. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Late in the day of the 3rd Don Garcilasso had audience of the Pope. At this first interview he represented the goodwill of the Emperor and the King of England towards the See Apostolic, owing to which his Holiness ought not to have any doubt of their disposition and piety, and took time to return to the Pope and state the rest of his commission; whereupon, suspecting he might have something disagreeable to say, after dismissing him with many assurances of regard for the Emperor and his son, his Holiness sent for the Count of Montorio and told him that from the words of Don Garcilasso he inferred that he was commissioned to treat some other matter which might be troublesome, as he chose to defer its negotiation. To this the Count replied that his Holiness might listen tranquilly to anything Garcilasso said, as he could answer him in any form he pleased.

Rome, 8th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* No letter of this date exists in the Marcian MS., but on the 26th September Pole wrote to Caraffa and alluded to the proposed meeting of Parliament at the end of October.

† This is at variance with the Commons Journals quoted by Froude, vol. 6, pp. 396–7.

1555. Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

272. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King answered the English Ambassador that the Queen might dispense with the cost of the ships destined for the Emperor's convoy to Spain until the 10th of December, but so that on receiving a fortnight's notice they might be ready; and although the Emperor has never chosen to tell the precise period of his departure, yet both the Emperor and the King, and many of their attendants, declare not only that it will take place, but even sooner than believed; and the Queens have already arranged the greater part of their affairs, in order to go and reside two miles hence for their better adjustment; the Flemish and German ladies of both their Majesties being expected to take leave to-morrow to go to their homes. When the King goes to Antwerp on the 15th of next month to hold a chapter of the "Fleece," and make new knights, as written by me to your Serenity, the Emperor will depart for Ghent, there to remain until the fleet be ready and the wind fair, as it usually is towards Christmas. The persons who assert that the Emperor will carry his resolve into effect, say he will do so, both for the reasons assigned by him when he made the renunciation of these provinces, and also to facilitate the peace between the Kings of England and France, which is now supposed to be negotiated more earnestly than ever through the medium of the Queen of England.

Brussels, 10th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

273. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night the Emperor had such an increase of gout (*è si multiplicata all' Imperatore la gotta*) that to-day he was unable to feed himself with his own hands, and to-day keeps his bed from fever. Monsr. de Ri (*sic*), late chief butler (*somiglier del corpo*), who, owing to offence given him, took leave to go and reside at his home in Burgundy, came hither to kiss the Emperor's hand before his departure for Spain. After performance of this office he went away in a flood of tears, which, *he told certain gentlemen then present, were caused by his seeing the affairs of the Emperor and the King in such a state, owing to bad ministers; foretelling that unless their Majesties changed the administration, both public business and the war would proceed yet worse than they have done for the last four years; saying that heretofore everything was admirably regulated at the Imperial Court, whilst in France the government acted imprudently, so that on this account fortune had deserted the Emperor.*

The Elector of Cologne, who had announced his intention of remaining here for some days, departed this morning on hearing that by reason of the Emperor's paroxysm of gout he could not negotiate with his Majesty. During his short stay here he dined constantly first with the King, then with the Queen [Maria], and at other times with the Bishop of Arras; leaving a belief that by means of the Emperor and King Philip he wishes to be promoted to the Cardinalate.

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Lord Courtenay requested (*pregò*) Don Ruy Gomez to do him the favour to intercede for him with the King for permission to go to England for four days to mortgage and sell some of his estates, by reason of the necessary expenses which it behoved him incur on this his journey into Italy. He was unable to obtain the permission, but letters of recommendation were given him to several potentates (*principi*), and to his Majesty's ministers in that province; so he departed with only four horses, saying that from Louvain he should accompany the Elector as far as Cologne, and then continue his journey with speed, intending to go first to Mantua, then to Ferrara, and perhaps to Milan, before going to Venice.

Brussels, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

274. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The bill for the subsidy was passed in the Upper House likewise without any opposition. As written by me it will be paid in two years, one moiety annually, everybody being bound to disburse eight English pence per pound sterling annually, according to the estimate of their [real] property or fixed income; or fourpence [per pound on incomes derived] from industry; the former paying more than the latter, save in the case of aliens, who are taxed tenpence per pound sterling, they being treated much more favourably than of yore, as they used to pay twice as much as the English; an exception being made moreover in favour of the bishops and prelates, who have spontaneously offered twelvepence in the pound, continuing to pay the same for four years, to complete the amount of four entire tenths, one per annum. By this tax the Queen in two years is expected to get no less than 250,000*l.*, though others rate it at 300,000*l.*

Subsequently Parliament occupied itself with certain private matters (*cose particolari*) relating to [internal ?] peace and morality (*buon vivere*), a bill having been passed for the removal from London of the public "*ridotti*" for card-playing and dicing, and for dancing likewise, to prevent all opportunity for holding assemblies and meetings of persons for similar practices (*simili essercitii*), which are considered the most vicious and seditious of any; a remedy which, although decreed by Parliament heretofore, was nevertheless very speedily modified and discontinued (*et messo in abuso*). It is now proposed to bring in a bill prohibiting the exportation of beer or grain, or of anything connected with victuals, annulling all the licenses conceded hitherto, these exportations causing a greater scarcity of everything than that which is felt generally, owing to the failure of this year's crops. They are also now meditating the recall of all absentees, both those who have had leave to remain abroad, and those who have not, it being proposed to reinstate those whose property has been confiscated if they return within a given time, and to threaten the others with confiscation. It is understood that wherever they go, whether to Italy, Germany, or France, they licentiously disseminate many

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things against the English government and the present religion, causing many persons who are at once induced to follow them (*che senza altro si inducono a seguitarli*) to emigrate hence, the scandal thus gaining ground with the others By making them come home and reside here, the government expects thus to keep them in order more easily, as at least from fear of the proposed penalties they will not dare to spread such reports as they do at present, nor to live here, with regard to the religion, so licentiously as they do abroad (*nè di viver nella religione, con la licentia che fuor di qua vivono*). This matter being important, it is not known whether it will pass easily; so whether on this account or on others, they no longer talk as before of an immediate dissolution, but expect Parliament to continue sitting for three weeks or perhaps more* . . . . . and assembly of the bishops, with the most illustrious Legate, they in great part reformed . . . . clergy, and the household expenditure of said bishops, reducing the profuse hospitality exercised by them to moderation, limiting the excessive number of their personal attendants, and prohibiting them from being any longer clad as hitherto like soldiers (they being for the most part armed with swords and bucklers, according to the custom of the country), but to wear a soberer suit, and one more adapted to civilians (*ma con habito più grave, et più civile*).

The bishops are endeavouring to effect the repeal of an old Act of Parliament still in force, whereby, besides the first fruits of the vacant benefices, they were compelled to pay the Crown annually, in ordinary (*ordinariamente*), one tenth; for although it has now been remitted them by the Queen, together with the first fruits, nevertheless they are not sure of this cession save during her Majesty's life, as unless the Act be entirely cancelled they might be burdened with the same tax by her successors. The most illustrious Legate is also endeavouring to get this cession confirmed by Parliament, not daring to dispose of these revenues without its approval; and as there is great difference of opinion there, and much contradiction, the matter therefore is not yet despatched.

Two days ago Francesco Piamontese, the courier sent lately by the Queen and Cardinal to Brussels, returned thence with letters from the King confirming his speedy arrival, by ordering his attendants here not to depart; so by Christmas, or shortly afterwards, it is hoped his Majesty will be here, it being considered certain that the Emperor's departure will be delayed until February, or beyond; the comfort derived from which news by the Queen will be easily imagined. Next day this courier was sent express to Spain under pretence of crossing to Portugal about the affair of the Guinea navigation, but in reality to convey a despatch from the King and the Emperor, that it may go more speedily and securely than if sent by sea or by Portuguese couriers, who are detained in France, their bags being regardlessly searched, the packets opened, and the letters, if necessary, being seized; whereas the present bearer, being a "queen's messenger," known everywhere, will be treated with

* Manuscript corroded.

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greater respect. Here they say he has been despatched chiefly in order to urge the coming of Don Diego de Bazan, appointed in the stead of his father Don Alvarez, lately deceased, with the greatest possible number of ships, and, above all, with money, so that on his return he, with the rest of the fleet brought lately by Don Luis de Caravajal, and which is now in Flanders, may be able to take the Emperor to Spain without requiring convoy from any other fleet, or incurring expense for the passage out and home of Flemish and English vessels. Long ere now the Doge will have heard from Brussels whether the courier was despatched for this or some other cause.

The Lord Chancellor is now in such a state that his life can last but for hours. The loss is most important at the present moment, it being freely admitted that for the service of a sovereign, whether as chancellor or for the performance of any other office, no better or more sufficient minister could be desired, as neither here nor elsewhere could his like have been found (*si chè nè quì nè altrove, se ne sarebbe trovato un simile*). The Doge also has cause to regret this death, by reason of the great affection and respect he always showed him, both by word and deed, as often, both in public and private, when associating very familiarly with the Chancellor or transacting business, he (Michiel) has had proof of his great and especial deference for his Serenity and his affairs. By the counsel and suggestion of the Queen, this poor personage (*il povero Signore*) made his will appointing her Majesty his heir, knowing that all this his great fortune proceeded from her, thus doing as became a good and grateful servant; nor did he omit greatly recommending his attendants to her Majesty, specifying the remuneration (*mercede*) which, with her approval and consent, he prays and wishes her Majesty to bestow on them. According to report, in addition to some 40,000 or 50,000 ducats worth of property, including household furniture and silver vessels, he leaves 20,000 pounds sterling, the surplus or savings derived from the revenues of his see during his five years imprisonment, when they were levied by the Crown, restitution being made him by the Queen when he was restored to his see, she then authorizing him to reimburse himself through the revenues derived by the Crown from the first fruits. The bishopric of Winchester, yielding upwards of 16,000 ducats annually, will fall vacant by his death.

London, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11.

275. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. 5, pp. 53, 54, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c., dated as above.

What always occurs to him in the first place when writing to the King, a fact well known to his Majesty, is the Queen's earnest desire for his presence, which is the more just, she herself being conscious that, as clearly manifest, she thus does not so much indulge her love for her consort as that for the kingdom common to both of them, and which, being her first love, and thinking chiefly of its welfare and safety, induced her to select such and so great a prince, able and willing to uphold religion and justice, then persecuted in the realm. By the goodness of God and the prudence and piety of their Majesties this result has been obtained, but not to such an extent as not now to have much greater need of the King's personal assistance

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for the confirmation of what was so piously and equitably effected than at the commencement, when piety and justice were recalled. This the Queen experienced heretofore whilst the King was in England, and most especially now when he is absent, but resigns herself to the will of Providence, being sure that her wishes are shared by the King, and that he will come as soon as the interests of his other subjects (*istorum populorum*) and of the Christian commonwealth enable him to do so. In the meanwhile she may be consoled by frequent letters from his Majesty, assuring her of his well-being and giving his opinion of whatever relates to himself, to her, or to the statements made in the letters of the councillors.

The councillors will tell him what has been done in Parliament, but it is the office of Pole to acquaint the King with the acts of the synod. In these times it behoved him as Legate to convoke it, not merely for the reform of the Anglican Church, but also for the approval of the decrees of the bishops and clergy made by them without Pole in their Convocation (*in ipsorum conventu*), which they are accustomed to hold whenever Parliament meets. But as the Archbishop Primate [Cranmer], who has the right to call Convocation, is detained in custody, and as the Chapter, he being as yet neither condemned nor deprived, nor the see vacant, cannot assume the office, it was necessary for the ratification of their decrees, one of which is the pecuniary subsidy for the Crown, that the Legate should assemble this synod, in which he first of all endeavoured to make both sides comprehend the pious counsel of their Majesties in restoring the church property, and the mode to be employed in distributing it, to which effect a writing was then drawn up, comprising both the restitution of the property and the assent of the bishops and clergy, together with the mode whereby they undertook to relieve the Crown from the burden of the pensions derived from that property. This writing was read to the Queen on the day before yesterday, and then, by her command, communicated to the privy councillors (*selectis consiliariis*), each of whom, when they went to Pole, promised him his own individual vote, and also to exert themselves with the others (*atque etiam cum reliquis acturos*) for the approval of the measure with less difficulty (*minore negotio*) both by the Lords and Commons; and, as agreed together, the first reading took place in the Upper House on the day of this letter's date.

It is needless for him to expatiate on the detriment with which England is threatened by the death of the Chancellor, whose life is now despaired of by all the physicians. The King has had experience of his ability in that office, and Pole will merely say that as they already feel as if, together with him, religion and justice were expiring, so from the time when his malady commenced both one and the other in England degenerated greatly, and again did impiety and injustice begin to gain strength, a clear proof of how useful his assistance was to confirm these virtues and repress their antagonistic vices, and how necessary it is to supply his place by one not merely a Catholic by name,—or, if practically such, let him show himself less harsh and stern (*minus tamen acrem se ac strenuum præbat*),—but no less firm and ardent than his predecessor, using such moderation as becomes a pious and prudent man. It is unnecessary for Pole to say more on this subject, as the King of his

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piety and prudence will of himself be sufficiently aware how important it is for the kingdom to have an able Chancellor. If it be necessary to pray God to enlighten their Majesties' minds when selecting ministers of religion and justice, and that they should take the advice of pious and prudent men, above all is this requisite respecting a magistracy on whose administration the entire welfare of the Crown and kingdom depends (*ex quo pendet quicquid majestates vestras aut ipsum Regnum in eo administrando juvare queat*). Apologizes for being thus diffuse on this subject, by reason of his love for their Majesties and his country.

Rejoices to hear from Rome that the disputes between the Pope and his Majesty were on the point of adjustment, as his Holiness was appeased immediately on hearing what the King had written to his ambassador. Hopes that God will grant his Majesty the title of "*Rex Pacificus*," of which this is the evident commencement.

London, 11th November 1555.

[*Latin*, 77 *lines.*]

Nov. 11. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

276. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

By the copy of Pole's letter to Cardinal Caraffa, and by what he writes besides to Messer Gio. Francesco, Morone will perceive that the Convocation of the prelates in England has commenced. Expects it to last until Lent, and thinks it would be well for the Pope to write him a brief commending and approving its being held, exhorting him and the prelates to attend with all care to remedy the abuses introduced of late, offering his authority for whatever is required for the honour of God and spiritual benefit of England, and showing that he is well informed about the piety which the King and Queen continue to exhibit on every occasion. Nor in truth could her Majesty evince more zeal than she does with regard to this synod, wishing Pole to proceed as far as possible in restoring the ecclesiastical discipline, which suffered greatly during the late evil times, as Morone might tell his Holiness. They are expecting the Bishop of St. Asaph, and hope he will arrive before Parliament ends, to remove any suspicion that the past alienation of church property is revoked, though they trust that ere then they shall also receive the bull of declaration* to that effect, which has been frequently demanded.

By the last letters from Rome Pole has heard that affairs there have taken that good turn which he always anticipated in proof of his Holiness' good and pacific disposition, the Queen and all good people in England hearing it with an amount of satisfaction equal to their great fear of the contrary, which caused the malignants to show their ill-will.

The country is about to incur a great loss through the death of the Lord Chancellor Bishop of Winchester, who *laborat in extremis*, to the very great sorrow of the Queen and of all good men, and in truth a powerful instrument for the safety and welfare of this realm is lost.

London, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* La bolla dichiaratione (sic) in tal proposito.

1555.
Nov. 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

277. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago a Spanish gentleman was arrested at this court on his way from that of the Emperor, although, by means of Cardinal Pole, he had obtained a safe-conduct for his passage into Spain, and they intercepted the letters which he was conveying to the Regent [Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal] from the King of England, together with all the particulars of the cession of the realms made by the Emperor to his Majesty; and, having seized the letters, they dismissed him.

La Ferté Milon, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12.*
Original Letter Book, penes me.

278. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to-day to visit Don Garcilasso de la Vega, who, after doing me every possible honour, and expatiating on the goodwill of the Emperor and the King of England towards your Serenity, who he said had reciprocated it with such constancy that their Majesties were bound to have perpetual recollection of it, proceeded to say:—"Lord Ambassador, having been commissioned thus to do, and in accordance with our friendship at the court, I choose to give you account of my whole business. I am come hither to show the Pope that he has no cause nor any reason to doubt the affection of the Emperor, who has done so many things, as known to you, for the service of God, and always had such respect for the religion as would perhaps not have been evinced by any other prince had he received such offers as were made to his Imperial Majesty. Still less should his Holiness be apprehensive of the Emperor's son, that prince being eminently pious and religious. Therefore these military preparations announced to him by letter could not be otherwise than distressing, as there was no just cause for them, and the Emperor and the King of England his lords would always be the obedient sons of his Holiness, should he choose to receive them as such." To this assurance the Pope answered him that he had never entertained any suspicion of such honourable and christian-minded princes as his were, and that he prayed God to make the earth open and swallow him up if what he said to him was not the truth.† Don Garcilasso added, "Lord Ambassador, the words are fair; as yet we have not cause to give them much credit. We know who counsels and who moves him, and for what purpose. It will suffice for my princes to have given testimony of their piety, and of their wish for peace and quiet, and then let happen whatever the Lord pleases. This good old man (*questo buon vecchio*) does not perceive that whilst he was having the drums beat and mustering troops, the Emperor's forces in the kingdom of Naples and in Tuscany might have employed something more than words. It is enough for the Emperor to be justified in the face of the whole world, if compelled, and most especially before the most illustrious Signory. I also

* The Letter Book in the Archives, dates this despatch 9th November.

† E che pregava Iddio che facesse aprir la terra et ingiottirlo, se quanto li dicea non era vero.

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spoke with the Pope about another affair, which I would not discuss on this occasion,* but shall go back to him in four or five days, and the matter is that the Emperor and the King of England wish a certain respect to be had for their vassals and servants, not that his Imperial Majesty do thus command and ordain, but as pledge and security for that goodwill which the Pope says he bears us, and in order not to dishearten and degrade his Majesty's good vassals and servants, it being seen that they are deprived of their territory and persecuted even contrary to right. I shall also execute this other part of my commission which remains for performance in very gentle language, though the Pope must not suppose, because I addressed him the first time as I did, and the second as I shall do, that the Emperor is afraid of him, but merely that it is fitting thus to speak with a Pope and with an old man."

I thanked him for what he had been pleased to communicate to me, confirming the constancy of your Serenity's good friendship with the Emperor and his son, and offered myself to him during his stay at this court, both in the Signory's name and my own.

Rome, 12th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13. Original Letter Book, penes me, pp. 56, 58.

279. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to-day, by invitation, to dine with Cardinal Caraffa, and after the repast, having withdrawn into his chamber, he said to me, "You must have seen here the Emperor's ambassador. He came to offer me a pension of 4,000 ducats in Spain, and when I asked him for what purpose he made me this offer, he said that I might serve the Emperor and the King of England in their need. I answered somewhat angrily, Serve! I serve! The whole of Spain, and the whole of England, are not sufficient to purchase my freedom. Should the Emperor and the King demand things that are fitting, I, even were I a Frenchman, and not an Italian, as I am, will favour them, although I have small cause to do so, for after having served the Emperor during 17 years, and well, as seen by his own testimony in writing, I have been ill recompensed; nor do I desire either gifts or favours from them, but solely justice with regard to my priory in the kingdom of Naples; and should it be said that the vassal is never entitled to complain of the prince, I tell you that whenever the prince does not act by his vassal as becoming, the vassal may resent it, and it is fitting he should do so, and of this I would that the most illustrious Signory of Venice were the judge." He said the Emperor's ambassador replied that this was not the moment for entering on these disputes, and that he wished to hear from him what answer he was to give his princes about the proposed pension of 4,000 crowns, and the Cardinal rejoined, "You have heard me; I think I speak plain. What would you have me do with a pension in Spain, of which you could deprive me at your pleasure and convenience. Is not this

* Ho anco parlato co 'l Papa d'un altro negozio del qual non volsi in questo proposito parlare.

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evident in the case of Cardinal Farnese at Monreale" (in Sicily) "and in many others." Cardinal Caraffa also added, "The aforesaid ambassador, moreover, gave me at length to understand that if I would aid the reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, and the nullification of the securities given by the other Imperialists, they would endeavour to find 4,000 crowns pension for me in Italy;" to which he replied that least of all could they expect this from him, as least of all could he hope to obtain it from the Pope, saying to him, "Were the Pope to ask the Emperor to restore the estate of the Prince of Salerno,* and of many other outlaws, what would the Emperor do, what advice would you give him?" The ambassador replied that the cases were very different, and having repeated that he knew not what decision to write to his princes, Cardinal Caraffa dismissed him, saying that he had spoken plainly.

Whilst the Cardinal was transacting this business in the antechamber with the Imperial ambassador, I was in the chamber with the French ambassador, who, like myself, had been invited to dine with his right reverend Lordship, and the audience being ended he then joined us.

Rome, 13th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Letter Book, penes me, p. 59.

280. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday Don Garcilasso de Vega came to return my visit, and said that although he was to go on the morrow to state the rest of his commission to the Pope, he nevertheless did not expect to obtain any of his demands, as, to say the truth, he by many signs comprehended that his Holiness and those about him (*li suoi*) are not well disposed towards the Emperor and his servants, and that the poor old man (*il povero vechio*) made a mistake in holding so powerful a prince, and one so able to injure him greatly, in such small account; again repeating what I wrote in my former letters, that this office performed by the Emperor and the King of England, through his medium, would serve the world as testimony of what might ensue. Then yesterday, as told me by the Pope, he left with him a writing (as by the enclosed copy),† expressing himself very mildly, to which things his Holiness took time to reply, having listened to them without any anger.

The Lady Giovanna [of Aragon] is, I understand, in despair about her affairs, though she has attempted all ways and means, both through the Pope's sister and all the other ladies his nieces and female kinsfolk.

Rome, 16th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Letter Book, penes me, 2nd letter.

281. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, after the first mutual compliments, the Pope said to me, "The statement made to us lately by Garcilasso (but with all gentleness), and which he left in writing, consists in a demand for the

* Ferdinando Sanseverino. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.) † Not found.

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reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, and many other things. Although we took time to reply to it, we tell you that it does not seem to us opportune to do anything farther at present, and shall determine to refuse him, we also speaking blandly, for our wish would indeed be that these two princes, so powerful and such bitter enemies, should lay aside their animosities, which we shall endeavour to bring about; and we will proclaim to the world the one whom we shall know to be the defaulter in this matter."

Rome, 16th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

282. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

None of the proposals made in Parliament have as yet been decided, either with regard to compelling the absentees to return, or about confirming the cession made by the Queen of the church property, both matters (it is said) having been sharply debated, many members opposing the recall of the absentees, as no one ought to be deprived of his liberty to go and reside wherever he pleased and to his advantage, with the Queen's permission, which it was by no means fair to impede or cancel in the case of those who had already obtained it; but that if in future her Majesty chose not to concede it, in order to prevent any one from living abroad, it was in her power to do so. Touching the second proposal, about the cession, by no means would they give their assent to the alienation of anything, however insignificant, which had once been incorporated with and annexed to the Crown, to the prejudice of its heirs, for the advantage solely of an alien and foreigner (meaning the Pope), although the Queen, they say, during her lifetime may do what she pleases with the revenues of the realm, dispensing them in her own fashion; but as to alienating them with their consent, they would not open this door, lest in the event of the succession of a new king they incur disgrace, and perhaps punishment. In this they still persist, these contradictions proceeding, as told me by a person well acquainted with the present tactics (questi procieden), *from the fact that the present House of Commons, whether by accident or from design, a thing not seen for many years in any Parliament, is quite full of gentry and nobility (for the most part suspected in the matter of religion), and therefore more daring and licentious than former houses, which consisted of burgesses and plebeians, by nature timid and respectful, who easily inclined towards the will of the sovereign, and yielded to it, whereas in the present house the opportunity for audacious licentiousness increases daily, by so much the more as the death of the Chancellor, who was feared and extraordinarily respected by every one, may be said to guarantee the opposition, they being of opinion that there is no longer anybody who knows how to display his authority in such a way as exercised by Gardiner, who from his especial knowledge, not only of public business, but also of all persons of any account in England, knew very well the moment and the means for humouring and caressing, as also, on the other hand, for threatening and punishing, so as to curb and repress audacity and ill-will, whenever necessary. In order, therefore, for the future to prevent admission into the Lower House of so many noblemen,*

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from whom this licentiousness is supposed to proceed, a proposal was made lately, with a view to restoring things to the ancient method and usage, that henceforth none should be elected members of Parliament save such as were natives of and actually resident in the counties, boroughs, and towns represented by them, which proposal seems to have been rejected, because to return entirely to the ancient order of things, the opposition insisted on simultaneously prohibiting the election of any stipendiary, pensioner, or official, or of any person deriving profit in any other way from the King and the royal Council, and being dependent on them; so that all the members elected, being devoid of any apprehension for their private interests, may more freely advocate those of the community. This last clause being thus excluded, owing to the detriment which would accrue to the Crown, through the ineligibility of its ministers and dependents, the other likewise was (I understand) thrown out, so that at present there is much procrastination and indecision about matters which are more private than public, the government either not choosing or not daring to make more important motions, from fear of their being negatived by these members of the Lower House.

Has nothing to tell the Doge about parliamentary affairs, and can only add that the Queen finds the loss of the Chancellor more and more serious and important daily, not knowing on what person, well suited to the post, she can bestow it, the candidates limiting themselves to three individuals, either the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], or the Archbishop of York [Nicholas Heath], or Dr. Wotton [Nicholas Wotton], now ambassador in France, each of whom present imperfections and impediments (tutti con delle imperfetione e delli rispetti). *Should it not be possible to have a layman, the greater part of the nobility, for the welfare of the kingdom, would wish the post to be conferred on Cardinal Pole; and many are of opinion that it may at length rest with his right reverend Lordship, at the earnest request of their Majesties, owing to the need they have for placing in that office, above all, a person of integrity and sincere; and although it is a most laborious one, and therefore shunned by the Cardinal, nevertheless, with the assistance of numerous officials, as is understood to have been the case hitherto with former chancellors, he would be much relieved, and as the Court of Chancery is said to have much need of adjustment, by no one could it be better regulated than by his right reverend Lordship.*

The Lord Chancellor died on the morning of the 12th, of dropsy, as seen by outward and inward signs, the body having been opened to clear up the suspicion of those who attributed his death to poison. He made a very Christian and Catholic end, and, according to his orders, the body was carried to the church of his bishopric, to which he bequeathed the third part of his silver vessels, besides 4,000 ducats ready money, which he had given to the see shortly before his death. The first report about his bequest of the 20,000*l.* sterling was not verified, he, on the contrary, having distributed all his property amongst his servants, evincing great love and gratitude towards them.

London, 18th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555.
Nov. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

283. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The attendants of King Philip say he will return to England shortly after the Emperor's departure, and that he has desired the steward (*maggiordomo*), whom he left with the Queen, not any longer to allow any of the rest of his retinue to come hither ; but I have nevertheless heard that this report is circulated rather for the purpose of gratifying the earnest desire of his consort, who by frequent letters earnestly prays and exhorts his Majesty, for the common weal, to go thither, *than because the King, or any of his chief ministers, desire it ; they remembering how much mental anxiety and danger of their lives were incurred by them amongst those people* (tra quelle genti), *and what vast expense his Majesty and themselves were compelled to sustain. But* from what I am assured by a person of quality, the Emperor is of opinion that the King should go to England for a few weeks, *not only to comply with the Queen's wish, as it may effect the object announced by her, of obtaining money, and rule* (amministratione) *in the kingdom, and perhaps his coronation, and consequently enable him to induce the country* (quelle genti) *to make war on France, but that they may know his Majesty to have that power which many persons disbelieve, and in addition to this the Queen's pregnancy might also ensue.* The same personage told me besides that should the King determine on going, it will be this winter, *both because it has been remarked that those people* are not accustomed to turn out in cold weather for the purpose of making any riot, as* also because in the summer the King was compelled to be in these provinces, where the French might be able to do much mischief were the Emperor and his Majesty both absent.

Brussels, 19th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 20. Filza No. 134, Miscellanea di Atti diversi, Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

284. Sir Philip Hoby† to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.

My Lord Ambassador [Sir John Masone] and I purposed to have come and seen your Lordship at Lovaine, but that the weather would not suffer, and I, hoping to have spoken with your Lordship here at Antwerp, repaired thither the sooner. Asks him to call before him " a scholar and countryman of mine named young Sheldon, encourage him in his studies, and show him some kind of courtesy, for that his father, being a very dear friend of mine, may hear from his son's report that my commendation of him to your Lordship may stand him in some stead."

I hope if your Lordship make your abode any time there [at Lovaine], or if you mind not to come hither, I would come and

* Si perchè si ha osservato chè quelli populi a tempo freddo non sono usati di uscir fuori a fare alcun tumulto.

† Sir Philip Hoby was an able diplomatist, and the friend of Titian and Pietro Aretino, as seen by a letter from Titian to Aretino, date Augsburg, 11th November 1550, in Ticozzi's Life of Titian, p. 311. (Edition Milan, 1817.)

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visit your Lordship before your departing. I dare not write unto your Lordship that my Lord Chancellor is dead, for that you would take it very heavily; and thus, wishing your Lordship much increase of honour, and the safety of your person,—and as for your Lordship's religion I will not meddle therewith,—I bid you farewell.

Antwerp, 20th November 1555.

Your Lordship's ever to command,

(*Signed*) PHILIP HOBY.

[*Addressed:*]—"To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord Earl of Devonshire, at Lovaine."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*] Sir Philipp Hobie, the 20th of November 1555, from Antwerp to Lovaine.

[*Original. Signature alone autograph.*]

Nov. 21.
Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi, Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

285. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Sir PHILIP HOBY.

Thanks for his letter sent by this bearer. Is grateful for his and the ambassador's goodwill, and that for his (Courtenay's) sake only they had been disposed to travel to Lovaine. Reciprocates the wish to see Hoby "before I depart, as you (by your more speed to Antwerp) show to have a hope to have spoken with me. The lets shall be very great, and my business very extreme, but we will have both our desires satisfied,* *for I have also somewhat to do with Mr. G. bis;*† but keep it very secret, for if I perform it (as I would you should not too assuredly look for it) I will so steal on you as no unnecessary man shall be privy thereunto, neither going, coming, nor remaining there. Promises to look after young Sheldon, whom he has not yet seen.‡

"I assure you I am very sorry for my Lord Chancellor's death, whose life and friendship to me hath been so commodious and assured. But since (sithens) there is no remedy to recover the loss, I will, with the rest of his unfeigned friends, with patience be content, and pray for his soul. And touching my religion, I pray God yours be, or at the leastwise may be, such as mine, for your good conformity, wherein you have, of him, lost a good schoolmaster. But since (syns) I doubt not you shall find such, whose hot and burning charity will help to instruct you, I repose myself in that behalf well satisfied, touching (*sic*) in haste, as you may see.

This 21st of November 1555.

"Your assured friend,

"E. DEVONSHIRE."

[*Endorsed apparently by Courtenay himself:*] "To Sir Philipp Hobbie, knight, the 20th (*sic*) Nov^r, from Lovain."

[*Original draft.*]

* The following words in italics are in Courtenay's own hand, inserted interlineally, the first part of the letter being written by the secretary.

† The words Mr. G. bis may be read *No. 4 bis*, or *Mr. G. bis*. It may be cipher; or it may be an allusion to his money dealings with Gresham at Antwerp.

‡ Thus far, with the exception of the above-noted interlineation, the draft is in the hand of Courtenay's secretary. What follows is all written by Courtenay himself.

1555.
Nov. 22.
Filza No. 134. Miscellanea di Atti diversi, Manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

286. James Basset to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.

Received two letters from him, one by Prune, your servant, the other by my Lord Hastings; and forasmuch as I perceive your Lordship cannot obtain license to repair hither, as your friends were in very good hope you should, which, besides the comfort to your friends of seeing you, would have been an exceeding great furtherance to your affairs, for it is impossible for us to do to your contentation, inasmuch as you being absent cannot perceive so well our reasons that guide us. Nevertheless, as Courtenay now may not come, writes to him, not being able to do so sooner, the cause being that my especial good Lord, and your very friend, my Lord Chancellor that was (whose soul Jesu pardon, as I doubt not he hath), at that time when I received your letter by my Lord Hastings, whereby I perceived you could not come hither, lay then *in extremis*, and what with watching with him, what with extreme grief and sorrow (and as I had most cause), so that in manner I could think upon nothing else, but spent day and night altogether with him, until he died; and after that, being one of those whom he put in trust, as I was, with my Lord Montague (Muntague), whom I should first have named [Anthony Browne], my Lord of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], my Lord of Lincoln [John Whyte], Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Inglefield, Mr. Hardynge his chaplain, and Thwayts (Twhaytes) his comptroller, who be his executors; not knowing also of the going of your servant, whom Prune sent to you in post; this was the occasion why I wrote no sooner.

"Yet we slacked no time after we knew you could not come, and consulted at once how to accomplish your orders for Gresham without hazard of extreme and importable loss to you, whereunto we would by no means assent, for assuring 100*l.* lands to Gresham. Basset says the conditions are so onerous that Courtenay's trustees will not consent to them; for besides all losses of exchange, which we know you should bear, you should at least pay eleven or twelve in the hundreth, a charge intolerable."*

Explains to him how the measures he (Courtenay) proposes for raising money are so ruinous, that he (Basset) and Courtenay's other trustees cannot be parties to them, and advise him to practise with Mr. Buonvisi, that it might please him, upon our credit and bonds, to give your Lordship credit in Italy for 6,000 ducats, which upon sight of your Lordship's bills should be repaid immediately by us here. As for interest, we suppose they will take none, so as your Lordship shall be at no loss but the damage and aventure of the exchange, which cannot be avoided, with whom sooner you had meddled with† . . . . and although you should have paid interest for the same, we wish your Lordship should have to do with him

* The usurious rapacity of Gresham contrasts unfavourably with the handsome manner in which the Lucchese banker, Buonvisi (whose firm, as seen in the first volume of the Venetian Calendar, was already established in London in the reign of Henry VII.), seems to have supplied the Earl of Devonshire's need, and the tribute rendered by his trustees to Buonvisi's integrity is in accordance with the good fame enjoyed of yore by the industrious Republic of Lucca.

† I believe Basset's meaning to be that he is sorry Courtenay had not dealt from the first with Buonvisi, rather than with the usurer Gresham.

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before any other, because we know him to be so just a man in all his reckonings, and so friendly and faithful, as the like is not to be found. Suggests how Courtenay should indemnify his trustees by acknowledgment of sale of 100*l.* land to us for the sum of 2,000*l.*; "not because we intend to have the land, or any commodity by the same, but your Lordship being furnished upon our credits of money there, if you receive more than the ordinary of your lands and casualties is able to answer; that then, for the repayment of Mr. Bonvise, we shall sell as much as shall be able to satisfy the same and no more; and so from time to time, as occasion and necessity doth require, and not otherwise; and this, in our opinion, is the best way, not only for the saving of your land, but for your honour and profit also. Advises him to be a good husband of the 6,000 ducats."

We deliver now 1,000*l.* English to make over, because you may keep day with Mr. Gresham and Mr. Bonvise, and in any wise upon the payment of Gresham's money there.

Propose satisfying his creditors in England as far as can be; and rather than the poor men, which hath borne so long, and have so great need, should be any more deferred, Mr. Comptroller and I had rather leave our quarter longer, until more money come in. We have, upon good and pitiful (piteful) consideration, despatched your debt to Blunt, and have saved you some money therein.

For the rest, asks him to give bearer credence; craves his indulgence for this letter written in such haste, and so in the midst of other occupations, that he doubts whether it properly expresses his meaning.

Wishes him a fortunate and prosperous journey, and such a reborn (*sic*) from Rome as your own good heart doth wish.

St. James's, 22nd November 1555.

[*Original holograph.*]

[*Addressed:*]—"To the Right' Honorable and my especial good Lord of Devonshire."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*] "Mr. James Basset, the 22nd of November 1555, from London. England to Sentrone."*

Nov. 23 (?).
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in vol. 5, pp. 53, 54, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c. Date London.

287. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

The Privy Councillors (*selecti consiliarii*) will have acquainted the King with whatever seemed necessary to them.

Thinks fit to write to him about the Queen's health, which, although not so strong as could be wished, is such that not only does her Majesty not abstain from transacting business, especially since the death of the Chancellor; but the other day (*superioribus diebus*), when the renunciation of the church property† was to be approved by Parliament, her Majesty, understanding that there was a difficulty about the matter, as without the votes of the owners of this sort of property, of whom (as the King knows) there is a great number in Parliament, the bill could not pass, she sent for several members of either house, and addressed them so gravely and

* This word (which probably signified St. Trond, on the road from Louvain towards Liege and Cologne) is blotted so that its last four letters are not quite legible.

† November 19. (*See* Froude, vol. 6, p. 398. Ed. London, 1860.)

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piously, that the act of renunciation (*libellus dismissionis*) having been read three days in the Lords, at length on the third they passed it, with only one or two non-contents; and it is hoped that the like will be done in the Lower House, in which the bill is to be again read this day.

The Councillors will have written to the King how dangerous it is at this season of the year for the fleet to remain any longer on its present station, but Pole foresees yet greater danger for justice and religion in England should the chancellorship be allowed any longer to remain vacant; as it would be no less detrimental to their Majesties' kingdom than if, on shipboard themselves and their pilot overboard, they were to delay the appointment of another helms man. The King very well knows to what a variety of storms England is subject; and since the death of the Chancellor, or from the time when his malady increased, they have had experience of the increasing audacity of all reprobates, and the bent of men of this sort and their opinions (*consilia*) are sufficiently indicated by that notorious libel privily published by them here of late (*libellus famosus is qui nuper hic clam est emissus, satis indicat*);* but, as the proverb says, there are those *qui in cœlum os audent inferre*, Pole is not at all surprised at their daring to speak against the King and Queen. The impiety of such people ought to incite good men to be on the watch rather than to take fright, most especially this being the moment, *e somno surgere*, as the Chancellor told the King in the speech delivered to him last year.† Unless a mandate be sent for some one to effect this, by inciting the others, an office better suited to the Chancellor than to any one else, they can promise themselves nothing certain from any other source, for whilst the Chancellor sleeps they see that good men also sleep, whilst bad men are vigilant (*bonos videmus simul dormire, malos autem excitari*).

Has already said too much, knowing the King to be most prudent and watchful.

London, 23rd November 1555 (?).

[*Latin*, 41 *lines*.]

Nov. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

288. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England refers to his Majesty the appointment of the Lord Chancellor, but naming the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby] as the person most worthy of that charge, though the King wished her to have also mentioned Lord Paget, in whom he has great trust, as demonstrated by the attendants of his Majesty, here of whom Lord Arundel's son took leave yesterday to return to England, being presented by the King with a chain worth 600 crowns.

* I believe this to be either "Grace to be said at the accession of Elizabeth," of which mention is made by Froude (vol. 6, pp. 399–400, ed. 1860); or else a pamphlet mentioned by the Ambassador Michiel, date 21st January 1556, urging the country to rebel, as King Edward was alive in France.

† Query, at Southampton on the 22nd July 1554.

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Sir Philip Hoby, an English gentleman in much esteem, having come lately from Padua, went to kiss the King's hand, apologizing for his absence on the plea of indisposition; and in the course of a long and gracious conversation held with him by his Majesty, he remarked that the King said he might firmly rely on his favour, Hoby having supposed that the King hated him, for the profession he made of being at heart exclusively English (*di esser solo d'animo Inglese*).

His Majesty has been answered by the Queen, that for his gratification she will pardon Sir Peter Carew; and his wife, who is here, sent him the news to Strasburg that he might come to thank the King, who confers any favour he can on any Englishman, however ill-disposed he may be (*per contumace che sia*), with a view to obtaining their services in the affairs of that kingdon.

When Queen Maria assumed the regency of these provinces, an order prevailed in the privy council, which the King has determined to revive thus, that twelve councillors are to have seats there, namely, six gownmen and six soldiers (*sei di robba lunga et sei di corta*); and he has also decreed that all the governors of these provinces and states be admitted into it [*permanently*] and not merely in time of war, as of yore;* the council residing always with the Duke of Savoy as the King's lieutenant and captain-general; and it is said that his Majesty will shortly appoint a military board (*un consiglio da guerra*), its members to be almost all Spanish cavaliers.

The Bishop of Arras complains of being included in this election, saying that although he promised the Emperor to serve the King in any matters requiring his assistance, he nevertheless did not intend to be expressly bound to this especial charge; and that he hopes for permission from their Majesties, to use his own words, to be a supernumerary servant.

Don Ruy Gomez says publicly that he wishes the King to appoint a number of councillors and of great experience, confessing that he has not sufficient abilities (*forze bastanti*) to bear alone, as others have done, this great business machine,† and that he would be content were the King to grant him the grace to suggest to his Majesty the rewards he should bestow on those who do him good service.

It is reported that after the departure from Brussels of Queen Maria, some officials of these provinces reminded King Philip, and subsequently told the recently-elected councillors, *that for his Majesty's advantage it would be well to demand account from the Queen of her administration of the moneys exacted by her from these provinces since she assumed their government, and much disrespectful language is uttered about her.* Yesterday the King went to visit her at "Laura," and during more than a quarter of an hour they walked together, *and she was evidently in a great rage* (et fu veduta lei tutta piena di sdegno). Besides the pre-

* Et ha ancho terminato che siano commessi non solo in tempo di guerra come solevano tutti li Governatori di questi Paesi e Stati.

† Questa gran macchina di negotij.

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sents made by the Queens [Eleanor and Maria] to their maids of honour, they are said to have given three years' salary in ready money to their gentlemen, *who complain most bitterly, saying they had hoped to receive such pensions for life, as became their services and their Majesties' dignity.*

The King of England has had his habit of the Fleece prepared (*il Re d'Inghilterra si ha fatto tagliar l'habito del Tosone*), that he may go, as written by me, to Antwerp, to hold the chapter of the Order; and it is said that besides creating the twelve knights, he will give the title of marquis to certain counts, and confer this last title on several gentlemen.

His Majesty has written several times to the Queen to be pleased to exert herself to make a truce, if unable to effect the peace; as between him and France it might, for several reasons, be now made more easily than between his most Christian Majesty and the Emperor.

Brussels, 24th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

289. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen, anticipating the opinion of Parliament, it having been licentiously said by many members in both Houses that they would not confirm the cession of the church property made by her Majesty, for the reasons already assigned, and apprehensive lest the hardened depravity and malignity of certain persons might endanger the passing of the bill, her Majesty, before having it put to writing as usual, in order to mitigate and conciliate public opinion, and utterly to dissipate the daring of the licentious opposition, determined to use her personal authority in the form adopted by former sovereigns when apprehensive of any of their proposals encountering any repulse or contradiction. She sent for 60 members of the Lower House, besides a great part of the lords and barons, to come to the palace [of St. James's?] where she resides, and with her usual gravity and dignity (*gravità et grandezza*), made them a very appropriate speech, saying they might well know that for no other purpose had she been predestined and preserved by the Almighty for the succession of the kingdom, save that He might make use of her as an instrument for the reintroduction of the Catholic faith; as at all times, and in every condition of her life, by the aid and grace of his Divine Majesty, the more she found herself excluded and remote from the said succession, and the more she was persecuted for religion's sake, the more did she maintain herself in it, wholly (*integra*) and immaculate. This reintroduction, with God's assistance and the consent of Parliament, having been auspiciously effected, she considered the fruit obtained in this matter, and the progress hitherto made, utterly vain and useless, unless, with the assistance of Parliament, her conscience were entirely disburdened from two things which beyond measure oppressed it; the one being her wish to divest herself of the tenths and first fruits, unjustly appropriated to himself, together with the

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ecclesiastical supremacy, by the King her father; the act being cancelled by Parliament (*riprobata da loro*) as unbecoming, and not admitted by any Christian sovereign; the other touching the re-establishment of cures of souls (*chiese curate*) dependent on abbacies and monasteries, called in England "*rectories*," which were completely despoiled of their fruits and revenues, they being impropriated by the King to his own use, to the hindrance and diminution of the service and worship of God,* the said rectories not having been of late, nor are they at present, officiated otherwise than carelessly (*debilmente*) by mercenary vicars, from whom the people could not derive any edification or good example; whereas, were the rectories replaced on their ancient and original footing, the greater the number, and the better the life led by the rectors, the greater and more frequent would the divine service be; and the greater the works and the better the examples, the more would the people be induced to attend divine worship, and be instructed and confirmed in more Catholic and Christian doctrine; her Majesty adding, very energetically, that those who hitherto had evinced so much love for her personally, ought to display yet greater love for her soul, the respect due to the latter being much greater, as the more important of the two; so now should they fail evincing towards her soul the love shown by them for her person, it would convince her Majesty that they in like manner never had loved her person, nor did they love it now. She also added that, as it did not become her sex to use many words, her cousin, Cardinal Pole, to whom she referred them, would tell them more fully her mind and intention.

On the close of her Majesty's discourse, one of the members of the Lower House wished to answer her, having come forward with a grand introduction; but nevertheless before he arrived at any statement, his own colleagues reproached him with presumption, and made him hold his tongue, as it does not become any of the Commons to perform such an office in the presence and sight of the sovereign, save through the mouth of their Speaker; so Cardinal Pole, resuming the Queen's words, enlarged upon every point marvellously, showing moreover that by the cession of the tenths and first fruits the crown did not incur any loss, as it thus freed itself from all the life annuities (amounting, as stated by him in public, to upwards of 25,000*l.*), payable to a number of persons who, at the time of the destruction of the churches, were made to quit the monasteries and their habit; in addition to what was given to many priests, who at the time of the change of the religion, not choosing to renounce the rites of the primitive church, were allowed to retire as laymen into private life; the payment of which annuities is now divided amongst those to whom the tenths and first fruits are assigned, namely the bishops and the clergy, who are still

* "On the 19th of November fifty members of the House of Commons waited by "desire upon the Queen, to hear her own resolutions, and to listen to an admonition "from the Cardinal." "Mr. Speaker declared the Queen's pleasure to be spoken yesterday, for to depart with the first fruits and tenths, and my Lord Cardinal spake for the tithes and impropriations of benefices to be spiritual." (Commons Journals, November 20, 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary.)

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occupying themselves with this matter in Convocation (*li quali a questo tuttavia nelle loro congregationi attendono*). And as to the re-establishment of the rectories (*restitutione delle rettorie*), he showed, by reason of their quantity and quality, they exceeding 800 in number, what great advantage would accrue to the people and to the members of Parliament, as all this church property and revenue would be distributed amongst their sons, brothers, nephews, and relations without paying either tenths, as paid in ordinary every year according to a decree of King Henry, or first fruits, for which they were answerable to the King, in like manner as annats are rendered to the Pope; again assuring them, and removing the suspicion of any one's being ever molested and troubled on account of the church property held by them as private individuals. They all gave signs of being very well satisfied with this explanation (*officio*), but as the bill has only passed the first reading, the result obtained cannot yet be seen. This confirmation is earnestly sought by Cardinal Pole in order that he may safely dispose of these revenues and property, without any danger lest the persons to whom they are given be molested or deprived of them on the Queen's death. (*Fecero tutti segno di restar per questo officio molto bene edificati et satisfatti, ma non essendosi per anchora fatta la propositione in scrittura, se non la prima volta, (che secondo l'uso et ordine del Parlamento si suol far tre,) non si può veder il frutto et l'effetto che avera fatto. E procurata con instantia, come ho scritto anchora, questa confirmation dall' Illustrissimo Legato per poter sicuramente disponer di queste entrate, et beni ceduti, senza pericolo che doppo la morte della Regina, quelli a chi saranno dati non ne siano molestati nè privati.*)

Understands that Cardinal Pole has been informed on behalf of the Pope that his Holiness, having heard of the charge given him by their Majesties to take part in the organization (trattatione) *and government of this kingdom, as one of the chief councillors, determined to ponder and take into consideration how far and in what matters he might take part, because, being Legate, and thus representing the person of his Holiness, it does not seem fit to the Pope that he should interest himself so much in the service of these sovereigns as to prevent the exercise of his legantine office, and that he was not to renounce his present state of dependence as a member of the Sacred College and a papal minister, nor depart from his Holiness' pleasure, according to daily accidents and occurrences, concerning which the Pope would give him instructions in another despatch.*

Cardinal Pole does not, however, cease urging the peace, and advancing and keeping the negotiation alive, as much as he can, whenever the opportunity occurs, having already obtained from the Queen what she denied him lately, that he may again use her name and authority with the French. They are endeavouring again to set on foot the exchange of prisoners, to arrange which the Emperor has permitted his son to commence treating. The delay in receiving a reply from Brussels after the office performed by the President (sic) [*Lieutenant?*] *d'Amont, concerning the last proposals, approved by the French negotiators, and transmitted subsequently to the Bishop*

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of Arras for the Emperor and King Philip's approval, to enable the negotiators to proceed farther, proceeds solely from the Emperor's wish not to have the treaty entered upon before his departure, it not seeming to him for his dignity to go away leaving it imperfect; and whether it comes to any good end or not, he chooses to leave the entire management of it in the hands of his son, without letting it appear that he has any share in it. This is the cause of the negotiations being delayed, although Cardinal Pole does not cease hastening the matter as much as he can daily, as he hears that the Pope will no longer go to war, as was feared. The Constable also continues writing from France to assure his right reverend Lordship that King Henry will not depart from the conditions and proposals made lately, which are those sent to Brussels, whatever prosperity may befall him on King Philip's coming (segua qual si voglia prospero successo alle cose sue, alla venuta di questo Re).

His Majesty's return, as confirmed by his letters to the Queen brought on the day before yesterday by her messenger, Mr. Kempe (*mastro Chem suo cameriere,*)* besides what he reported by word of mouth, will take place, at the latest, at the Epiphany, although others, and especially the Spaniards, one or other of whom depart daily, deny this. *On the King's return the negotiations for peace will revive,* owing to the departure of the Emperor, on which his Imperial Majesty insists, and as indicated by the ships fitted out in the Thames (*preparate qui*), which have all dropped down to the sea, that they may sail in the course of next month (*per tutto il prossimo*), it being hoped that by the reply to the despatch taken to Spain by Francesco the Piedmontese, they will hear for certain whether the Spanish fleet is to be expected thence or not, as, if ready to sail, it ought by that time to have arrived (*la quale se è in termine di venire, doverà à quel tempo essere capitata*); if not, the voyage will be made with the fleet in Flanders, and with the one now fitting out in England.

To the persons to whom popular prediction and report assign the post of Chancellor, Lord Paget has been added, and either for this reason, or because of other public business, on the dissolution of Parliament, which is expected to take place this week, he will proceed to Flanders to King Philip, from whom, and from the Emperor, all the favour shown him proceeds, nor does he fail to seek it by all means, and with all his might.

London, 25th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 25. Original Letter Book, penes me.

290. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, at audience of the Pope, he said to me, "You will have seen here the Imperial ambassador and Don Garcilasso de la Vega. They came to demand a reply to what they left me in writing, and,

* See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 13 February 1556, p. 240, for the name and title of "mastro Chem."

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to say the truth, they spoke modestly, asking for what they required as a favour, and in testimony of our goodwill towards their princes. We on our part likewise answered them in such a way that, without granting anything, yet did we not drive them to despair, showing that with regard to the reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, they ought not to be gratified, as the injury done us is too recent, and that a man who has held his father in such small esteem does not deserve any sort of favour, and least of all from a Pontiff, the Vicar of God, whose commandment it is, above all things, to honour father and mother; and that the Signor Ascanius ought to be released and brought hither to us for punishment, should he have done what he ought not to have done; and if the Emperor keeps him at Naples for his private offences and injuries, yet more does it become us not to reinstate one who has offended us, and is of the nature of Marc' Antonio. In short, Magnifico Ambassador, we refused them, saying that in some greater and more important matter we will display our will towards the Emperor and the King, and that perhaps even in these we might at some other time gratify them, as *duodecim sunt horæ diei*, which reply having apparently taken in very good part, they went away. We chose to speak thus, in order not utterly to exasperate them, and we shall go adapting ourself from day to day, and will always give you notice of what may occur," for which I thanked his Holiness.

Rome, 25th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26 ?

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date. Printed in vol. v. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c., without any date.

291. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

Received the King's letters of the 22nd November yesterday, expressing deep regret for the death of the Chancellor,* and requiring Pole to let him know immediately the person he deemed sufficient to take his place, as the post could not remain vacant longer without great detriment to religion and [the administration of] justice, as they have indeed seen by the experience of these few days, in conformity with his last letters to the King. Would that he could indicate the person sufficient for this office with as much certainty as they know the qualities needed in these present times by its occupant, for (as written by him already, and as he now repeats) he must be a person firm in religion, fearing God more than man, a lover of justice, and, in short, one who by his ministry may reflect the virtues of his sovereigns, like a member aptly responding to its head. Although he sees many persons of whom he has a good opinion, he dares not in a matter of such importance name any one, not having equally well investigated their lives and morality. This he said to the Queen, whose own knowledge of present and past times had given her great opportunity for testing the fidelity and constancy of human nature; a remark applicable also to the King, who having now had experience of the English character for a year (*quæ annum jam nostrorum mores experta*), will, from his intelligence, be

* In the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated 18th November 1555, it is stated that the Chancellor died on the 12th of that month, and allowing four days for the arrival of a letter in London from Brussels, Cardinal Pole's reply to the King with regard to that event may be dated 26th November.

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better able perhaps to decide this matter than others who have been much longer habituated to the country.

If able to hear anything more positive on this subject, will impart it to the King, though whatever he could learn has been communicated by him to the Queen, with whom, when talking, he fancies himself speaking to the King, whom he will not weary with farther discourse.

London, 26th November 1555?

[*Latin*, 26 *lines*.]

Nov. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

292. Cardinal Pole to the Archbishop of Conza [Girolamo Muzzarelli], Nuncio at Brussels.

He lately received his two letters of the 10th and 12th, together with the epistle [to Cranmer] which Pole sent him, and yesterday his letter of the 14th arrived, with the good news from Rome, which must comfort Conza by so much the more as his good offices with both parties have greatly contributed to avert so much mischief. Congratulates him on every account, and assures him that his favour with Queen Mary is thus increased, she being greatly comforted by the intelligence. Pole shares Conza's hope that the journey to Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine will give the Pope an opportunity for bringing the negotiation for peace to some good end, to which effect Pole thought fit to write lately to his Holiness, keeping the negotiation alive also by writing to the Nuncio in France, and also to the Constable; and by the Nuncio's last, received to-day, is informed that the French ministers are dissatisfied because at the congress he did not insist more on some agreement whereby to suppress the burnings and obtain an exchange of prisoners, about which Pole wishes Conza to speak to the King, being certain that his compassionate nature will make him readily accede to both these demands, and this may possibly lead to a farther advance of the peace. Will await Conza's reply, to write to France, where the Nuncio says that his Majesty is in great repute universally for goodness and piety. With regard to the individual whom Lord Courtenay has taken with him, Pole, without naming Conza, recommended the persons whose business it is to have greater care of him, that they should endeavour to rid him of this bad company, and Pole considers this good office worthy of Conza's piety. It remains for Pole to thank Conza for the trouble taken in carefully perusing his epistle to Cranmer, warning Pole of what occurred to him, and in like manner as in his suggestions he recognises the archbishop's doctrine (*dottrina*) and good judgment, so in the praises bestowed, Pole recognises Muzzarelli's love and affection for him.

London, 27th November 1555.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 27. Original Despatches, Venetian Archives.

293. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Queen Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, has asked the most Christian King for a passport for herself and her court to traverse France on her way to Spain. According to report it will be conceded her.

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The Queen of England has earnestly asked his most Christian Majesty to give one of her couriers a passport for Portugal, and at length obtained it, but the packet of letters is to be marked (*segnato*), and an order has been given at the frontiers not to permit the courier to take anything but her Majesty's packet thus signed.

The Admiral has commenced negotiating the release of the prisoners in virtue of the order given him by his Majesty.

When thanking the Constable for a passport obtained for certain Spanish noblemen, at Cardinal Pole's request, his right reverend Lordship said that hope may be entertained of concluding peace between their Majesties of France and England, both by reason of the nature of King Philip, who, he says, is very desirous of peace and quiet, as also on account of the instructions (*li ricordi*) which the Emperor his father will leave him at the moment of his passage, for as his Imperial Majesty shows himself intent on leading a contemplative existence, it cannot but be supposed that the counsel given by him to his son will prove for the common weal of Christendom. Cardinal Pole said besides that the reason why nothing has been said of late about the peace was solely because King Philip did not deem it becoming of himself (*da se stesso*) to discuss so important a matter in the presence of his father the Emperor; but the Cardinal writes that on the departure of his Imperial Majesty it is well nigh certain that King Philip will immediately enter on this business with such conditions that, should his most Christian Majesty continue as well disposed as he has shown himself hitherto, some good settlement will assuredly ensue. These letters were brought to the Constable by a third person, and by another letter written to a person at the French court by one of Cardinal Pole's chief confidants (and who has always had a hand in these negotiations on that account), it appears that his right reverend Lordship showed the aforesaid letter written by him to the Constable to the Queen alone, and then informed the lords of the Council of England that he had merely written in general terms to show his most Christian Majesty that the affair of the peace had not been utterly abandoned. The letter seemed to give great satisfaction to the Constable, who answered it at great length and sent it for transmission to his (Soranzo's) above-mentioned friend, addressing him in such language as clearly to show that his most Christian Majesty's wish to embrace some becoming form of agreement is by no means changed.

Owing to the small hope of the Bishop of Winchester's recovery, certain persons advised the Queen to give the post of Chancellor to Cardinal Pole, representing to his right reverend Lordship that he might so provide for the business of that charge that what little remained for his own performance would not cause him much inconvenience; but the Cardinal showed himself averse, choosing to attend solely to the spiritual matters intrusted to him (*alle cose sacre pertinenti a lei*), and not embarrass himself with other service, being a cardinal and member of the Holy Roman Church.

Paris, 27th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 30.
Original Letter Book, penes me, p. 72.

294. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador from the Duke of Urbino* tells me he is ordered by his Excellency to let me know that having requested his dismissal from the Pope for certain reasons (to be communicated to me subsequently), it was granted him, of which the Duke is glad, being thus enabled more freely to serve your Serenity when it shall please you; and that the Imperial ambassador having heard I know not what about this, spoke to the ambassador from Urbino about it, offering the Duke liberal terms (*larghi partiti*) if he would enter the service of the King of England; but the ambassador not choosing to confirm to Marquis Sarria that the leave had been given, answered him vaguely; and when I inquired who would be the Pope's captain general, he replied, "the Count of Montorio."

Don Garcilasso is still here in Rome, and tells people in general that he remains on private business of his own, but to my secretary he said that he is expecting a courier from the Imperial court, and that the Pope thinks to divert him with words and vain hopes, which he and the others (*che esso et gli altri*) pretend to credit, but he will not depart hence until the demands made by him are answered positively in one way or the other.

Rome, 30th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30.
Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 27, pp. 74–77.

295. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Two consistories have been held this week; at the first, on Wednesday, the Pope related what the French Cardinals had told him about the peace, and not satisfied even with this, he chose the right reverend of Lorraine to repeat what he had said to him in his chamber, which the Cardinal did immediately, in such good Latin, and with such decorous action, that he surpassed the expectations of everybody. He said in short that he was present at the conference held lately in Flanders about the peace, at which many good results were obtained.

First, the animosities and harsh words on either side were reciprocally withdrawn; after having negotiated and nearly concluded the marriage of the Infant Don Carlos, King Philip's son, with the eldest daughter of the most Christian King. That the disputes about boundaries between the Emperor and his Majesty were well nigh adjusted, the only remaining difficulty being about the confederates on both sides; and whilst this was being treated without possibility of adjustment, the auspicious news arrived of his Holiness' election, which comforted both parties, it being said that what they had failed to do would be accomplished by the Pope elect, and the conference was dissolved with the understanding that each of its members would perform good offices with their Princes. He said that Cardinal Pole held the thread of this peace in his

* Guidobaldo della Rovere resigned the general captainship of the Church, and was succeeded by the Count of Montorio. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 197.)

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hands throughout, and in this matter he greatly praised the Queen and the King of England.

Yesterday, when the second consistory was held, the right reverend Cardinal Puteo,* who was charged to inspect the process sent by the Queen of England against the Archbishop of Canterbury, reported its contents, and although the charges (*oppositioni*) are all deemed wicked and execrable and that they are proved, yet they did not proceed to deprive him nor to inflict any other penalty, it having seemed fit to delay the votes until another consistory.

Rome, 30th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

296. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

King Philip has informed the English Ambassador that he has desired his steward Don Diego de Azevedo to send hither the rest of his attendants, giving assurance, however, that according to what he promised by letter to the Queen he will return to her shortly after Christmas. His Majesty is said to have given this order *both from seeing by the letters of the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke that they despair of being able, or do not choose as promised by them, to make England attack France, as also with a view so to agitate the Queen as to cause her to determine on taking some positive step in conformity with the desire and need of her consort* (che ella si rissolvi di far in fatto, alcuna cosa conforme al desiderio et bisogno del suo consorte).

Sir John Masone says he has written twice to the Queen, counselling her to convince the most Christian King of her wish for him to make peace with her consort, and that she should send for the French Ambassador and again tell him positively (*con efficacia*) that should she be convinced that his King will not accept fair terms of peace she must execute the treaty stipulated between England and these provinces in 1542, purporting that the two countries were to supply each other reciprocally with 4,000 foot and 600 horse, or the money [for their procurement], for the defence of their respective territories, and for the recovery of places taken by the enemy. This office being in accordance with King Philip's intention, has put Sir John Masone in favour with all the chief personages of his Majesty's court; he remains with them all day in the antechamber, no longer bearing the title of ambassador, but of councillor.

The King kept his bed for three days from fever, which Don Ruy Gomez, who in like manner has been indisposed lately, attributes to his Majesty's unaccustomed application to business; but he is now recovered, and yesterday had six Knights of the Fleece to dine with him in celebration as usual of St. Andrew's day, and the report of his going to Antwerp in the middle of next month continues.

The Mantuan Ambassador told the Bishop of Arras that having

* Jacopo Puteo had been the intimate friend of Julius III., who, after making him Archbishop of Bari in 1550, created him Cardinal on the 20th December in the following year. Paul IV. appointed him Prefect of the Romish Inquisition or Holy Office. (*See* Cardella, vol. iv. p. 314.)

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heard in secret that peace was being negotiated between the Emperor and King Philip and the French King, by means of England, as also a truce in Piedmont between the Duke of Alva and the ministers of his most Christian Majesty, he requested that the interests of his master with regard to the State of Montferrat might be remembered. The Bishop replied that the reports current in the court about this negotiation were imaginary. The ambassador then performed the like office with Don Ruy Gomez, who told him that perhaps by way of England the Queen and Cardinal Pole, in accordance with their good will, might spontaneously mediate in this matter, and the Duke of Alva also treat some suspension of hostilities, either because requested to do so, or from thinking it advantageous for the King by reason of some sage opinion of his own.

Persons who have lately come from Queen Maria report that she is very dissatisfied, owing to what is said to her disparagement at the court, both by the Flemings and Spaniards.

Brussels, 1st December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

297. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lower House, not having yet agreed to pass the bill confirming the cession of the church property, which for its better comprehension and discussion enumerated each article clause by clause (*distinta in tanti articoli quanti erano li capi*), yesterday, after long debate, referred it to a committee of ten members, who, with six to be elected by the Upper House, namely two earls, two barons, and two bishops, with the doctors of laws usually in attendance, are, within five days, to consider and revise the objections alleged against each article, amending and adding as may seem necessary to them, and then to present the amended bill to Parliament for approval or rejection. From the influence of the committee, if they agree as anticipated, it is certain that the measure will not meet with so much opposition as hitherto, which opposition was in proportion to the great fear entertained by holders of this class of property, lest at some future period they, by virtue of this Act of Parliament, should be compelled to make a similar cession.

The President d'Amont, in reply to a letter written hence to him by the Abbot of San Saluto, wrote lately from Brussels that he had again spoken to the Emperor and the King, showing them what the Abbot had written, which they commended, exhorting him to continue urging the Cardinal, by means of his own authority and that of the Queen, to resume the negotiation either with the French Ambassador in England, or by writing about it himself to France, pushing the business in such a way that a commission may be given either to the said ambassador in England, or by sending some other agent elsewhere, as the like will be done at Brussels; d'Amont adding that he found their Majesties excellently inclined towards the acceptance of any fair terms, and that he should by so much the more zealously pursue this matter, as owing to the renuncia-

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tion made to King Philip of all the States of Flanders and Burgundy, there being no longer that reciprocal irritation between him and his most Christian Majesty which was said to prevail between the latter and the Emperor, the adjustment between them may, it is hoped, prove more speedy and less difficult; and d'Amont offers and promises on his part to do whatever he can to aid its conclusion, giving the Abbot notice of his proceedings.

On account of this letter, and for something else which it was not chosen to tell me, the chief ministers here have held frequent conferences with the Queen, and with each other apart; the Cardinal and Lord Paget having been summoned on behalf of her Majesty, and on the part of the King, Don Diego de Azevedo and his Majesty's friar confessor [Alfonso de Castro?], a man of business and understanding (who has already interfered in this negotiation, performing many offices), and also the Abbot aforesaid. Subsequently two expresses were despatched, one by the French Ambassador, to whom Cardinal Pole always addressed himself, communicating whatever occurred through the Abbot; the other to Brussels, through the Queen's couriers, and they are awaiting replies from both parties. I am also told that, as an additional stimulant, the Legate did not fail writing to the Nuncio at Brussels to take an opportunity, when with the Emperor and the King, of letting them know that the French complained greatly of his coldness at the conference of Calais, he not having done what he ought and could have done with regard to stipulating that during the war the belligerents should abstain from incendiarism, and agree reciprocally about ransoms and exchange of prisoners, both which matters were so praiseworthy, fair, and necessary; and that he was to persuade their Majesties to consent to this, as by treating it they might also commence negotiating about the chief and principal quarrel.

King Philip has again ordered Don Diego to depart hence. The Queen complained of and lamented this departure, and desired to write to countermand it, had not a letter from Don Ruy Gomez to Don Diego, with orders for him to show it to the Queen in his name, convinced her of the King's speedy arrival, confirming what his Majesty also wrote, that it will take place at the latest at the Epiphany; so she has resigned herself to the departure of these officials, who are preparing for it (but without display), until they receive sufficient funds for the journey. His Majesty's armoury and wardrobe will set out in two days by sea, the German and Spanish halberdiers being sent on board the ships for their security.

Through the return from Brussels of Lord Maltravers, Lord Arundel's son, the only one of the English gentlemen remaining there, the Queen heard of the indisposition of the King, who had two paroxysms of fever, the third, however, having stopped short (*essendole perhò fallito il terzo*), and sent her messenger, Mr. Kempe, post haste to his Majesty. Lord Maltravers also, like his companions, was presented with a chain worth 800 crowns.

Of late a great quantity of books printed in English have been distributed clandestinely throughout London, concerning the King individually and his mode of government, vituperating the acts of extortion and oppression exercised in his realms, principally in the

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kingdom of Naples and the Milanese, where the natives are not only debarred from any magistracy, dignity, pension, or other advantage due to them by birthright, but they are also excluded from any post in his Majesty's court or household, only one or two Italians of inferior rank being seen there, and everything is reserved for and bestowed on the Spaniards; the author warning the English, to whom the book is dedicated, that the like will befall them also, and that they must therefore look to it whilst there is yet time. Yesterday, on account of this book, all the city companies (tutte le arti), *by order of the Lord Mayor, met separately in their respective halls to make diligent inquisition as to the place from which this book can have come, for the purpose, if possible, of discovering its author; and orders were given for all persons having any copies of the book to take them to the Lord Mayor, who will then report to the Court what he shall have thus ascertained about it; but the book is supposed to come from Strasburg, from the English who are there, and endeavour by all means to make the people here rebel against the present Government.*

The Queen is about to recall all her ambassadors save the one in France, to save their cost; such business as necessary to be transacted by those remaining in the King's name, for her likewise; and Mr. Vannes, the resident at Venice, will soon have orders to return.

London, 3rd December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

298. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Members of the committee for the revision of the articles stipulating the cession, having reported their opinion this morning in Parliament, after great disputes and contention in the Lower House, from daybreak (*dalla prima hora del giorno*), when they met, until 3 p.m., during which time the doors were closed, no one being allowed egress, either to eat or for any other purpose; at length, this evening, the bill was carried by 183 ayes against 120 noes, the Lords being unanimously content, without one single dissenting vote, which Cardinal Pole holds in as much account as he did the act of reconciliation, rejoicing at it extremely, both for the sovereign's repute and his own, and for the benefit of the kingdom, in which strain he is now writing to the Pope.

London, 3rd December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4. MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

299. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Gianangelo?] de' Medici.

Condoles with him on the death of his brother the Marquis. For news of himself refers to his agent.

London, 4th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

300. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Three days ago a wedding took place, the bride and bridegroom being of two noble families in this town, and the King masked, and

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went to dance at the marriage entertainment, remaining there until two in the morning, when he betook himself to the residence of the Duke of Savoy, who was asleep, so he had him roused, and remained a long while with his Excellency, laughing and joking. Count Chinchon, who was sent by his Majesty to congratulate the Pope on his accession, is returned from Rome, and says publicly that, unless provision of counsel and of money be made for the affairs of Italy, they will proceed worse next year than they do at present.

Brussels, 5th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

301. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor will not depart for Spain this winter, and has sent to dismiss the Dutch fleet (*l'armata delle navi d'Olanda*), and has told the King of England to write to his consort that she may dispense with the cost of refitting the vessels destined for his convoy to Spain; but he has not given orders for the departure of the Spanish armed ships, and on the contrary, when their commander, Don Luis de Caravajal, asked his Majesty's leave to go on a cruise against the French, he was refused. Subsequently the Emperor gave permission to the Queens, who came from "Lavra" to visit him, to return thither; saying that they were to come back in a few days for the purpose of residing here as usual. The Bishop of Arras, both by his countenance and language, evinces extraordinary joy, caressing everybody who transacts business with him, which is supposed to proceed from no other cause than the resolve formed by the Emperor not to depart for Spain; *so that the Bishop will no longer think of retiring, or doubt being employed by the King in the same capacity as he was by his father, and will certainly intend to retain his usual authority* (il che intendera certo di star nella solita sua auttorità). *Don Ruy Gomez, on the contrary, looks lean and melancholy, and the persons who negotiate with him say he seems well-nigh incapable of performing such functions as are required by a sovereign from a minister in his position.*

The cause of this change in the Emperor's decision is attributed to Queen Maria and the Bishop of Arras, and other Flemish ministers, who, as they never approved the Emperor's departure from these provinces, have persuaded him to revoke it, representing not only the perilous state of affairs in Italy, and the trouble which might arise in the Netherlands, *but also that King Philip has not sufficient experience to maintain himself in the States of which cession has been made to him, without the Emperor's counsel and authority. Others, who never expected him to depart, say that the report circulated to that effect was to accomplish the renunciation of these States quietly, and by means of the fleet give support to the Queen of England, and to those English lords who purposed crowning King Philip, and declaring war against France if unable to induce his most Christian Majesty to make peace with the Emperor; and they say besides that it was also for his advantage to ascertain*

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more clearly whether the King of the Romans would allow the King of England to maintain the Emperor's authority as Vicar of the Empire in Italy, and to endeavour to obtain the money grant from the "Cortes" at Monzon [in Aragon], thus favouring the affairs in Africa, and encouraging the Spaniards at Bugia;* so the Emperor circulates a report of his having prolonged the period of departure, and will perhaps change his mind about the voyage, going through Germany and into Italy; but certain old courtiers say that his Imperial Majesty will not make this voyage, but will pass the rest of his life in the land of his birth. The King of England has also put off his journey to Antwerp until after the Christmas holidays; the reason assigned generally being the non-arrival from Spain of the commissions from the Knights of the Fleece, as usually sent by them, giving their votes in favour of those proposed; but I have heard from others that this delay is on account of a project under discussion, and as yet not well matured, for laying a new tax on merchandise, with the consent of these States, which could not succeed heretofore owing to the clamours of the merchants.

A part of King Philip's household has arrived from England, and some of his chamber attendants say that on his return from Antwerp he will go back to the Queen at her request, and that of some of the English nobility who are attached to him; and independently of other causes, for the purpose of still keeping the people in hope of his having heirs, *lest by some perverse means* (con alcun mal modo) *they seek the election of a successor to the crown; and as this constant desire of the Queen is notorious here, many of the Spaniards say that the King should not go thither, knowing that he could obtain nothing of importance from her, and that even had she the utmost inclination, and were she to make every imaginable exertion to bring about the peace between the King her consort and the King of France, the English, nevertheless, as they have done hitherto in many ways, will make her desist from the attempt, lest the King thus obtain in effect that authority in the kingdom which he now exercises nominally; this war, moreover, being advantageous for the English, as it causes them to be held in esteem by both sides. The Spaniards also complain that both Lords and Commons have displayed the worst possible will in printed books, greatly to the dishonour of the King and of the Spanish nation, which causes general displeasure here.*

Brussels, 6th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

302. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 27th ulto. announced what had been written by Cardinal Pole to the Constable about the hope of peace. The

* Che tornava anco bene a sua Maestà scoprir più chiaramente l'animo del Re de' Romani se voleva conceder che il serenissimo Re d'Anglia gli mantenesse l'auttorità di vicario dello Imperio in Italia.

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Constable's reply to the Cardinal was that his most Christian Majesty will never fail showing himself anxious for the quiet of Christendom, and that should the King of England accept the terms proposed by the French ministers at the late conference his Majesty will not fail demonstrating the same goodwill as evinced by him then, and subsequently without intermission.

Flodaus (*sic*), 6th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 30, p. 85.

303. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Wednesday the 4th instant consistory was held, in which they deprived the Archbishop of Canterbury of the archbishopric, and of all the ecclesiastical dignities, and moreover permitted his delivery to the temporal judicature (*et di più permesso che fusse datto* (sic) *in mano della giustitia temporale*).

Rome, 7th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Letter Book, penes me (second letter), Letter No. 31, pp. 88, 91.

304. The Same to the Same.

Went yesterday to the Pope; the Pope said, "We well know how intensely we Italians are hated by those who are great, and seek to render themselves yet greater; may God forgive him who was the cause and commencement of our calamities, which annihilated all the grandeur of Italy. At the commencement, when elected to this popedom, which of its own authority takes away and confers both empires and kingdoms, as we ourselves have done by erecting a kingdom for the Irish (*che à quelli d'Hibernia habbiamo eretto un Regno*), it was suggested to us to send legates to both these powerful princes, to induce them to make peace. The moment did seem to us opportune, and we suspected that this office would prove demonstrative rather than necessary, or likely to produce any good result. We have determined to send two of our confidants, the one to France, and the other to the Emperor and the King of England, in such haste as their physical strength allows of, for it is not every man who can bear the fatigue of travelling post-wise at full speed. We shall commission them to send us word or announce in person what hopes can be entertained, and when we shall see the business in a fair way, we will then send personages of greater importance, but we have not yet determined whom to send at present."

Although his Holiness said he had not appointed the nuncios who are to perform this mission, I hear from a very good quarter that Commendone will go the Emperor and the King of England, and the Bishop of Toulon (*quel di Tolone*), heretofore destined as nuncio to your Serenity, to France.

Rome, 7th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 8?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. without any date. Printed in vol. v. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli, &c.," date, St. James's, London, 5 December.

305. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

When the King wrote to the Queen about his indisposition her Majesty could not but be greatly distressed by the news, though her sorrow was much mitigated, first by receiving the first intelligence through his own autograph letter, and then considering his habitual abstemiousness and sound constitution, this likewise increased her hope that the malady would be neither serious nor protracted. They congratulate his Majesty on this result, rejoicing at it greatly, and pray God to grant him perpetual good health.

On the morrow of St. Andrew's festival [30th November], which was the first Sunday in Advent, as it had been decreed by them in the synod, annually to celebrate throughout the realm by thanksgiving and public prayers the restoration of this kingdom to the unity of the Church, the Queen thought fit now to have it established that this should be done here in St. Peter's church, whither he (Pole) was accompanied by the bishops and all the nobility now attending Parliament in great number, being received at the church gates as Legate by the Archbishop of York [Nicholas Heath] and all the [officiating] ministers of the church as usual, there being a concourse of clergy and people. One of the Queen's chaplains, a pious and learned man, preached a sermon in apt explanation of the great benefit conferred by God on the kingdom through their Majesties, which was also admirably proved by him. Many persons are of opinion that the example afforded by the nobility who thus showed their great readiness to assist at the thanksgiving and high mass, will do no less now to confirm the people in their obedience to the Church than any sermon preached last year, for which be God very greatly thanked.

Three days afterwards the bill (*decretum*) about the church property, submitted by their Majesties to the decision of the Pope and his Legate, was read in the Lower House, and although on several previous days, and on that day also, there was a great debate between the pious members (*pios homines*) and those who seemed less favourable to the cause, it nevertheless obtained a great majority, and nothing remains but to dissolve Parliament, as the Queen will do to-morrow.*

By the enclosed copy the King will perceive the opinion formed in France of his humanity and liberality in releasing the French prisoners. With regard to the peace, it is unnecessary to exhort the King, he being already so well disposed towards it.

St. James's, London,† 8th December 1555.

[*Latin*, 58 *lines*.]

Dec. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

306. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The three ambassadors appointed by the King of England to the Princes of Germany, to acquaint them with the cession of the

* The despatch of the Ambassador Michiel of 9th December enables me to date this letter accurately.

† Local date in printed copy.

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States made to him by the Emperor, have departed, and he subsequently despatched the Governor of Luxemburg in like manner to the King of Denmark, they being also commissioned to perform the same office with the principal Hanse Towns. On the departure of the envoy accredited to the Princes of the Rhine (*ai Signori del Rheno*) he was desired to inform one of the brothers of the Elector of Cologne that his Majesty has assigned him an annual pension of 2,000 dollars, without the obligation to perform military service, unless it be demanded of him. Don Luis de Caravajal said this day that positive hope has been given him of obtaining leave from the Emperor to go and try his luck (*tentar la fortuna sua*) against some French ships off Britany; from which it is inferred that the Spanish ships also, like those of Holland, will be dismissed.

The Nuncio has received orders that in case of the Emperor's departure for Spain he is to remain with the King, but to return to Rome should his Majesty go to England.

Brussels, 8th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

307. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After the passing of the bill for the cession of the church property, the motion for the recall of the absentees was made, but although it was framed in the underwritten form so that it might pass without difficulty, as was the case in the House of Lords, the Act purporting that if the absentees did not return within four months they were not to lose their property, nor have it confiscated, save during the time of their absence, so as to cause no detriment to their children, grandchildren, and heirs; notwithstanding, after long debate and contention, the Lower House threw out the bill. This rejection may be supposed to have troubled the Queen on the score of repute, yet she prudently dissembled, and displayed indifference, and to-day, for the purpose of dissolving Parliament (*per dar intieramente fine al Parlamento*), in her own name and that of the King, she assembled both Houses in her Palace at Westminster, to avoid going such a distance through the ice to the ancient and usual place of meeting; she gave her assent, with the usual ceremonies, to all the Acts passed in it, ending and terminating it entirely, giving leave to the peers and all the others to return to their homes in the country, and relieving them from the great expense they incurred here. Her Majesty then proceeded to Greenwich, not so much to be nearer the sea for the King's return, as for the sake of the monastery there, leaving Cardinal Pole in London to continue [sitting] in the synod with the bishops and the clergy until full completion of the proposed reforms.

The Acts of Parliament will be printed as usual, and when translated into Italian and abridged, will submit them to the Doge.

The late despatch to France was based on an "advice" received from Brussels to the effect that the proposals, sent hence, seemed to the Emperor and the King to differ little from their intention; so

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that if the French adhere to them and wish the negotiation to be resumed, the mediators, namely the Queen and Cardinal, would have little difficulty in adjusting matters. But before the Queen and Cardinal proceeded further, the Emperor and the King were of opinion that, for the avoidance of the contumely which two such personages would incur were either of the parties not to assent to their mediation, it would be better for the person in whom the French have hitherto shown so much trust—meaning the Abbot of San Saluto, the Constable in fact showing daily that he places great confidence in him—to be the one to make this discovery, not only with regard to hearing, but by ascertaining from the French themselves whether they would or not accede to this negotiation; because, if satisfied, the Queen and Cardinal might with such dignity as becomes their station, suggest a fresh congress. This scruple caused by uncertainty of the intention of the French restrained the Emperor and the King from writing to the Queen in person, and to the Cardinal, to perform an office to this effect, their Majesties not deeming it becoming the Queen's dignity to bestir herself at a venture, as this public congress should not be sought by a sovereign save when certain of the will of the parties, as otherwise they produce no fruit, and diminish the repute of those who seek them, whereas the Abbot [Vincenzo Parpaglia] being a private individual, was a better instrument for guiding (per condur) *such a resolve; so they requested him to enter upon the negotiation, as neither King Philip nor the King of France being irritated or provoked with each other, it might be hoped that the adjustment between them would prove more sure. In conformity with this order the Abbot acted, he having written and sent off the despatch, but with the participation of the French Ambassador resident here, and through his medium. Should the reply be such as is considered certain by the Abbot, he having sent a draft of the reply to be made by them, that he may show and send it to Brussels, the Queen and Cardinal will then discover themselves, either by writing or by despatching two gentlemen, the one to France and the other to Brussels, to settle about the negotiators, and the time and place. If this congress takes place there is good hope of an adjustment, which was not the case at the conference of Calais.*

London, 9th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Ib.

308. Acts of the Parliament summoned in the month of October 1555, and which were confirmed by the most Serene Queen of England in her own name, and that of the most Serene King, on the 9th December.

1. An Acte of a subsydye graunted by the temporaltie.
2. An Acte for the confirmac̃on of a subsidie graunted by the clergie.
3. An Acte for the contynuance of certayne statutes.
4. An Acte to take away the benefite of clergie from Benet Smythe for the murther of Rufforde.

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5. An Acte agaynst the byeng of stolen horses.
6. An Acte for the reedifieng of iiij milles nere the citie of Hereforde.
7. An Acte agaynst thexcessive taking of purveyours.
8. An Acte that purveyours shall not take victalles within v. miles of Cambridge or Oxforde.
9. An Acte wherby theyres of Sr. Edwarde Nevyle, Knight, arre restored to the remaynder of the barronnye of Burgavenye.
10. An Acte for thenlargyng of the Duchye of Lancastre.
11. An Acte towchyng watermen and bargemen upon the ryver of Thamys.
12. An Acte to make voyde dyvers lycences of houses wherin unlawfull games bee used.
13. An Acte for thamending of highe wayes.
14. An Acte for the vieuyng and sellyng of clothes called Bridgewaters.
15. An Acte touching weavers.
16. An Acte for thinhabitantes of Halyfaxe touching the byeng of woolles.
17. An Acte touching commissions of the peace and gaole delyverye in townes corporate not being cownties in themselfes.
18. An Acte wherby the Duke of Norfolk, by thadvice of the L. Chancellor of England, therle of Arondell, and the Bisshopp of Ely, maye make sales and grauntes of his landes, etc., notwithstanding his minoritee.
19. An Acte for the reliefe of the poore.
20. An Acte for thextinguishement of the fyrst fruites, and touchyng order and disposition of the tenthes of spirituall and ecclesiasticall promotyons, and of rectories and personages impropriate remaynyng in the Queenes Majesties handes.
21. An Acte for the kepyng of milch kyne, and for the breadyng and rearing of calves.
22. An Acte for the reedyfieng of decayed houses of husbandrie, and for thencrease of tyllage.
23. An Acte for the reedyfieng of castelles and fortes, and for thenclosing of grownde from the borders towardes and against Scotlande.

(See Statutes of the Realm, Vol. IV., Part I., p. 265.)*

Dec. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

309. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England has determined to keep a factor resident at Antwerp, to enable him to contract loans (*far cambij*) when required, without sending the Secretary Erasso from time to time; his Majesty has made choice of a German, by name Matthew Schetz, with an annual salary of 4,000 crowns.

King Philip's harbingers (*forieri*) depart to-day for Antwerp to prepare his quarters there, he being expected to go thither shortly, though the day is not fixed.

* The ambassador has not registered the act "Touching Poodyke in Marshande" (*see* Vol. IV. as above, p. 294), and as it concerned the preservation of dikes, a subject of great interest to the Venetians, I am at a loss to account for the omission.

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His Majesty has been again, masked, to another wedding in the house of Madame d'Aler, who is considered very handsome, and of whom he seems much enamoured (*alla quale mostra portar amor grande*).

Orders have been sent to Louvain to print certain articles said to have been stipulated heretofore between the King of France and Sultan Soliman, as also some letters addressed by his most Christian Majesty to Dragut Rey (*sic*),* in which he styles him "*mon cousin.*"

This is said to be in exchange for the books printed and circulated in England to the disparagement of King Philip and the Spanish nation, the blame of this being attributed to the most Christian King aforesaid.

Brussels, 11th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. **310.** CARDINAL MORONE to CARDINAL POLE.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. xv.

If God with His infinite power, goodness, and wisdom rules and directs all the affairs of the world, as Morone believes, although his ignorance and pride often endeavour to persuade him to the contrary, he cannot doubt that what has been done to-day in consistory about providing for the church of Canterbury, was done by His great providence and goodwill, as through His Spirit his vicar has been moved to confer upon Pole the cure of that church, and of all the realm of England, as also of the Apostolic See, and, as Morone hopes, of all Christendom.† Prays God who has called Pole to this toil to increase His gifts to him, so that the appointment may conduce to the salvation of souls and to the divine glory, as universally expected.

The Pope decided to make the proposal in consistory, greatly commending the prudence, goodness, doctrine (*dottrina*), and religion of Pole, much to the consolation of the whole College, which competed with his Holiness in bestowing these praises; the cardinals absent from gout being, Carpi, San Giacomo, Tournon, and Pisani, and Crispo was out of Rome. The Cardinal of Lorraine evinces so much love for Pole that Morone has become his slave, and believes him to be a man of worth, and excellently disposed. The Pope has also willed that from this day forth Pole be removed from the list of cardinal deacons to that of cardinal priests; and when despatching the bulls, will send the other necessary things required hence for the execution of the archiepiscopal office.

His Holiness was also very glad to hear of the convocation of bishops now being held by Pole for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, nor can he sufficiently thank God, and praise the Queen for her piety, in so ardently seeking the constant increase of religion in England, and the welfare of her subjects; and when expediting the affair of the archbishopric, he will send the briefs required for the

* Dragut-Rais was the favourite, and subsequently the successor, of the famous pirate Barbarossa, *alias* Barberousse, who, in the second part of King Henry VI. (Act 4, scene 2), is styled "*Bargulus*, the strong Illyrian pirate."

† "Perchè ha mosso col suo spirito il Vicario suo a dar la cura di essa Chiesa et di tutto il Regno de Inghilterra, ma anchora di questa santa sede, et come Io spero di tutta la Christianità."

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said convocation, having given Fiordibello the order to this effect; and will also send the briefs for the Legation about the peace, which, as said by him this morning to Morone, the Pope hopes for (after God) solely by means of the Queen and of Pole; adding that should it be necessary, he will give him orders to go to Flanders about this business, and to whatever other place shall be deemed expedient; as, in fact, affairs at Rome keep always fluctuating, the Pope being dissatisfied with the proceedings of all the foreign ministers in Italy, both Imperialists and French, they on their part showing themselves equally ill-pleased with the bad actions (*le male attioni*) of his Holiness, so that it will be difficult to do any good in this quarter, although the Pope seems willing to proceed with all patience for the sake of bringing this affair of the peace to an end. Pole will perceive how indolent Morone has become, writing to him so seldom, and when he does write, as at present, not using his own hand. Prays Pole to pardon him, and to love him as usual, and to remember him in his prayers.

Rome, 11th December 1555.

P.S. Salutes Monsigr. Priuli and the Abbot of San Saluto.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Letter Book, penes me, p. 98.

311. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday, when speaking about the peace, the Pope said to me, "The French continue well inclined towards it, and to refer everything to us, but we find greater harshness (*durezza*) on the part of the Imperialists, perhaps because their ministers here are not agreed together, nor are they experienced. There is the Marquis of Sarria, a rough Biscayan, with little practical knowledge of business, who was preceded by Count Chinchon, a more adroit and intelligent person, but as the Marquis Sarria disliked him, and he not being ambassador in ordinary, he departed. There has now come Garcilasso de la Vega, a person somewhat tractable and discreet, but in the end they are all alike, *et omnes uno ordine habetis Achivos.* We bear with them as much as we can, in order to preserve fitting means whereby to effect some good."

Rome, 14th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 32, pp. 93, 94.

312. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The consistory gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to the Cardinal of England, the whole college applauding, and bestowing so much praise on his right reverend Lordship that it was remarkable (*che fu cosa grande*). The friends and servants of Cardinal Pole here in Rome say, nevertheless, that when giving him this archbishopric no one dared reproach him, as they did when he was proposed for the popedom (*al tempo del Pontificato*) [in 1549–1550], with entertaining certain anti-Catholic opinions (*che fusse in alcuni opinioni non Catholici*); and that now even his invidious and lukewarm friends have commended his collation to this bishopric,

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thinking thus to compel him—he having always made the profession he did—to remain for life at his own see of Canterbury, for the government of his church, and by keeping him in this way at a distance from Rome, to free themselves from a very formidable competitor for the popedom when a vacancy shall occur. (*Et per questa via lontanandolo di quì, liberarsi d'un grandissimo concorrente al Pontificato, quando occorrerà il caso.*)

Rome, 14th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

313. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Carraffa.

Is more and more confirmed in his hope that the presence in Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine will facilitate the peace. On the 7th November wrote to Caraffa announcing the opening of Parliament, which has now been adjourned (*che è poi finito*), the subsidy having been granted very readily unanimously (*da tutti*); and they also confirmed the grant of the church property which had been annexed to the Crown, but not without much difficulty and repugnance (*impugnantia*) on the part of some members of the Lower House, though both the Prelates and the Peers agreed to it easily, as Pole wrote in detail to his agent. On the first Sunday in Advent a solemn procession was made for the great benefit received through the reconciliation; and in the convocation of the Prelates it was ordained that this is to be done every year on St. Andrew's day throughout the kingdom. The convocation is still sitting, and Pole will give detailed account of its proceedings to the Pope. Should his Holiness be pleased to send the brief about which Pole wrote to Caraffa, it might arrive in time, as he believes the convocation will not end before Lent.

London, 15th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

314. Cardinal Pole to [Francisco de Mendoza], Cardinal of Burgos.

The merchants in Spain who are commissioned to receive Pole's pension on the see of Burgos, write that when they applied for its arrears to the Cardinal's agents they were told that it was intended always to keep in hand the first fruits of one year. Pole cannot believe that such is the Archbishop's intention, as he remembers the reply given by him on this subject to his messenger at Louvain, which was quite contrary to this, and in accordance with the justice and courtesy always shown by Mendoza towards Pole, and with the affection and service rendered by him to the Archbishop, whom he requests to give orders for the full payment of Pole's entire credit, as he has great need of his scanty revenues, because of the many expenses he has had to incur, and to which he is constantly liable. Had the agents paid the arrears when due, as Pole expected by reason of his reliance on Mendoza, he would have been able to receive the money in England, without any interest, whereas he will now lose about 25 per cent. Received lately the Archbishop's letter, delivered by Count Chinchon, and full of Mendoza's usual

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affection for him, for which he thanks him to the utmost. They have heard in London of Mendoza's going to Sienna. Prays God to comfort that city, as he is sure the Archbishop desires.

London, 15th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

315. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England sent one of her three chamberlains (*uno delli tre camerieri*) to her consort to visit him (*per visitar Sua Maestà Regia*), having heard of his late slight indisposition, and to tell him that on several accounts she ought not to wish for his return to England (*et per dirle, ch' ella non potria per più rispetti desiderare il ritorno suo in quel Regno*), and that to do him due honour she will not confer either the see of Winchester, or the grade of Lord High Chancellor, nor the charge of the Privy Seal, until his arrival, provided it take place speedily, as such important charges must of necessity be filled up. The King sent him back yesterday, with thanks to the Queen for her loving office and protestations (*et proteste*), announcing his firm intention of performing without fail the promise given her repeatedly as soon as he can, that is to say, on completion of the business which compels him to go to Antwerp. Before his departure the chamberlain said to some of the King's attendants that in like manner as he shall gladly be the bearer of this good news to his mistress, so did he promise not to give account of his Majesty's having twice gone abroad masked in this wretched weather (*per questo pessimo aere*), and of his dancing at the weddings, as he feared lest the Queen, who is easily agitated, might take it too much to heart (*perchè dubiteria che la Regina che è facile ad alterarsi non sentisse troppo passione*).

According to general report, King Philip has appointed Don Luis Davila to go to the Queen to return thanks for what is aforesaid, *but from what I have heard from a person of quality, and who ought to know the fact, for the purpose of negotiating that in virtue of a law of the realm, purporting that any King may of his own authority crown his consorts, the Queen as heir of the crown of England do avail herself of this law, to crown him* (per negotiar che la Regina in virtù di una legge del Regno, la qual è, che ogni Re di propria auttorita possa incoronar le consorti, voglia, come herede che è di essa corona, servirsi della detta legge, per incoronarlo), *especially as there are many persons of quality, the dependents of their Majesties, who will by all means favour the accomplishment of this result. The same person, who is an Englishman, told me that according to his belief the Queen will not take upon herself to do so great a thing, because there being another statute, compelling all Englishmen to obey their kings in all military matters, after they have been crowned, under penalty of loss of life and property, she would fear a rebellion in the kingdom* (conciosiachè essendovi un altra legge che obliga tutti gli Inglesi ad obbedir in tutte le cose della guerra alli Re coronati che siano, sotto pena di perder la vita et la roba, ella temeria di qualche sollevamento in esso Regno); *and that the*

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English [*ministers*] *now in her service will not counsel her to do so, by reason of their own private interests, especially from suspicion that the King would subsequently displace them for those of the opposing factions* (delle fattioni contrarie), *who now advise her Majesty to demand this coronation. My informant* [*Sir Philip Hoby ?*] *came to the conclusion that the Queen will compromise this matter with the King, by giving him part of the money obtained by her from Parliament.*

Sir Peter Carew has arrived here and says he will accompany the King, together with Sir Philip Hoby and Sir John Masone, when his Majesty goes to England ; Carew thus showing, that although the Queen has pardoned him owing to the King's mediation, he does not venture to go sooner, not having received from her a written release. The King has had a courier despatched to his steward Don Diego de Azevedo with 15,000 crowns, for distribution amongst the persons of his household who remained in England. With regard to his Majesty's departure for Antwerp, it is uncertain whether it will take place before or after the Christmas holidays, and the harbingers who went in advance write that every thing connected with their office is prepared, and that the platform in the cathedral, on which the King is to perform the ceremony of the Knights of the Fleece, will soon be completed. The King would wish the Emperor's attendants to go and wait upon him at this ceremony, but according to report, they find their Flemish creditors determined not to allow them to depart until they pay for the goods received by them, from fear lest they subsequently proceed to England with the King, without returning hither, as is said to be his Majesty's intention.

Three days ago the Emperor again took to his bed from gout, which the courtiers here say has prevented the publication of the renunciation of the kingdoms of Sicily and Aragon, to his most serene son ; and Don Ruy Gomez and Gonzalo Perez assure every one that on the cessation of this impediment it will be indubitably published, after which the despatch of all affairs will be heard of.

The Siennese delegates thanked the King for the charitable donation of 20,000 crowns, which they understood had been already ordered by him for the hospitals, but in his reply the King expressed himself ambiguously, declining their thanks, either because he had not sent this commission, or as said by some of his Majesty's attendants, because he does not choose to make a boast of what should be done, and not talked about. These delegates have transacted business several times with the Bishop of Arras, telling him they were commissioned to beseech the Emperor to take pity on their misfortunes, and to give orders for the soldiery no longer to behave with such great insolence as they do, both towards the nobility and others, insulting them in various manners, even in their own houses, as enemies on account of the past events, robbing as much as they can, even the most trifling effects which remained to the inhabitants.

Brussels, 15th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Dec. 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

316. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Enclosed an abstract of the Acts passed by the present Parliament, showing briefly all that had been decreed relating both to public and private matters. *Subsequently two or three members of the Lower House were imprisoned for having by word and deed comported themselves more licentiously than becoming. One of them is Sir Anthony Kingston, a gentleman of renown, who has followers, both on account of his wealth as also by reason of the grades conferred upon him here at the Court in the time of King Henry VIII. This individual is accused of being the chief author of the rejection of the bill for recalling the absentees, as on the last day, when the proposal to this effect was made, perceiving that the majority of the Lower House was inclined to throw it out, in order not to give time to the Speaker and the supporters of the bill, as was sought by them, that they might by some intrigue, as they succeeded in doing by the preceding bill for the cession of the tenths and first fruits, gain the "noes," Kingston, followed by some other gentlemen, his friends, putting himself together with them at the door of the house, to prevent any one who had the wish to do so from quitting it, said openly, with a loud voice, that he did not choose the present bill to be treated like the last, which was carried against the conscience of many members by means of delay, and therefore insisted on an immediate division; so by his thus giving courage to the others the absentee bill was thrown out, he and all his colleagues showing, as it were, that they had taken their revenge for the anger caused them by the passing of the church property bill. This Sir Anthony is in the Tower, and as yet in such close confinement that no one may speak to him, so it is not known whether he will receive further punishment for his offence. On the same account strange language passed in the House between Sir George Howard, the Admiral's brother* (sic)*—although he is gentleman of the mouth* (gentilhomo di bocca) *to the King—and Sir Edward Hastings, the Queen's Master of the Horse, with great risk of their coming to blows, Howard opposing the absentee bill, and Hastings defending it, according to his custom, as he is one of the Queen's most hearty servants. When the members left the House—being . . . . . at Lord Pembroke's table, and having commenced debating these matters with some others of Howard's opinion—they were well-nigh maltreated, otherwise than with words, by the Earl, who, taking the Queen's part, in like manner had a dispute with one Master Paretes* (sic) [*query, Sir John Perrott*], *his most favourite and familiar gentleman, whom, in a strange manner, he dismissed and turned out of his house, after which event many other gentlemen in the Earl's service took their leave of him.*

Thus audacity and discontent gain ground daily, but the individuals in question, being mere private gentlemen, their proceedings are not to be held in great account; on the other hand, the chief nobility and principal personages, if not so, at least show themselves very well disposed and inclined towards the Queen's demands and wishes, commending and defending her Majesty's acts by every sort of demonstration.

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The Portuguese Ambassador has obtained the settlement desired by him with regard to his affair concerning the Guinea navigation. The Queen, on hearing King Philip's opinion, gave orders for the vessels destined for that voyage, which were on the point of departure, having all their stores on board, to be disarmed and unloaded, much to the regret of these Londoners, who are concerned in this navigation, as they thus lose the opportunity for making great profits, in accordance with the experiment made by them; nor was it any use their offering hostages and sufficient security to the King of Portugal not to touch at any place on the African coast dependent on his Majesty, nor to attend to anything but mere trade, as he pretends that it is all his and under his jurisdiction, although as yet he be not acknowledged in all the places of the coast, nor by all its inhabitants. They now, having already incurred the cost of fitting out the ships and purchasing goods, so much to their charge, earnestly request leave to make the voyage for this once.

King Philip's confessor [Alfonso de Castro] has departed hence, and Don Diego de Azevedo, the Lord Steward, with all the rest of the household, will do the like in a few days, an indication, according to some persons, that the intentions announced by King Philip to the Queen of his being here at the Epiphany are mere words.

London, 16th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 17 ?*
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

317. Cardinal Pole to Don Bernardo [Scotti], afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Trani.

Has received his letter from Rome, and is not surprised at his trouble, but rejoices much at the cause of it; and as to the advice asked by him, can but counsel Scotti to do as Pole himself did in a similar case, by obeying, and the more readily, the more it was repugnant to him, hoping that the goodness of God will always aid and favour Scotti for his own service and that of his Church, for which sole end Pole is very certain that the Pope was moved to show his mind towards Scotti and the other persons named, much to the praise of his Holiness' judgment and piety; and amongst the rest, the Reverend Father Fra Pedro Soto,† who is now in England, lecturing at Oxford, seems to Pole, by reason of the intimate knowledge he has had of him (besides what is manifest to everybody with regard to his goodness and piety), very worthy of every honour, and a very fitting instrument for the service of his Holiness and the Apostolic See, and to the honour of God; may whose grace (he prays) attend Scotti always, and comfort him according to his need.‡ Monsignor Priuli salutes him with all affection, wishing him

* No date of time in manuscript.

† The intention of Paul IV. to give the red hat to the Spanish theologian, Pedro Soto, was not realized, but I know not for what reason.

‡ In Cardella (vol. 4, p. 345), it is stated that Bernardo Scotti was Archbishop of Taranto (*sic*), and made Cardinal on the 30th December 1555. This letter relates to his scruples about accepting the grade of Cardinal.

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every spiritual comfort. Tells him nothing about English affairs, referring himself to his agent, who will deliver the present letter.

London, 17th December 1555 ?

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

318. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Imperial Ministers excuse themselves to all suitors demanding the despatch of their affairs, by saying that they know not how to comply with their wishes, as the Emperor is unable to use his hand for the signature of edicts already determined on, and that they are all occupied about his renunciations [of Sicily and Aragon]; and when these same suitors apply to King Philip's attendants, requesting them to intercede with him, by reason of their urgent need, they are told that his Majesty has determined not to interfere in any matter relating to those realms until the despatch of the acts of renunciation; and if the Emperor's ministers, to oblige any of their friends, endeavour to obtain the King's signature to any letter, his Majesty's ministers, to deprive them of repute, devise such impediments as to prevent its being given.

Queen Maria attends the council of these lords daily, and, according to her nature and custom, is so early in the chamber as to be always the first; and she sends for the Duke of Savoy as authoritatively (*con quel modo*) as if he were a councillor and not governor. It is generally believed here that as the Emperor will not depart for Spain, so Queen Maria will resume the regency of these provinces; and it seems that her chief object is to have the Duke of Savoy sent as governor to Milan, he marrying the Duchess of Lorraine, to which he has given it to be understood that he will consent, provided the King of England promise him the appointment for life.

The King's confessor [Alfonso de Castro] has arrived here, *and repeated a variety of foul language* (diverse male parole) *uttered by the English, indicating their ill will towards his Majesty and the Spanish nation, narrating the following incident, that on seeing him and the rest of the royal attendants depart, they made great rejoicing, well-nigh universally;* and he goes saying (*et va dicendo*) that the Queen's wish again to see the King is very great, nay boundless (*grandissimo anzi infinito*), and the confessor's departure, and the order sent for the chapel-establishment to go to Spain (*et dell' ordine mandato che la capella vadi in Spagna*) pained her intensely, as she took it for an announcement either that the King would not return to England for a long while, or that, should he return, he would shortly afterwards proceed to Spain, as is generally believed.

Yesterday King Philip, Queen Maria, and the Duke of Savoy went hunting, and in the evening his Majesty masked himself, to go to his usual amusements (*et la sera S. M. R. per andar a suoi usati piaceri si mascherò*).

Brussels, 18th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555. Dec. 18. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 34, pp. 103, 106.

319. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope and certain cardinals lately held a congregation, in which they determined to send, in writing, to England, the mode of deposing and degrading the Archbishop of Canterbury, already deprived, and in this same congregation burst forth in violent terms against the Duke of Florence, calling him *Trufarello*, and threatening him. The report of a promotion of cardinals has been so rife, that in the consistory held last Wednesday his Holiness was expected to name them; so the day before, the Cardinal San Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], Augsburg, and Morone, and the Imperial Ambassador [Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis of Sarria], urged the Pope to name some at the suit of the Emperor and the King of England, but his Holiness repulsed them, saying he would not name cardinals at the demand of princes.

It was evident from his countenance, as also from what he said the moment he sat down, that the Pope entered consistory in a very great rage, and when the Cardinal de Bellai, the "*Decano*," presented himself, he said he would not give him audience; and then when the Cardinal San Giacobo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] made the like demand, after telling him to be gone, when the Cardinal insisted on it, he pushed him away with a blow on the breast (*gli diede una mano del petto et lo rebutò*), which, being done in so public a place, has caused much comment. The Cardinal San Giacobo, being compelled to sit down, his Holiness said he understood that certain cardinals said he was not at liberty to create more than four cardinals, as it would be contrary to the articles of his oath, which showed that they did not understand things thoroughly, and were not aware that the Pope cannot be bound, and that even other persons are not bound to keep their promises, should they in the course of time perceive them to be detrimental to the common weal, dilating greatly on this point, but little to the honour of the cardinals, quoting many authorities from scripture, and the decisions of canonists, and adding, "and in case any of you are apprehensive of excommunication, we bless and absolve you, for we intend to make cardinals, nor do we choose any reply."* He also uttered some other words purporting that the cardinals have no decisive vote, but only a consultative one, saying besides, that he was compelled by necessity to make cardinals, as in the College he did not see persons of whom he could make use, all having their faction and dependency; wherefore he would make some according to inspiration received from the Holy Spirit, individuals good, learned, neutral, and such as his Holiness could place trust in, and employ on such business as necessary, and that he would enlighten them; nor would he elect anyone by reason of ties of blood, nor at the suit of princes, and that none, neither cardinals nor ambassadors, were to dare to speak to him about cardinals for princes; though on the other hand, were the said cardinals to wish to say anything to him on this subject, he would

* "Et se pure alcuno di voi dubitasse di escomunicatione, vi benedicemo et assolvemo, perchè volemo far Cardinali, nè volemo replica."

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hear them willingly, but in his chamber apart; that he well knew that the poor cardinals did not like the creation of other cardinals, as there is greater difficulty in providing for many than for few; but in this matter his Holiness would make provision, and not permit temporal princes to give and refuse possession of benefices according to their own power, and to the service rendered them by cardinals; that it was contrary to the ecclesiastical liberty for princes to call cardinals and other churchmen to them, by detaining their revenues, and banishing them if they disobeyed; that he could not bear such things, and would provide against them; and that he said this with reference to the Imperialists as well as to the French, Germans, and others who acted thus; nor did his Holiness come to any particulars, either about the number of the persons whom he intended to promote to the cardinalate, or their names.

The "*Decano*," Cardinal Bellai, rose to reply to apologize for the Sacred College, but the Cardinals fearing he might irritate the Pope yet more, would not allow him to speak, demonstrating that it was not the moment, and although his right reverend Lordship said he would speak with all submission and moderation, yet seeing the Pope's violent, anger and the little respect shown by him to the College, and all the crowned heads, they were induced not to let him reply.

Rome, 18th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Parti Secrete Consiglio X. File No. 9.

320. Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, concerning a Despatch from England.

That the letters of the 24th ulto., from our ambassador in England be communicated to the Senate; the paragraph at the commencement about what he has heard "from those who are negotiating the peace," etc., to be read thus, that "he has heard on good authority," etc.*

Ayes, 26. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

321. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo Caraffa].

In consequence of what the Pope sent to tell him by the Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote to King Philip as by the enclosed copy of his letter.

To-day the Queen is going to Greenwich with the intention of there awaiting the King, who promises to be here before the Epiphany. After accompanying the Queen, Pole will return to London, to proceed with what remains to be done in the convocation of English prelates.

London, 19th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* The correspondence of Giovanni Michiel now preserved in the Venetian Archives does not contain any despatch dated 24th November 1555, so I infer that the paragraph alluded to above was in the letter dated 25th November, but not at the commencement, and which I have translated thus, "as told me by a person who is as it were the chief instrument in this negociation" ("per quanto mi viene dito da chi in questo maneggio, e come principal instrumento").

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Dec. 20. **322.** Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. As on the return of the Bishop of St. Asaph, the King again commissioned Pole earnestly to continue the negotiation for the peace, although he had never failed doing so with both sides as much as he could, he took occasion from this to send his Abbot of San Saluto to their Majesties at Brussels, to see whether any way could be found for bringing this affair to a good conclusion; nor will he fail to perform every good office with the most Christian King, to the same end, for which the present moment seems the more opportune, as over there (*di là*) they have commenced treating about an exchange of prisoners and cessation of incendiarism, which seems to indicate some disposition towards peace. Queen Mary, likewise, as mediatrix, evinces her usual piety in this matter, and was much pleased to see his Holiness' paternal anxiety to pacify these princes, and hopes that the Pope will avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the presence at Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine, to urge this holy matter more strongly, as Cardinal Caraffa wrote to Pole was his intention. Will give King Philip constant account of what shall be done about this, as also of the resolutions of the convocation of prelates, now being held, and to which, now that is adjourned (*finito*), they are attending with more convenience and diligence. The Queen was much pleased with what the Bishop of St. Asaph brought her from Rome, as Pole believes she will have informed the King by letter.

London, 20th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20. **323.** Cardinal Pole to Pope Paul IV.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. The Pope having, by the Bishop of St. Asaph, again commissioned Pole to continue the negotiation for peace with all earnestness, he therefore sent the Abbot of San Saluto to Brussels, and will also perform every office to the like effect with the most Christian King; and the moment seems to him opportune, as the parties are treating an exchange of prisoners and cessation from incendiarism, being apparently rather disposed towards peace, the Queen on her part encouraging it by all means, and being much pleased to see the Pope's paternal anxiety to pacify these princes, and hopes that the presence at Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine will facilitate the matter. Will give the Pope account of the result of these negotiations, and of the convocation of the English prelates, to which, as Parliament has adjourned, they are now attending with more convenience and assiduity. The Queen was much pleased with the replies brought to her by the Bishop of St. Asaph, as Pole believes will have been announced to the Pope by her own letters.

London, 20th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. **324.** Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. On the day before yesterday there arrived here postwise [from Rome], a chaplain of the King of England, he having been des-

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patched by the Imperial Ambassador with sundry letters from Cardinals and other dependants of the Emperor and King Philip, giving them detailed account of the proceedings of the Pope with regard to the wish evinced by him for their Majesties to make peace with France; they represent his Holiness as discoursing so lovingly with the Imperial Ambassador that the tears seem to come to his eyes from tenderness (*che per tenerezza li venghino le lagrime in su gl' occhi*), *but that he subsequently makes similar demonstrations with the French Cardinals; so they come to the conclusion —to repeat the identical words uttered to me by a person of quality—that his Holiness is either crazy* (che o Sua Santità delira), *or else by this craftiness* (astutia) *seeks to deceive their Majesties; and one of the Cardinals writes, that to his certain knowledge the Pope is more urgent with the French ministers to wage war immediately than they themselves are.*

Since the arrival here of the gentleman from the King of Poland, I hear that the ministers of the King of England have had a long debate about sending his master the Order of the Fleece, from doubt lest, by reason of his friendship with the King of France, it might offend him; and the gentleman aforesaid, speaking with me on the subject, said he thought it would not be agreeable to his King to hear this, the Order coming to him from a king uncrowned (*non incoronato*), but that it would be accepted by him from the Emperor, his father also having had it.

I have been to the Bishop of Arras, requesting him, as the Emperor's malady lasts so long, the gout preventing him from using his hand for the signature of the letter addressed to the Viceroy of Sicily, to be pleased to procure it from the King of England, so as no longer to delay compliance with the wish of both their Majesties. The Bishop apologized, saying that the Emperor's hand being bandaged, he had been unable to sign either this letter or others of importance to him, but that he (the Bishop) would most readily perform this office with the King; and two days later, when my secretary went to remind him of it, he sent the order immediately to Secretary Vargas, who was again in bed, owing to his usual malady of stone, and excused himself from then making this application, nor would he give the letter to another secretary, saying that he himself must speak to the King on this subject. Many indications convince me of the truth of what I have heard from many, namely, that the ministers of the Emperor cannot obtain anything from those of the King.

The jubilee sent hither by the Pope that prayers may be offered up for the Almighty to incline the princes of Christendom to peace is taken by the Flemings with their usual devotion, *but the Spaniards say that his Holiness, by keeping so great an amount of soldiery in his pay, shows himself more desirous of war than of peace.*

Brussels, 22nd December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Dec. 20.
Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 36, pp. 110–113.

325. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, in consistory, the Pope conferred the archbishopric of Trani on the Cardinal of Chieti, a benefice worth 1,000 crowns; and the bishopric of Mirepoix, worth 3,000 crowns, on the Frenchman Reumano.

His Holiness chose to confer the see of Trani, although it belonged to the King of England, which the Cardinals respectfully (*modestamente*) opposed, saying that this was the first church which had become vacant under the King of England, who was wronged by this act. The Pope replied somewhat angrily (*con qualche alteratione*) that the Princes not having provided for those churches in time, he chose to do so in virtue of his office, and that the Cardinals did wrong to favour the temporal Princes, and that they ought to seek the aggrandizement of the Apostolic See; nor would he allow them to instruct him about the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, as he well knew how the affair took place; that concession had been made after the death of Adrian,* and that the judicial act was registered in the name of a corpse, using other violent and angry expressions, to the effect that he would punish those who did not obey him. He then said that he should propose as Cardinals certain persons according to inspiration received by him from the Holy Spirit; and that, although he did not choose to make any at the suit of the crowned heads (*de' Principi*), yet he would elect certain honourable individuals of divers nations, so that they ought to remain satisfied. He accordingly promoted seven to this dignity, as he told me on the preceding day.

The first was a Spaniard, Juan Siliceo, Archbishop of Toledo, 80 years of age. He had been tutor to the King of England, at whose request the Emperor gave him that see, saying that as he had conferred the popedom on his own preceptor, who was Adrian, it was but fair that his son should have authority to make an archbishop.

The second was Don Bernardino Scotto, Archbishop of Trani, a Sabine by birth, who was a long while with his Holiness when he resided in that little monastery in Venice, and subsequently when he passed a good part of his life at Padua, in the Theatine Monastery.

The third was Diomede Caraffa, Bishop of Ariano, a Neapolitan, 66 years old, distantly related to the Pope, brother of the Duke of Ariano, who rebelled against the Emperor, on which account his territory was given to Don Ferrante Gonzaga.

The fourth was the Governor of Rome, Bishop of Motula, a

* I am still unable to ascertain the date of the death of Cardinal Adrian Castellesi, Archbishop of Trani, and Bishop of Bath and Wells in England; but in the Venetian Calendar, Vol. 4, p. 487, it is seen that he was alive in May 1523. The words uttered about him by Pope Paul IV., on the 19th December 1554, were "quella concessione era "statta (*sic*) fatta doppo morto Adriano et che fu rogato un cadavere." To me, the six last words are a mystery, and I can but translate them according to my own guess with regard to their meaning. The list of the Archbishops of Trani in the "*Bibliothèque Sacrée*," Vol. 25, pp. 222–226, is very confused, and makes no mention at all of Adrian Castellesi.

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Sicilian, by name Scipione Rebiba, an old servant of the Pope, whose service he entered as chaplain.

Fifth, Giovanni Reumano, a Frenchman, Bishop of Mirepoix, 50 years old; and I hear that early in the morning, when told that he would be cardinal, he rose from his occupations, and, prostrating himself before a crucifix, said, "*Unde hoc mihi?*"

Sixth, Capizucchi, "*auditor di ruota,*" a Roman, by name Giovanni Angelo, and 40 years old. He is said to have found favour with the Pope because when his Holiness, as cardinal, charged him with a suit in which his niece was concerned, and Capizucchi having passed sentence according to justice, he sent him 100 crowns, of which Capizucchi took but six, saying such was his fee, and sent back the rest, which to the cardinal, who was then secretary, seemed such a proof of goodness that on the present occasion he chose to reward him; and in addition to this, being a Roman, the Pope thought, by electing him, to do what was agreeable to all the Romans, whom he seeks to propitiate in every way.

The seventh was Giovanni Groppero (Gronpiero), a German, Provost of Bonn, who has the reputation of an able theologian, and is about 60 years of age. He attended the Council of Trent as servant of the Archbishop of Cologne, so it is suspected here that the Archbishop-elector, who was one of the six heretofore proposed, may resent this, and many other Germans will perhaps do the like.

The Sacred College admitted them without opposition, and, with the exception of Toledo and Groppero, who are not at Rome, they were called into the chamber of Cardinal Caraffa, with whom (after consistory) they dined, and then late went to the Pope, who gave them the hats. Before consistory broke up a number of cardinals rose to ask the Pope to elect Don Alfonso, the son of his nephew Don Antonio, a youth 20 years of age at the utmost, but who may be said to have been brought up and educated by his Holiness, who, comprehending their wish to speak about this, dismissed them, telling them they would do worse, and must not proceed further (*dicendoli che fariano peggio, et che non bisognava andar più oltre*).

The cardinals were induced to perform this office in favour of Don Alfonso, not so much for the sake of showing their regard for the Caraffa family, and ingratiating themselves with the Cardinal and his brothers, as to deprive the Pope of an opportunity for a fresh election of cardinals, which they suspect might take place sooner, for the sake of naming his aforesaid nephew, as nothing disturbs the Sacred College more than frequent nominations to that grade.

The present election is spoken of at this court in various manners, but, to say the truth, it is not much commended, nor does it seem to have been made in the manner expected, the Pope having said that he would appoint very eminent individuals (*huomini molto segnalati*).

His Holiness' nephews are dissatisfied with him, because they were unable to obtain one single nomination of those desired by them, and thus it seems to them a loss of repute, the inference being that they are not of much authority with him.

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The French cardinals, likewise, were unable to obtain even one of those who were very earnestly demanded by them.

Rome, 20th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

326. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Was told by the King that his commissioners had been twice with the Imperialists about the exchange of prisoners, but merely settled to send a messenger to the Marshal de la Marck to know his will, and his Majesty said, laughing, "The Imperialists proposed that I should give them Marienburg for the release of the Constable's son, to which my commissioners merely replied that Mons. de Montmorency is the son of the Constable, and not of the King of France, and that rather than cede Marienburg the Constable would give all his sons." His Majesty also said that for the release of the Marshal they demanded the castle of Bouillon, which was denied them in like manner, and that in the negotiation a distinction was made between the prisoners, negotiating separately about those who belonged to the Emperor, such as the Marshal, and those who were the property of private individuals, like Mons. de Montmorency.

In conclusion the King said that, although the Imperialists showed themselves very haughty (*altieri*), yet did it seem that some settlement (*conclusione*) might be hoped for, most especially as the King of England had shown signs of great goodwill, having had some gentlemen prisoners released, paying their ransom with his own money, the King adding, "Ambassador, I cannot but be well satisfied with good works." I asked his Majesty if between these commissioners there had been any talk of making any adjustment between their Majesties, to which he replied that neither side had exhibited any commission to that effect, although in the course of conversation between them it had been said, "It would be high time to devise some adjustment between both these two crowns." Rejoined that the King of England was understood to have shown himself very well disposed, and that some good result might therefore be hoped for. His Majesty replied, "Yes, of the King one can in truth say nothing but the utmost good, and of the Queen of England likewise, she and Cardinal Pole not failing to perform every good office. As for me, I shall always be of the same mind as I have told you several times, and made known to the whole world." Inquired when the Emperor's departure would take place. He said he did not know for certain, but that it ought to be about Christmas; and his Majesty, having then paused, I congratulated him on the arrival at Rome of the Cardinal of Lorraine. The King seemed glad of it, and said he was in good health, as also the Pope, who since his election had grown younger and become fat, so that he might be expected to live for 20 years. Rejoined that his Holiness seeing himself so favoured by his Majesty, it was not surprising that he should be in such good plight, and that something had been said about the wish of the Pope likewise to mediate and devise some form of adjustment between his Majesty and the King of England. "By my faith, ambassador," replied the King, "the Cardinal [of Lorraine] writes to me *that as yet*

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he did not well know what his Holiness had in his mind, though it is true he discussed the matter but in general terms, and the cardinal gave him account of what took place at the late conference, and of my wish not to depart from what is fair; but down to that time the Pope had not made any proposal to him, and so far as I have heard his Holiness sent a despatch on the subject to Cardinal Pole."

Replied to this, that the Pope on the one hand wishing to mediate in this matter, and Cardinal Pole on the other negotiating in like manner with the Queen of England, it seemed to me that sure hope might be had of some adjustment, whereupon the King, shrugging his shoulders, said, "God grant what is for the best; as with regard to me, I will not fail doing what is fair, as was always intended by me, and as I gave to be understood by word of mouth from my commissioners at the late conference."

Blois, 23rd December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

327. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Bishop of St. Asaph [Thomas Goldwell], who was sent hence lately to give account to the Pope of the cession made by their Majesties of the Church property, and to be confirmed in his bishopric, besides narrating the many honours and favours received from his Holiness, *has very earnestly represented to Cardinal Pole, in the Pope's name, that this side must by no means drop the affair of the peace, as he hopes that the Queen likewise will persevere in the offices hitherto performed by her, and his Holiness likewise on his part will employ all his authority and power. Cardinal Pole, encouraged by this relation, in addition to the recent advices from Brussels, without awaiting farther reply to the despatch sent lately to France, anticipating that it will prove such as he wishes it to be, in order to gain more time, and have as much space as possible for the negotiation, before the arrival of the funds with which to carry on the war and raise troops on both sides, as devised during this interval, has determined to send the Abbot of San Saluto across the Channel to the King and to the Emperor, to learn and ascertain thoroughly the will of their Majesties, and convince himself whether it be really such as written by the President d'Amont, coming to such particulars as are necessary in a similar affair, about which he will negotiate face to face for the avoidance of such scruples as are common to sovereigns in business of this sort with regard to committing their affair to a third person; and should he find their Majesties so disposed as to warrant hopes of an adjustment, he, comprehending easily whether they accede to it or not, the entire negotiation having passed through his hands, will, at the option of the Emperor and the King, either go in person to France yet more to straighten the treaty, or else return to England, leaving the Queen to send some one for the purpose, so that, should they have, as seems almost necessary, to hold a fresh congress either here or elsewhere, it may be effected with less trouble. For this occasion,*

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therefore, and for this end, the Abbot departed four days ago post-wise, and on his negotiations the entire success or failure of the business in these parts depends. Besides sending the Abbot, Cardinal Pole also forwarded a despatch to France by the secretary of the French ambassador in England, who preceded the Abbot by three or four days. Does not know whether the ambassador sent him express post haste for this or some other purpose.

All the ships (four excepted) which had been armed to convoy the Emperor have been recalled from sea to the Thames, and disarmed, to save the expense. The four remain to secure the passage between Dover and Calais for Don Diego and the rest of the King's household, which is already on the way; the Queen, on dismissing Don Diego, having given him a chain worth 1,200 crowns, which she placed round his neck with her own hands.

The parties concerned in the Guinea voyage were unable to obtain permission from the Portuguese ambassador to make it for this once only, although the Queen interceded for them, but two or three ships have gone thither secretly, with little fear of being impeded or molested.

London, 23rd December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 24. Miscellaneous Documents, Venetian Archives.

328. Deposition of Marco da Risano.*

Marco of Risano, being examined before the most excellent Lords Chiefs [of the Ten], was addressed thus:—

"You told the Procurator, Carlo Morosini, that you know of an order given for the murder in this city of Courtenay, who is coming from England to Venice, Narrate what you know concerning this matter."

To this interrogatory Marco of Risano replied,—

"On the 28th (*sic*) of August (1555), Ruy Gomez quitted England for Flanders, and before his departure he gave orders for me to speak to him, and I found him booted (*tutto instivolato*), and on the eve of departure, so that I was no longer able to speak to him. He said to me,† 'Captain, thou art to cross over to Flanders; thou wilt come to see me there.' I crossed on our Lady's Eve in September, and went to Brussels, where I found the said Don Ruy Gomez, and having gone to him several times, he made me return repeatedly. At length, on the 18th October, when about to proceed on my journey, I went and saw him, and he said to me, 'Captain, I have heard of your renown, that you are a brave and honest man, and can do a service which will be very agreeable to me. If thou wilt perform this service, I will give thee a thousand crowns, and obtain for thee the favour of King Philip, who will cause thee to obtain more than thou hast had from the Emperor. A certain

* As this deposition contains a very heavy charge against the Spanish minister, Ruy Gomez, it has been thought fit to give it in full, that the reader may be better able to judge of its veracity, and at the same time form an idea of the renowned freebooters, the "Uscoques."

† "Di modo che non gli potei parlar più; lui mi disse," &c.

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individual is going to Venice, named Courtenay, who expects to be King of England. On my sending to thee a person of mine, according to description, you will be able to discover his abode, and perform the service in his company, as he will have other companions, and you, who are acquainted with the place, will be able to find boats and the ferries for their escape, so that they may not be seized ; they are good men and true (*loro sono homeni da ben*), and carry three harquebuses, each with three balls. When they shall have done the deed, assist them, and escape with them into Puglia, when thou shalt see what I will do for thee.' I answered him that, on the opportunity's presenting itself, I would act willingly ; answering thus for my own benefit, but God forbid I should kill any one for money, were they to give me Naples ; and so as I speak the truth so may God help me, nor as yet has any thing more come of it."

The Ten then said to Marco of Risano, "You told the aforesaid most noble Morosini that you had the means of rendering obedient to us a great captain of the Uscoques ;* say what means you have, and who this captain is."

To this he replied, "On the day of the Corpus Domini I was travelling to Flanders, and on the road found the Captain Zuan of Segna, who was going to the court of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. I did not know him, and, as he was clad in our fashion, I approached him to learn who he was, and from one of his servants I heard that he was Zuan of Segna, and requested to make his acquaintance. We went to Mittenwald in Bavaria, and I lodged in the same hostel with him, and clad myself in the Sclavonian fashion, and we sat at two tables. At first he thought I was an Italian, but immediately, on seeing me in that garb, he sent to know who I was. I gave my name, and he immediately jumped up (*saltò*) from his table, and came to embrace me, saying, 'I know your renown, and that you and all your brothers are brave men, and I wish to oblige you, as with us (*in casa nostra*) they say you have a good character at Venice, and with all the potentates of the world.'

" We sat thus, pledging each other in our cups, and became very great friends that evening. He began talking to me about the Signory of Venice and the Uscoques. I told him that he and all the Uscoques do very wrong to outrage the most illustrious Signory, saying, 'Lord Captain, quit that road; for the Venetian Signory never dies, and has a long arm, and takes hares by cartloads (*et pia lepra per li carri*), as they did in the case of Milos. The Signor Cosazza was in our bands, having been driven from his home by the Turks, and he came to Venice, the Signory graciously giving him an appointment. Then Cernovich, being expelled by the Turks, went to Montenegro, and he likewise had stipend from those gracious Lords. Musacchi and the Balsi clan came, and were all taken into the Republic's service,

* The Uscoques were Dalmatian outlaws, whose chief stronghold at the time of this deposition was Segna. (*See* Histoire des Uscoques, par Amelot de la Houssaie, p. 19, translated by him from the Italian of Minuccio Minucci, Archbishop of Zara ; and it may be read in the original, in the fifth volume of the works of Fra Paolo Sarpi, ed. Venezia, Mejetti, 1677.)

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as likewise their friend Alessio Sparri, every one of them being reinstated (*remmessati*), the Signory punishing those who persisted in their crimes, and they made a bad end. Do you not know about Versacio, a robber, the Signory's enemy, who, seeing he could not escape, asked for a safe conduct, and was received by those gracious Lords, who, like Christ, embrace all comers? We, the poor children of Risano, having been expatriated by the Turks, were in like manner embraced, and received honourable stipend. The other potentates change, but the Signory remains for ever. When Segna and Croatia, which cannot long hold out against Sultan Soliman, shall be taken, where will you go? Would it not be better to seek a home whilst there is yet time?' He replied, 'And would the Signory take me?' I said, 'Yes, sir; for all are received, and they would rather have you alive than dead, because they are very meek Lords (*Signori humilissimi*), and always wait for their enemy to turn from his wickedness (*opinione*).' He then said, 'If I tendered them my obedience they would not give me employment (*intertenimento*).' I replied, 'If thou camest like an honest man, with our company, showing thyself faithful as I am, and pointing out to them all their enemies, and so many islanders their vassals, who spy, and injure, and put them to shame, I am of opinion that they would not fail to give you employment in some place, and so it would be well for your Lordship to renounce sin, and the shame of taking other men's goods, most especially being such a brave, handsome gentleman as you are (*massime un bel zentilhomo valente, et di seguito, come sete voi, et vostri fioli*), with followers, you and your children, and the Signory will certainly not fail you if you are true to yourself.' He replied, 'After my death how will my sons fare?' I said, 'They will be honest men; the Signory will not fail them either, provided they renounce plundering, for the wolf lives by plunder, and never has a home, and dies a bad death.' On hearing this he got up and embraced me, and chose to have me for his sworn brother, tendering me an oath upon my weapons (*sopra le mie arme*) not to tell this to any one; and thus did he promise to render obedience to the most illustrious Signory, together with his company, offering to destroy the Uscoques and all your enemies, and to point out the spies and everything, and he told me, on my return from England, to write to him at Segna; but, having returned, I wrote nothing. It is true that, having come hither, a native of Fiume told me that said Signor Zuane desired him to tell me to give him (Zuane) news of the service (*aviso del servitio*). I am not acquainted with this native of Fiume, but believe him to be still here. I went to Messer Carlo Morosini and told him everything, as I always have done, with regard to whatever has happened to me. I, my most illustrious Lords, am now here; if you wish me to write, I will write; if you wish me to go in person, I will go, being ready to risk my life for the service of your most illustrious Lordships; and that you may know who this Signor Zuane is, I will tell you that he is a native of Segna, from 46 to 50 years of age, the handsomest and most sinewy man I ever saw in my life,*—sage,

* Un bellissimo homo sforzato, che mai non vidi un simile.

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polite, eloquent, with a number of children, but I know not how many. He is the greatest captain the Uscoques have, and the chief of all of them, and I believe he is known to your Serenity's representatives. He was on his way to the Court [of Ferdinand, King of the Romans], carrying presents for the King's secretary, Guzman, to adjust the affairs of the victualling department in Croatia (*le cose del vivere di Croatia*), and we quitted each other at Lanzpurch, near Augsburg.

Lectæ confir. Monitus de silentio, et quod quando venerint illi de Archibuseris, faciat Dominos certiores.

[*Ex tergo*] 24th December 1555. Deposition of Marco da Risano, that Ruy Gomez requested him to assist in having Courtenay murdered in Venice, and he (Marco da Risano) offers to place Zuan da Segna, captain of the Uscoques, in our service.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

329. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to communicate the summaries from Constantinople to the King of England, both to have an opportunity for again reminding him of the despatch of the letter to the Viceroy of Sicily, as also because I had already comprehended that he wished me to perform this office in person. According to his custom he used most loving language in thanking your Serenity, and seemed thoroughly to understand the importance of that galley's departure from Constantinople for Algiers, owing perhaps to the advices received from Spain, purporting that after the capture of Bugia they intended to attack Oran. Reminded him of his courteous offer to despatch the letter to Sicily, saying I had announced to your Serenity his compliance with this fair and just demand, and wished now to tell you of its having been carried into effect, and as by reason of the gout the Emperor was unable to sign the letter, I requested his Royal Majesty to write to the Viceroy, either in the Emperor's name or his own, which on every account would prove, I supposed, as authoritative as I could wish. He replied that he hoped the Emperor would have his hand free to sign it in three or four days, and that, if not, he would ask permission to do so in his name. From fear lest this matter be further delayed, I used such language, when thanking his Majesty, as to induce him at length to despatch it, which with a joyful countenance he promised to do in the act of my taking leave.

The Abbot of San Saluto, who came heretofore to the Emperor, in the name of Cardinal Pole, to treat about the peace between his Majesty and the most Christian King, has returned with credentials from his right reverend Lordship and the Queen to the Emperor and King Philip. Immediately on his arrival he went to the Bishop of Arras, and on the morrow had audience of the King, and after long conversation with his Majesty and his right reverend Lordship about the various means whereby to resume the negotiation for peace or a suspension of hostilities during two years, being asked whether he had any written instructions on the subject, he said he had not, but

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that Cardinal Pole had been moved to send him again in consequence of a brief lately received from the Pope, charging him to recommence this negotiation, and to pray the Queen again to take it to heart, adding that before his departure he knew her Majesty had a conference with the French ambassador, evincing a stronger wish than ever for the peace to be made, and using certain haughty expressions (*usando alcune alte parole*), in case the King of France show himself averse to an act so beneficial for Christendom. In conclusion, the Abbot said he was come to obtain a written assurance, if not from the Emperor, at least from the King, of their will with regard to commencing any of the negotiations aforesaid. He was received graciously, the King promising him a reply, and the greater part of the courtiers seemed very glad of this mission, especially as the Nuncio had lately read to his Majesty a letter from the Count of Montorio announcing the Pope's most ardent wish for him to come to the King for this purpose, and even praying the Nuncio to find him a lodging; *but neither can fair words nor these demonstrations convince the chief personages of these courts that the Pope is sincere, as, if he were, they would consider the peace concluded.*

Brussels, 26th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

330. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day before yesterday, Mons. de Basse Fontaine,* joint commissioner with the Admiral at the conference for the release of the prisoners, arrived here at the court, and announced the decision for the release of all of them with the exception of four, namely, the Duke d'Arschot [Philippe de Cröy] and the Count de Mansfeldt, his most Christian Majesty's prisoners, and the Marshal de la Marck† and the Constable's son [François de Montmorency], who are the Emperor's prisoners. The conditions are that for their release all save the four above mentioned are to pay one year's rental, and one year's salary or pension of which they may be in receipt from their sovereigns, it being declared that the fathers now living of the prisoners on either side, if they choose to ransom their sons, are to pay but the half of their annual income. His most Christian Majesty has signed the articles, one of the commissioners having gone in like manner to obtain the signatures of the Emperor and the King of England on their part; the commissioners aforesaid being ordered to meet again on the 1st of next month, when they will not fail to make a last effort for the release of the four personages aforesaid, though there does not seem to be much hope of their ransom.

Blois, 27th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* Sebastien de l'Aubespine, Abbé de Bassefontaine. (*See* the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Queen Mary, p. 208, and Index.)

† Robert de la Marck, Sire de Sedan, Duc de Bouillon, Marshal of France. (*See* Calendar as above.)

1555.
Dec. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

331. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

This day the Secretary Vargas sent me the letter addressed by the King of England to the Viceroy of Sicily, which I enclose, *but in my opinion it contains words which will not be to the satisfaction of your Serenity*, for whose information I add that by all the negotiators now here for Italian affairs it is said publicly that not only do the Emperor and the King write occasionally to the said Viceroy with a certain deference (*ad un certo modo con rispetto ad esso Vice-Re*), but also that very few of the commissions contained in their letters are executed by him. On the Emperor's recovery I will propose the suppression of the letter written by his Imperial Majesty, who did not choose to confess and communicate according to his usual custom at Christmas, and as was done by his most Serene son, saying he would acquit himself of this duty on rising from his bed, and when his mind shall be freed from thought about the renunciations of Spain and Sicily. Sends copy of one of the letters whereby his Majesty gives notice in those realms of this his will; all the other letters, upwards of 2,000 in number, containing the same words, with a change of titles.

The commissions sent by the Knights of the Fleece, which the King of England waited for before proceeding to Antwerp, have arrived from Germany, but nothing is said about his Majesty's departure taking place so speedily as had been arranged, some persons supposing it postponed from the wish to see these renunciations carried into effect, as also because the 300,000 crowns which were expected from Spain before Christmas have not arrived, so that the Antwerp merchants have been compelled to defer payment of the bills of exchange until the next fair, which will be the third since payment was due; and as orders have been sent to Bazan, the captain of the seven ships which were to convoy this money, to remain in Spain, so that, if necessary, he may cross over to Africa to succour Oran, the merchants and courtiers have a suspicion that the money will not arrive so soon.

Brussels, 28th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

332. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Abbot of San Saluto's conference with the King of England about the peace, he in the name of the Queen performed an earnest office (*officio efficace*) with his Majesty, apologizing for her non-adoption of any of the resolutions desired by him (*per iscusarla, s'ella non viene a far alcuna di quelle rissolutioni che desiderava*) *in the matter of the coronation, or with regard to waging war on the most Christian King, as mentioned in my former letters, telling King Philip that when she looks round and carefully considers the persons about her she scarcely knows one who has not injured her, or who would fail to do so again were the opportunity to present itself, and* that since she is Queen, the afflictions and perils

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undergone by her have been and still are so great, on account of the religion and from anxiety to preserve public quiet, besides other vexations, that she knew it to be impossible to form either of these important resolutions, without greatly endangering her crown (*senza estremo pericolo delle cose sue*), but that she hoped in the course of a short time to comfort the King with what he seems to desire; and in her Majesty's name and as his personal servant the Abbot exhorted him to go to England as soon as possible, *but I have heard from a person of quality that his Majesty is not inclined to do so, and that the Emperor is of a contrary opinion.* King Philip, however, has written back to the Queen *feeding her in general terms with this hope,* and suggesting that in the meanwhile she could fill up the important offices now vacant, as he shall be satisfied with any appointment made by her, but recommending Lord Paget and the English Ambassador in France [Dr. Wotton] for the Chancellorship.

Brussels, 29th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

333. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Henceforth shall have but little to tell about English affairs, as Parliament being ended, and the Queen having immediately retired to Greenwich, it may be said that all business of importance is terminated. On Christmas eve the Queen of her clemency released from the Tower and from prison Sir Anthony Kingston, who had been confined there lately for what took place in Parliament, he having duly acknowledged the error committed by him, and asked pardon of her Majesty, who, nevertheless, considers him a very faithful vassal and servant, which greatly aided his release. The ship "Pasqualiga and Tamisera," which made the voyage from Lisbon to Southampton in 12 days, brings news that the Infant Don Luis, brother of the King [John III.], died on the 28th ulto., the loss being considered very important for the kingdom of Portugal, which was ruled chiefly by his counsel and ability; it is added that the other brother likewise, the Cardinal [Henry], being very much grieved by this death, was in the same danger.

Letters have been received from France dated the 13th. Does not know whether they are the reply to those written hence which they are expecting, but they are still more anxious to know what shall have been effected at Brussels by the Abbot [Vincenzo Parpaglia], whose business, if not thwarted by the intrigues (*prattiche*) of the French in Italy with the Pope, which seems to be again feared, will have a good result.

London, 30th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. ? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. p. 176, verso.

334. Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal of Trent.

Pole being protector of the congregation of Monte Cassino since many years, and the monks setting a jealous value on the usual graciousness and favour of the Cardinal of Trent, have requested

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Pole to assure him that their non-compliance at this last chapter with his mandate about a person recommended by him for a certain lease (*locazione*), proceeded solely from the just causes stated by them, and they evince great regret at having been unable to satisfy his Lordship in this matter, as they wish to do in everything at all times. Recommends them heartily, and requests the Cardinal to favour and protect them for his sake.

London, ... December.

[*Italian.*]

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1556. Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

335. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the Doge and Senate.

Has had a visit from the Abbot of San Saluto, who told me he had come to King Philip by order of his master the Cardinal of England, and by the will of the Queen, to recommence the negotiation for the peace; having, moreover, the commission sent by the Pope to Cardinal Pole. The Abbot has some reliance on its succeeding, owing to a reply received from the Constable of France, whereby his Excellency confirms what he said to him at Gravelines about the articles of the peace. This the Abbot has now referred to the King of England and to the Bishop of Arras, as follows:—

That the most Christian King chooses the Republic of Genoa to restore what it holds in Corsica, and that if the Emperor will restore the Sienese territory, the French will restore Mont' Alcino and other places to Siena, the Emperor causing Piombino to be restored to its lord; and that the King of France will leave the Marquisate of Montferrat to the Duke of Mantua provided the Emperor will leave Piacenza to the Duke of Parma. With regard to the duchy of Lorraine, the Constable implies there will be no difficulty, and his most Christian Majesty is willing to give the city of Metz to the Empire on condition that it be debated at the next Diet whether, should he choose to acknowledge it as a fief, he may legally hold it, in the same manner as the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and other princes of Germany possess other towns and states of the said Empire, he being also content that both sides restore the places taken reciprocally on these frontiers; approving moreover of the marriage between the Infant of Spain and one of his daughters, and of the stipulation of the peace on these terms; but that should the Emperor speak of Piedmont for the Duke of Savoy, he was content to leave it him provided the state of Milan be given to his most Christian Majesty, or as recompense (*sic*) to the Duke for his own, his Excellency renouncing his claims (*attioni*) to the King of France, who in that case would bind himself to maintain the Duke in his state against any opponent, and would also renounce his own claims (*attioni*) on the kingdom of Navarre. The Abbot added that he

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told King Philip and the Bishop of Arras that by the Constable's letter he understood that if their Majesties (the Emperor and King Philip) did not approve of these terms, he was content to discuss the making of a truce or suspension of hostilities, and that he had found the King of England so anxious for peace, that, to use his own precise words, he would have conceded one of his states for its attainment; but the Bishop of Arras, perhaps by the Emperor's order, had shown himself very hard (*difficile*) and harsh in the replies, not choosing on any terms that a word should be said about Milan; whereupon the Abbot told him that he greatly deceived himself if he thought that any form of peace could ever be established without giving up that state, not indeed to the King of France, but to an Italian prince, and that on every account it could be no one but the Duke of Savoy. San Saluto then told the Bishop that not anticipating such difficulties on his part he had been commissioned to proceed to France to negotiate the matter, but that he was now compelled to return to the Queen and Cardinal.

Subsequently the Abbot came to tell me that he hoped to be soon despatched from hence, and that he would then have an opportunity for going to the most Christian King, with whom and with the Constable he would mediate earnestly, as he deemed becoming, and as he had done with the King here and with the Bishop of Arras, whom the Abbot threatened with more sinister events than had hitherto occurred, as owing to the peace made with the Sophy, the Turk was better able to perform great exploits both with the army in Hungary and with the fleet in Italy, and perhaps in Africa, owing to the disturbances in those parts; but that a peace or truce between the Emperor and the King of France would take place, if in the first place all such matters as could reasonably be conceded were arranged; and that it seemed just to him that such differences as could not be settled by their Majesties themselves should be referred to the Pope. He also told me that King Philip had been inclined to send commissioners to England, and that he reminded him in reply that heretofore this had been proposed to the Constable, who said it would be in vain, as were his most Christian Majesty to send anybody but the Constable himself, it would be to parley and not to negotiate, and that for other causes it did not suit his Excellency to go to England. In conclusion, he expatiated much on the good will evinced by the Constable towards the peace, telling me that he told the King and the Bishop of Arras that in his opinion it would be well to perform loving offices with his Excellency, and to gratify him by the release of his son, both on that account, and to show the world that in like manner as he has known how to direct the war, so is he also capable of making peace, and of inducing his King to do things which are perhaps not credited here.

I have heard that they will send the Lieutenant of Amont to Cambrai to answer the French commissioners about the prisoners; and as to their general expressions concerning the peace, he will reply in the same bland terms.

Brussels, 1st January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Jan. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

336. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning King Philip sent for the Abbot of San Saluto, and after saying he might return to England, gave him letters addressed to the Queen and Cardinal Pole, with a long instruction about the Emperor's will with regard to the peace, about which the Queen will give him her commands as to the time of his going to France, and what he is to do there, the Emperor and his Majesty referring themselves to her affectionate discretion.

On new year's day the Emperor chose to confess and communicate, although he had said he would defer doing so until after the publication of the acts whereby he resigns Spain, Sicily, and Burgundy to his son; the which acts having been engrossed on parchment some days ago, all the letters addressed to those whom they concern being also prepared, and awaiting nothing but the Emperor's signature, nearly all the courtiers of both their Majesties remain surprised at such great delay, which causes very much confusion; and all persons who have any business to transact complain that they can obtain no decisions from the ministers either of the Emperor or of the King. Some persons suppose this to be caused by the Emperor's indisposition, he again having the gout in his hand; *others to his having been seized with a certain melancholy, attributed by some to his having to do so solemn a deed* (dallo haver a fare un cosi grande effetto); *and some think it proceeds in part from finding himself deceived in his preconceived opinion that his son was capable of bearing so great a burden, he now knowing that the King of England takes delight in frequent masqueings, rather more than becomes the present troublous times, and that his most intimate servants not only do not apply their minds to the study and performance of serious business, but cause their master to devote himself to other similar pleasures.*

The pages and others of the King of England's household have arrived, and bring word that the ship which was bringing his Majesty's baggage foundered, both the persons and mules on board being drowned, nor was it possible to save any sort of property.

The Emperor and the King received a courier yesterday from Spain, with letters from the Princess [Joanna of Austria, Regent of Spain], the Archbishop of Toledo, the Duke of Arcos, and from the Count de Alcaudete, Governor of Oran, telling their majesties of the great preparations making by the Moors in Africa to besiege that place. Many persons say that should this war continue the King of England will go to Spain.

The King and the court have had permission from the Emperor to array themselves in silk, his Imperial Majesty's chamberlains saying that he himself will wear mourning as long as he lives for the death of his mother.

Brussels, 3rd January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556. Jan. 4. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 39, pp. 130, 132.

337. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago the Pope sent a monitory to Donna Giovanna d'Aragona,* wife of the Lord Ascanio Colonna, not to marry her daughters without licence from his Holiness, and that if they made a marriage otherwise, he chose it not to be valid, even if consummated, and excommunicated all persons interfering in the matter. Donna Giovanna, suspecting that the Pope intended to give her daughters in marriage to some of his own kinsfolk, with the consent of their father the Lord Ascanio (and there was already a report of the Signor Giovanni Matteo Stendardo, his Holiness' nephew and seneschal), she, moreover, not having the means of maintaining herself here, on new year's eve went out of Rome, with her daughters and her daughter-in-law,† so secretly that the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa knew nothing of it until the 22nd hour (2 p.m.) on the 1st of January, when they sent the light horse after them, but the fugitives were so much in advance that they got safe to Tagliacozo, an estate of theirs in the Abruzzi. The Pope and Cardinal are troubled by this departure; and by their order the soldiers on guard at the gate of San Lorenzo have been imprisoned, as also some of Donna Giovanna's servants who remained here; but subsequently the Count of Montorio contrived to have their effects sent after them, saying they belonged to the daughters, who are not to be blamed for obeying their mother. I have heard various accounts of the mode of their departure. but the one given me by persons intimate with the family, and which seems to me probable, is as follows:—At the 8th hour of the night (midnight) Donna Giovanna rose from her bed, making her daughters and her daughter-in-law, the Lady Donna Felice (who is in about the seventh month of her pregnancy), do the like, and with four of her most trusty domestics, Donna Giovanna and her eldest daughter mounted on horseback, the former on a hackney, the latter on a genet, with their hair and cloaks turned up,‡ so that they seemed to be men, the pregnant daughter-in-law and the other daughter placing themselves in a litter; and presenting themselves thus at the gate of San Lorenzo, they were announced as noblemen of the court going for their pleasure to Tivoli, at so early an hour that they might be able to return home in the evening; and thus, having given eight or nine giulij as a fee to the gatekeepers, who were also requested to keep the gate open later than usual to enable them to re-enter Rome in the evening, they were allowed to pass.

It is said that her son the Lord Marco Antonio had come as far as the frontiers for this purpose with some cavalry and 300 foot, but this is not known for certain.

The departure of these noble ladies made the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa suspect that some stir might take place here in Rome, so

* Giovanna d'Aragona was the sister of Ferdinand Francesco d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1555, September 26, p. 121.) The Avalos family, which passed from Andalusia to Naples, claimed descent from William of Avalon of the blood royal of England, who established himself in Navarre in the year 926, after the accession of Athelstan. (*See* Genealogies of the Avalos family.)

† Felice Orsini. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Index, page 418.)

‡ Con li capelli et tabbari imbautati, che pareano huomeni.

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they posted several detachments of troops in divers parts of the city, and two companies in particular were quartered in Campo di Fiore, near the Imperial Ambassador; but although he and all the other Spaniards are greatly angered by this, it is incredible how much they endeavoured to dissemble the fact.

Heretofore these ladies were required to give security not to leave Rome at the time when it was demanded of the Cardinal Camerlengo,* Camillo Orsini, and the others, but they replied that they had no one to give it for them, and that they would pledge their dowers as they had nothing else, the which dowers are secured on the estates of the Lord Ascanio, they being in the Pope's hands; so by this magnanimous and famous flight† they are not worse off than they were, and have set themselves at liberty.‡

It is said that the Pope has revoked the confirmation made by him at the commencement of his pontificate of the brief of Pope Julius conceding to the Emperor the half fruits (*i mezzi frutti*) of Spain, nor can his ambassador, the Marquis of Sarria, elicit any decision.

Rome, 4th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

338. King Philip of England to Cardinal Pole.

By the Abbot of San Saluto Pole will have learnt the Emperor's reply about the peace, and what the King wrote to Figueroa for communication to him, he being also acquainted with the King's wish for whatever may benefit Christendom.

Pole will remember that when he spoke to the King on behalf of the Pope about providing for the Archbishopric of Trani,§ the King replied that he would not confer that see until Pole received a reply from the Pope. The King has waited until now, and so long a period having elapsed without the arrival of this reply, he cannot with a clear conscience any longer delay making the appointment, and especially as he has heard from Rome that the Pope intends to bestow this benefice because it became vacant at his court, which is contrary to the custom and power exercised by the Emperor since the time of many popes; so the King has conferred this see and gives Pole notice accordingly, that he may know how much right he has to do so, which will suffice to satisfy the Pope.

Brussels, 4th January 1556.

Autograph postscript.—The church has been conferred on a native of the kingdom of Naples, according to the statutes.

[*Spanish.*]

* Guido Ascanio Sforza. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 142.)

† Onde con così honorata et illustre fuga.

‡ Already in the year 1555, some three hundred sonnets were printed at Venice in praise of Donna Giovanna d'Aragona, in Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish, the editor saying that he had also received some composed in the English language, but he did not print them; but I do not know whether any verses were addressed to her after the celebrated flight with which she commenced the year 1556.

§ In the "Bibliothèque Sacrée" (vol. 25, p. 225, ed. Paris, 1825), it is stated that in 1555, on the death of Bartolomeo Sartorio, Archbishop of Trani, Giovanni Bernardino Scotti, *a papal subject*, and who became Cardinal, succeeded him; so I suppose Paul IV. cancelled the appointment made by Philip II., whose words are, "esta yglesia se a proveydo a natural de aquel reyno conforme a los capitulos del."

1556. Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

339. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto departed for England to-day, and told my secretary that he was the bearer of a writing whereby the Queen and Cardinal are informed of the will of the Emperor and of the King of England in the matter of the peace, about which the only verbal announcement he has to make is that their Majesties' minds are well disposed towards it. He was ordered to travel postwise and with all speed, and he expected either to be sent to the Court of France or to return hither.

The Duke of Lunenburg has arrived with 40 horsemen. He was met by the Bishop of Arras, and taken to the palace of the King of England, where his Majesty received him kindly, for according to the German custom he gave his hand to all the Duke's attendants (*diede la mano a tutti i servitori suoi*); they and the Duke remaining so satisfied with this first entry, that they said his Majesty seemed to them now to excel in courtesy *as much as he did in haughtiness at Augsburg.* The chief cause of his coming was to make himself known to the King, and to offer him his services in case of need.

According to public report, the Emperor chooses to have the registrar constantly with him, who keeps the roll of all the officials of his court, that he may know minutely how long each of them have served, and the arrears due to them, and from the registrar's discourse it seems that his Majesty purposes placing so many in the service of his son that he does not find any on the roll who are to remain with the father. His Imperial Majesty has already caused the King to appoint and proclaim M. de Boissie as his "*maggiordomo maggiore,*" he having been the Emperor's master of the horse, but he will exercise the charge solely in these provinces.

I have heard that all the Cardinals, the Duke of Florence, and others, their Majesties' dependants, continue writing that they must not allow themselves to be deceived with the idea that the Pope is sincere in his wish for peace; his great demonstrations being made for the purpose of manifesting, at such time as he shall think fit, his evil intention towards the Emperor; but in every despatch the Imperial Ambassador at Rome expresses a belief that his Holiness' thoughts all tend to a good end, and that his nature is such that, by making him speak so variously and angrily, he gives the world a false impression of himself* (et che la natura sua sia tal, che facendola parlare sì variamente fa creder ad altri quello che egli non giudica); *but notwithstanding this, none of the chief personages of the Imperial Court hold the Ambassador's opinion in account, saying that his goodness exceeds his knowledge either of the Pope's character or of the affairs of the world.*

Brussels, 5th January 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis of Sarria.

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Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

340. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Last night a gentleman came to his most Christian Majesty, having been sent by the Admiral, who is at the conference, and brings word that on the first and second instant the Imperial Commissioners conferred with the French, and that the Imperialists proposed the truce, on condition that his most Christian Majesty make certain restitutions, which, being rejected by the Admiral, who declared that as he believed his King would not refuse the truce, so he was determined not to restore anything unless the Emperor also did the same, and much having been said without any approach to the adjustment, they adjourned to the 7th instant. They also discussed the release of the prisoners without coming to any decision; but as it is hoped that this matter will be arranged, comprising perhaps even the four who were excluded, so with regard to the truce, it seems that here since the arrival of this gentleman the hope of it has greatly diminished. *The day before yesterday M. de Lansac arrived, and announces the conclusion of some league between the Pope and his most Christian Majesty, it having been hinted, but not affirmed to me, that the stipulation has taken place, the terms apparently being that in case the Emperor will not agree to an adjustment with his most Christian Majesty, the Pope will declare himself the ally of France; but as it is the duty of a good pastor do to his utmost first of all to reconcile the sovereigns, his Holiness will not fail to exert himself to that effect; and as the Emperor persists in unreasonable demands, and the Pope knowing that the King of France has never shunned such as are reasonable, his Holiness is therefore more justified before the world in attacking his Imperial Majesty; wherefore he induced the Cardinal of Lorraine to perform the office he did in consistory, to demonstrate to everybody his King's goodwill. But on the other hand, it being known here that all the proceedings of his Holiness tend towards another object than that of waging war, it is supposed that the Pope, seeing his affairs in a different state to what they were when he sent Rucellai hither, chose thus to put an end, less harshly, to this scheme, without entirely detaching himself, nor yet binding himself more than moderately* (nè manco stringendosi più che tanto); *so I am assured that the King is dissatisfied with him.*

In the meanwhile they are expecting the Cardinal of Lorraine, and in addition to what I wrote about the negotiation with the Duke of Ferrara, his Excellency, in return for what he wished to obtain from the King, promised to lend him one million and two hundred thousand ducats.

Blois, 5th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

341. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Several advices have been received here of plots made by the French on five or six of these frontiers, by means of prisoners, so should

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this be verified the exchange of prisoners, in the form mentioned by me, will, it is supposed, not be effected. The lords of these provinces and the deputies of the towns who were convoked by the King of England for the 15th instant in the site of his residence (*dove fosse la persona di S. M. R.*), commence coming hither, comprehending that by that time he will not be in Antwerp, where all the strangers who had begun making sundry preparations in honour of his Majesty have now suspended them.

I heard to-day from a person of quality in the Emperor's court that his Majesty is suffering more from anger than from gout, and that during the last few days the King of England does not dare suggest to him the despatch of any business, however important it may be, *seeing himself scowled on, and that certain angry and rather pungent words were addressed to him* (vedendo esser guardato con torto occhio, et dettogli in colera alcune parole alquanto pungenti). *My informant added that he perceived the ministers of the Emperor and of the King to be so harassed, and their vassals in such despair, that many of them went about saying that if the Emperor thought to keep them in suspense for the future, as he has done for some time past, he will find himself deceived, as they will take the decisions relating to their affairs from the King* (perchè vorranno pigliar l'espeditioni dal Re), *who will be compelled to give them, not choosing to lose the goodwill of his subjects; and from the words of Ruy Gomez, Gonzalo Perez, and many others of King Philip's ministers, it is evident that they greatly regret the Emperor's delay in affixing his signature, as nothing else remains for him to do, they being of opinion that he ought to take this final step.*

By advices received from Spain it is necessary to appoint three viceroys for the kingdoms of Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon, from which last province the father-in-law of Don Ruy Gomez made his escape owing to the hatred borne him by the people, nor will the other two retain their posts. Three of King Philip's "*maggiordomos*" and other Spanish noblemen are canvassing those governments, and although since many days Queen Maria has requested the Emperor either to fill up the vacancies himself, or to authorize the King to do so, he nevertheless comes to no decision.

Sir Philip Hoby will depart to-morrow for England, and he told me that when taking leave of the King, his Majesty commissioned him to assure the Queen his consort, that as soon as he can he will comply with the general wish that he should go in person to see her; and that if he delays rather longer than he expected, owing to the variety of important business in these provinces, by so much the more expeditiously shall he travel towards her, as he will perform the journey postwise, and without taking with him any of his councillors.

Brussels, 6th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
Jan. 7.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

342. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

Does not write so frequently to Morone, referring himself to his agents, who are commissioned always to acquaint him with whatever he writes to them about current events in England. Morone will have heard that, in lieu of the deceased Chancellor, their Majesties have appointed the Archbishop of York [Nicholas Heath, appointed 1st January 1556], a person Catholic, lettered, and endowed with many other good qualities; so all people of worth in England are much comforted by this, and from his past conduct the best is hoped from him; his integrity and ability having been proved during his government of Wales when Bishop of Worcester, he being then President of the Council of that province; and of his zeal for the religion he gave testimony in the time of Edward, having been imprisoned on account of the mystery of the Eucharist (*per causa de i Sacramenti*). Mentions this to Morone, that he may suggest to the Pope to write him a brief expressing his satisfaction at this appointment, and the sure hope of its proving to the service and honour of God in England. The Convocation of prelates is still sitting, and may last the whole of the present month, during which interval Pole hopes that the Papal brief concerning it will arrive. The late events at Rome have caused them great uneasiness; and the malignants still take occasion thence to spread very scandalous reports; so the Queen hopes that they may have more and more proof daily of the Pope's good and pacific mind, and may God grant him quiet and convenience to carry into effect his holy projects about reform. They are still hoping for the King's return.

London, 7th January 1556.

Autograph postscript.—The message from the Pope delivered by the Bishop of St. Asaph, about continuing assiduously the negotiation for the peace, arrived very opportunely, as it serves to contradict the suspicions and reports which had been circulated in England by the malignants; and therefore the more willingly did he send the Abbot of San Saluto [to Brussels], most especially knowing that they had already commenced treating the exchange of prisoners, which seems to indicate a disposition towards peace.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

343. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope has not only concluded a league with the King of France, but has written the agreement with his own hand (ma che la capitulatione è scritta di sua propria mano) *and sent it to his Majesty, but as the King keeps it secretly having communicated it solely to the members of his privy council, no detail can be heard, save that it took place after the arrival at Rome of the Cardinal of Lorraine.** *At my last audience the King told me that the*

* By the contemporary letter-book (*penes me*, p. 64) of Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at the court of Paul IV., it appears that the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at Rome on the 21st November 1555.

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Pope, besides suggesting to the said Cardinal, that as he knew his office, he should not fail to find some mode of adjustment between these two princes, and that he, the Pope, would write about this to Cardinal Pole in England; it being subsequently heard that his Holiness did write energetically (con gagliarda forma), *to evince his wish that some adjustment should take place, announcing some intention of inducing his most Christian Majesty to restore certain Imperial places taken by him. This has caused great displeasure here, the King considering it a proceeding not only contrary to the execution of the league, but very adverse to his interests; and although at the interview held with the French before Christmas, the Imperialists seemed very desirous of coming to an adjustment, yet nevertheless, at this last conference, they appeared to have changed greatly. Amongst other things said by them was this, that as the Queen of England and Cardinal Pole had toiled so greatly for this business, should any adjustment ensue, it would be well for them also to take part in it; which has almost convinced his most Christian Majesty that the Imperialists desire the intervention of England, not for the sake of the adjustment, but because, having heard of the office performed by the Pope with Cardinal Pole, they hope thus to benefit themselves, and have therefore raised their tone; but after receipt of the next advices from the conference, some sounder opinion of its result may be formed.*

His most Christian Majesty has given the Duke d'Arschot [Philippe de Cröy] and Count Mansfeldt, who are his prisoners, to the Constable, so that either by exchange, or through the ransom put upon them, his Excellency may be better enabled to recover his son, the cost of whose redemption will, it is said, be 50,000 francs, but as yet there is no decision.

Blois, 8th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 8.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X. Vol. 22, p. 85. to.

344. Embassy in England.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That of the moneys destined for Ambassadors, 300 ducats be given to the agents of the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, ambassador in England, on account of expenses, of which he must show the items, being bound to do so, as of the other moneys received for similar purposes.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

Exijt Ser Melchior Michael de add.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9.
MS. St. Mark's Library. Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

345. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

Having this morning returned [to Greenwich] from London, where he had been on account of the Synod, the Regent Figueroa delivered to him the King's letter dated the 1st (sic) [4th ?], from which, and from Figueroa's verbal statement, he heard, much to his satisfaction, of the King's goodwill towards the peace, of which although he could never doubt, knowing his Majesty's excellent

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nature and zeal for the common weal,—having also been informed lately by the Abbot of San Saluto (whom he sent express to urge this business to the King and the Emperor, and who wrote an account to him) of the gracious reception he had from the King,—yet was he nevertheless again greatly rejoiced to hear the like from the King's own letters, and from the writings exhibited to him by the Regent, in the presence of the Queen, her Majesty being pleased to translate the whole to him. Commends the mode employed for resuming the negotiation, in conformity with what was observed at the Congress of Marck, as the most honourable for all parties; and however much Pole may do in this matter, he is bound to do much more, provided there be any hope of success, especially as he knows such to be the intention of the Pope, about whom he can say nothing more until receipt of the reply which is expected.

Prays the King at length to comfort the Queen and all his most faithful subjects by his return, which is so much desired.

Greenwich, 9th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

346. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Has heard that the instructions about the peace, sent through the Abbot of San Saluto to the Queen and Cardinal of England, purport that the Emperor and the King consent to her treating as of herself, that the state of Milan be given to the second son of the King of France, and that the Duke of Savoy be restored to his own, on condition of a marriage contract between the said second son and one of the daughters of the King of the Romans, he receiving all the revenues of the Milanese, and holding possession of all the fortresses until the birth of a son, who is then to be Duke of Milan, thus separating it from the French crown, and simultaneously the Duke of Savoy is to be reinstated, leaving the principal fortresses in the hands of his most Christian Majesty until the Emperor and King Philip restore his own to the Duke of Milan. With regard to the other disputes, the Queen was to give firm hope of their adjustment, *as provided the crowns found means to arrange their own affairs, no difficulty would be raised about those of the confederates; but the Emperor was too hard about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy, proposing terms which could never be accepted, after the most Christian King had offered to reinstate his Excellency entirely* (liberamente), *provided their Majesties give France the Milanese. The Duke, therefore, weary of such protracted suspense, has drawn up a writing for presentation to the Emperor and the King of England, requesting them to give him the said state of Milan or some other in Italy, together with such a wife as they shall think fit; or else that they concede him permission to adjust his affairs with his most Christian Majesty, as he does not choose any longer to grow old in poverty, as at present. Of late, owing to advice given him by a Prince and other wise statesmen in Italy, his Excellency has conceived an idea that the attainment of his wishes might be effected by means of your Serenity, and perhaps through the Pope.*

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A gentleman has arrived here from the Cardinal of Burgos, with news of the Pope's stir (*motti*) against the Count di Bagno, and of the assistance rendered to the latter by the Duke of Florence, which has greatly displeased the majority of this Court, *it seeming to everybody that he has acted imprudently in this matter, both for his own interests, and those of their Majesties here; as he will not only have withdrawn the Pope from his true and apparent wish to bring about the peace* (da quel vero e apparente desiderio di far succeder la pace), *but will have given him an opportunity for declaring himself in favour of war sooner perhaps than he had intended.*

Brussels, 10th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 11. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 41, pp. 139–142.

347. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday, after chapel, the Signor Giuliano Cesarini was imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo, charged with being an accomplice in the flight of Donna Giovanna d'Aragona; and on that same day the Pope desired the Cardinal "Camerlengo" not to give the rest of the dower (which is said to amount to 20,000 crowns) to his niece the Lady Felice, the wife of Marc' Antonio Colonna. His Holiness had a guard placed at the house of Camillo Colonna, and sent a monitory to Marc' Antonio, desiring him to come and present himself to his Holiness under penalty of rebellion.

Next morning, the day of the Epiphany, the Cardinals having assembled to go to chapel, the Pope held a congregation, at which he announced the appointment of the Count of Montorio as captain-general. This congregation, having been summoned so unusually, without previous intimation, and on a day of solemnity, after the arrest of so great a baron as the Signor Giuliano, was much talked of all over Rome, until the cause of it transpired and suspicion increased, because his Holiness after having arranged to hear mass in St. Peter's as usual, did not go, but had mass sung in the chapel above [the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican], which he entered with a more numerous guard than usual.

The corporal of the gate of San Lorenzo has been hanged for allowing the Lady Donna Giovanna to pass through it.

On Tuesday evening the Imperial ambassador and Don Garcilasso de la Vega went to the Pope to ask his decision about many demands made heretofore by Don Garcilasso, which his Holiness perceiving, turned the conversation to the affairs of Germany and Hungary, saying he was troubled because the Lutherans increased in Germany, and that on the other hand it was said the Turks would invade Transylvania.

The Emperor's ambassador [Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis de Sarria], availing himself of this opportunity, said, "Holy Father, my Princes, the Emperor and the King of England, who are those who defend the religion against the infidels and the heretics, ought indeed to obtain some act of grace from your Holi-

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ness, as for instance that you should restore the territory of the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna."

The Pope did not allow him to proceed further, and in a great rage reproached the Emperor and the King of England bitterly, saying that they chose to interfere in what did not concern them; that these individuals were his vassals, that he chose to punish them at his pleasure; that he was a free Prince, and chose to be acknowledged as such by all men, and that he would not grant a single one of their demands, inveighing against the Colonna family, which had always been hostile to the Popes, and saying that he remembered what was done of yore to Boniface by Sciarra Colonna [in 1303]. To this the ambassador rejoined in a haughtier tone than hitherto, that he was compelled to obtain a positive reply from his Holiness, in order to know how to regulate himself, as until now each of their sovereigns and they themselves had received fair words, but very much at variance with the deeds witnessed by them daily. This having increased the Pope's suspicion, he next morning desired the Count of Montorio to despatch nine captains, to whom on the morrow five others were added, to raise some 3,000 infantry in Città di Castello, Perugia, Viterbo, and Tivoli.

Rome, 11th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

348. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier arrived from Spain yesterday with news of the death of Don Luis, the brother of the King of Portugal, on which account the King of England having gone into mourning, and in order to perform the obsequies, will delay his journey to Antwerp four or five days beyond the time appointed.

Don Diego de Azevedo, the King's maggiordomo, who was in England with the Queen, is also come, and in her name has urged the King as strongly as words can express to return thither; so on that same day his Majesty sent for Sir John Masone, her ambassador, and charged him to assure her that he would go as soon as possible, which it is said he will do, not only to comply with the wish of his consort,—*who, being naturally passionate, might become enraged were his return any longer delayed,**— but also to satisfy and obey the Emperor, who is more eager than ever for him to return, especially in these times.

Brussels, 12th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

349. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 8th an express arrived from Rome sent by the Cardinal of Lorraine; and the Constable immediately detained all the private letters (an unusual proceeding at this court), and they are still in his possession.

* Che per esser di sdegnosa natura potria, menando più in lungo l'andata, alterarsi.

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The Cardinal, on hearing of the King's disapproval of what he negotiated with the Duke of Ferrara, although the Duke had again informed him he would accept any terms his Majesty pleased, did not settle anything further without fresh order.

As the Pope has showed himself warmer than hitherto in favour of the League, and also evinced a wish for the negotiation with the aforesaid Duke to be concluded, a courier was despatched to the Cardinal.

The conference to have been held on the 7th, having been postponed until the 10th, a message was sent to the Admiral, desiring him no longer to entertain negotiations either for truce or peace, but solely for an exchange of prisoners, which if not concluded, the conference to be dissolved. Before this resolve was formed by the King, there were great disputes between the Constable and the Duke de Guise, as for several days the Constable has done his utmost to prevent the ratification of the League [*with the Pope*] *and to settle the Truce* [*with the Imperialists*]*; the Duke de Guise, on the contrary, being in favour of the League, and strongly supported by the Queen* [*Catherine de' Medici*] *for the affairs of Tuscany; and by Madame de Valentinois, owing to her connexion with the Guise family; whilst the Guises, who seemed at first confounded (it appearing to them that the honour of the Cardinal of Lorraine was at stake), do not appear pleased with the arrangement. The Pope is certainly leagued* (è anchor lei collegata), *and will act as he has promised the King; his most Christian Majesty intending, with his own money, to avail himself of such facilities as the Papal States can afford, rather than to hope that of himself his Holiness can do much. The first undertaking will probably be that of Tuscany, for which purpose the Cardinal of Lorraine took with him securities* (assignamenti) *for* 64,000 *crowns on the saltworks in Normandy, to pay the interest on* 400,000 *crowns offered by the Florentine outlaws* (fuorusciti) *to the King, at the rate of* 16 *per cent. interest, as paid at Lyons; in addition to which, they offer him a loan of another* 200,000 *crowns for two years, without interest, on condition of their being expended solely for the Florentine expedition.*

Blois, 12th January 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

350. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Signory will have heard from Brussels the reply with which the Abbot of San Saluto was sent hither, where he has not yet arrived, having been detained during the last eight days by contrary winds. All that I have elicited from Cardinal Pole is that the Emperor and King Philip have given him fair words; however, he is anxiously expecting the Abbot, it being evident from his language and countenance that he is full of good hope; he having also received an express from France yesterday, with letters dated the 4th, which can but relate to this negotiation. It seems to me that in France they consider the truce settled, and that it will be ratified at the meeting of the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners,

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about which all we know here is that the Queen has been in favour of it. I have read a letter written at Calais on the 8th instant by the Abbot [Parpaglia] to a friend here, commissioning him to inform the French ambassador that should the business in course of negotiation not attain the desired result, it will not be from lack of goodwill. This seems ambiguous, and may be understood either to warrant fair hopes, or to imply, on the contrary, that negotiation of any sort is broken off and hopeless; so until the issue become manifest we await with anxiety the Abbot's arrival.

Francesco Piamontese, the Piedmontese courier, says he went to Portugal to acquaint the King with the Emperor's renunciation to his most serene son of the states of Flanders and Burgundy, and of the Grand Mastership of the Fleece, which is a dependency of those realms, inviting him, as he did many Spanish grandees, according to the formula and custom of the Order, of which they are knights, to attend the ceremony to be performed at Antwerp. The King of Portugal is sending his reply by a courier on board a ship of his own, which has not yet appeared, he expecting it to arrive before the Queen's messenger.

The mariners on leave in London have been desired to rejoin their ships, to drop down to the sea, and to await the coming of the most Serene King; a sign that now it will not be much longer delayed.

London, 13th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

351. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The order given by the King to the Cardinal of Lorraine to conclude the league with his Holiness and the Duke of Ferrara, is confirmed. Am assured that no further resolve will be formed until after receipt of the Cardinal's reply, announcing that the stipulation has been already made. It was hinted to me that the Cardinal would negotiate with your Serenity, but I understand he has not yet received any such commission.

The conference is supposed to be at an end, without any settlement, as the French would no longer discuss the truce; neither would the Imperialists ratify what had been agreed to (*concordato*) heretofore about the prisoners; though the Admiral is not yet heard to have left his post.

Blois, 14th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

352. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The two commissioners sent by the Emperor to Cambrai write that after settling the affair of the prisoners, they again held long conferences about the peace or truce, and that the French proposed, as it was impossible now to stipulate a peace, honourable and advantageous for both their Majesties, the most Christian King was willing,

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each side holding what they possess, to make a good truce for ten, seven, or three years; to which they as of themselves replied, that if the King of England, to whom the Emperor was about to renounce all his states, had consented to a suspension of hostilities for two months or a year, he did so solely for the sake of being better able again to treat the peace, to which suspension his Imperial Majesty would not indeed of his own free will have consented. The French commissioners showed that their King would not be averse to this suspension; and both parties took time to write to their princes. The Emperor and King Philip have determined to appoint two other commissioners to negotiate this matter with the French in the name of the King of England, the persons thus elected being the Doctors Fisinach (*sic*), a native of these provinces, and Schizzo, the Cremonese, Regent of Milan, with whom they are sending the secretary Bave, and they will depart to-morrow.

I have heard, on good authority, that when the King of England imparted this resolve to the Duke of Savoy, his Excellency remained so confused and dumbfounded that, although the King sought to comfort him in the kindest terms and full of hope, he for a long while gave him no answer, *and then told him, in short, that he now knew there was no longer any hope for him, not even in his Majesty, in like manner as he had despaired of receiving from the Emperor that compensation for the loss of his state which for so long a while they had constantly promised him;* whereupon the King, after reiterating similar promises, and vowing that when in his power he would prove by deeds the love he bore him, *went so far* as to say that nothing but the need in which he saw his territories in every direction, led him to consent to the truce, in order that he might provide better for his affairs hereafter. The Duke then, after repeating a variety of things about his wretched condition, prayed King Philip not to settle anything with the French so immediately, as he could always stipulate the suspension of hostilities, or the truce, on the terms proposed by them, and to wait to hear, in the first place, what could be hoped through the Queen of England, in reply to what was conveyed to her by the Abbot of San Saluto, as her Majesty, being his loving kinswoman, and Cardinal Pole his cordial friend, and the Abbot as his good vassal,* they might, in the conditions made, insert something to his advantage. King Philip said that he was content, but could not fail sending these commissioners at once, to keep the negotiation alive until the arrival of the Queen's reply, which is to settle it.

My informant also assured me that he knew the King of England had said he would not allow anything to be determined without the knowledge of his consort, and that indeed his object was, through her medium, not only to make some adjustment with greater advantage, *but also because, even if nothing be settled, she to a certain extent becomes more interested in this matter with the King her husband against the most Christian King* (ma anche non si con-

* As already mentioned, Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Solutore, was by birth a Piedmontese.

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cludendo, essa ad un certo modo venghi ad interessarsi più col Re suo marito in questo fatto contra il Re Christianissimo).

Last evening the Nuncio received letters from Cardinal Caraffa and the Count of Montorio, enjoining him in the Pope's name to tell the Emperor and the King of England that, compelled by justice and the dignity of the Holy Apostolic See, he has raised troops, and shall continue doing so, to punish the Count da Bagno, and check the audacity of the Duke of Florence, on account of his mode of proceeding in favour of the said Count; the Nuncio being also charged earnestly to assure the Emperor and the King that he is well disposed towards them, and will continue so unless they give him cause to change. The Nuncio has already performed this office with the King, who spoke him fair, in general terms, but he has not yet obtained audience of the Emperor. Don Ferrante di Sanguini, who has arrived here, expresses himself in the same terms as the Nuncio, and tells the chief personages of this court that, as the official and servant of both their Majesties, he assures them that the Pope, from his natural temperament rather than from any evil intention towards their Majesties, talks and acts as known to everybody, but that he (Sanguini) would pledge his life that unless their Majesties' ministers give his Holiness cause, he will not league with the King of France; nor did he say this because he is the Pope's kinsman, but solely in order to tell the truth. *Many personages at these two courts say that should any truce be made, the Emperor will give the Duke of Florence openly whatever military assistance he can against the Pope.*

The Emperor has risen from his bed, and said he will soon sign the acts of renunciation of the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily.

Brussels, 15th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

353. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day the Emperor resigned the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily to his most Serene son, in his own chamber in the villa (*casino*). His Majesty was on a lofty chair, and the King of England on a lower one, opposite to him. On the Emperor's right hand was Queen Eleanor, and on his left Queen Maria; behind the King stood the Bishop of Arras and the secretaries Erasso and Vargas, with some fifty lords and gentlemen of the two courts, cap in hand.

For the space of an hour the Emperor, feeble and suffering from illness, spoke thus, saying first of all that he returned thanks to God for being in a state to discharge the obligation incurred by him to his Divine Majesty, and also to his vassals, he having vowed to God that when able to effect these acts of renunciation to his subjects he would do so readily, as having no longer bodily strength he would no longer leave them without that unremitting rule which they desired, and that he knew that many persons had murmured greatly because his tardy mode of proceeding had unduly protracted

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this matter; but that in pursuance of his system he had chosen on this occasion likewise to be blamed for dilatoriness, rather than do anything inconsiderate in haste; and putting his hand to his heart, he swore that so long back as after his victories over the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, he determined to make these acts of renunciation (*pensò di far queste renuntie*), and that a year and a half ago in the field at Renti, when a battle with the King of France was expected, nothing interested him more than to give orders for the removal of the casket (*cassetta*) containing these acts of renunciation (*esse renuntie*) and other most important writings, because had the battle taken place, and had he unfortunately lost it, as he might have done, his forces being so very inferior in number to those of the King, he must of necessity either lose his life or be made prisoner, as in no other way did he purpose saving himself. Had he been killed, his son and heir would have succeeded to all his States; if taken prisoner, he did not choose that he should have the trouble of ransoming him as a sovereign, but merely as a gentleman who was his father. He then continued that he was naturally so desirous of being freed from having the care of vassals, that if the first-born of the King of the Romans, after his remaining six years childless, had not been a female, he would never have married, and would have left him successor to all his States; and he narrated one by one all his voyages and expeditions made by him in the whole course of his life, as he did heretofore when resigning these provinces, showing that necessity rather than choice had induced him to undertake them. He then recommended to the King the brave and faithful vassals whom he made over to him, exhorting him to do them justice, and reward them according to their merits; and in conclusion he presented to him with his own hand his sealed will and his own gold seal, telling him to break the said seal, because as it had never again sealed any other deed for so long a while, since he had the will drawn up at Augsburg, so did he not wish it ever to legalize any document hereafter; telling him besides that he made the renunciation to him of everything absolutely, as if he had gone to a better world, but that he indeed prayed him, during his (the Emperor's) life, to do him the pleasure to execute all that he had written in this will; at which point he shed no few tears. He then had placed before him the written act of renunciation of the kingdoms of Castille, Leon, and other dependencies, and of the Indies, and after he had signed it the King went to kiss his Imperial Majesty's hand. After this, he did the like by the act renouncing the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, to which having in like manner put his signature, the King again kissed his hand. His Imperial Majesty said besides the following precise words, "It merely remains for me to leave you Sicily"* (*non resta anchor ch' io vi lasci la Sicilia*), which he uttered for an ex-

* "On the 16th of January 1556, three days before this letter was written, the Emperor signed and sealed the act of abdication of his Sicilian and Spanish kingdoms and their dependencies in Africa and the New World." (*See* Stirling, Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V., p. 12, ed. 1853.

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press purpose, there being present some Sicilians, who do not admit the claims of the Aragonese to have them for their dependants; and when the Emperor had signed this act, the King kissed his hand for the third time.

His Imperial Majesty next turned to the Spanish and Sicilian lords who had been present as witnesses, telling them to go and kiss the King's hand, as their sole master, which they did immediately. He then moreover told these gentlemen that he had reserved nothing for himself but the Empire, which he would endeavour to rule with the same good-will as he had always done, and that had it been the will of God that the Germans should have known him better, they would be in better condition than they are (*et che fosse stato in piacer di Dio, che quei populi l'havessero meglio conosciuto, che in miglior termine sariano che non sono*). And these acts of renunciation being thus despatched, and having dismissed the Queens and the other bystanders, he remained alone with the King, and from what has been said in secret by one of his Imperial Majesty's chamberlains, he took out of a little drawer (*casselletta*) certain small papers (*alcune picciole carte*), supposed to be memorials, and after reading them one by one he tore them up. The Bishop of Arras, having been asked whether, as in these acts of renunciation, the Emperor had not mentioned Burgundy, he meant to renounce it or not, replied that, although he had given the King the Mastership of the "Fleece," he nevertheless reserved for himself the State of Burgundy.

The King of Spain has at this hour despatched a gentleman to England to the Queen his consort to give her notice of the renunciation of the aforesaid realms, and with congratulations on her being able for the future to style herself the Queen of many and great crowns, and on her being no less their mistress than of her own crown of England; again assuring her that on his return from Antwerp (whither he departs to-morrow) he will remain a few days with the Emperor, and then go to her speedily.

I send your Serenity the list of all the personages rewarded by the Emperor in council (*nella consulta*), he having conferred these donations before making the renunciations. He did not concede the archbishopric of Valencia to the Bishop of Arras, who had asked it very earnestly, requesting the transfer of his own see to his brother the Abbot of Taverny. Many people are surprised at this, but I have heard some persons say that the Bishop of Cambrai being dangerously ill, the Bishop of Arras has been informed of the King's intention to give him that see. The pensions assigned to cardinals and other dependants of their Majesties at Rome, have not been communicated in detail to their agents, the Emperor and the King choosing the first news of these donations to be given by the ambassador in Rome. The "company" of fifty men-at-arms, held heretofore by the Marquis of Marignano, has been conceded to Signor Gio. Batt. Gastaldo, according to his request.

Brussels, 16th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Jan. 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

354. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The conference was dissolved without any decision, and subsequently the Admiral returned to his government of Picardy. Before his departure the Imperialists did their utmost to prolong it; and as the Admiral would not consent by order of his King, the Imperialists protested that the Emperor would not have failed doing his utmost to find some fair mode of adjustment. Now the conversation of everybody relates solely to war, and although nothing will be decided until news arrive of the stipulation, it is almost certain that the Duke de Guise will go to Italy as his most Christian Majesty's lieutenant, *it being said that the Duke of Ferrara, General of the League, will not quit his own territory.*

The King departs to-morrow for Chambord (*Sciamburgh*), partly to let the palace here be cleansed, and in part also to escape the court crowd (*la moltitudine della corte*), in order more conveniently to consult with his chief treasurers about pecuniary supply, which will be provided to the greatest possible amount; and after remaining six days there his Majesty will return hither.

The present packet which the King is sending to his ambassador with your Serenity,* will be conveyed by a gentleman who is going to Constantinople, and who will urge the putting to sea of the Turkish fleet as soon as possible, *it being moreover thought that he will communicate to the Sultan the negotiation of the League, and perhaps its stipulation, should it be effected before his departure from Italy, and likewise the above-mentioned dissolution of the conference.*

The Marquis Albert has left the court for Germany to be present at the Diet, which his most Christian Majesty is performing every sort of office with the Imperial Princes to obtain. On his departure he received presents from the King and Queen, the whole court doing him the utmost honour, and he assured his Majesty of his devotion.

Blois, 17th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 17.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

355. Cardinal Pole to Henry II., King of France.

The Pope having again ordered him earnestly to urge the affair of the peace, Pole lately sent to the Emperor and his son, the Abbot of San Saluto, to whom their Majesties replied, expressing their good disposition towards the matter itself, and the mediators. For this same cause is now sending to King Henry the bearer of this letter, who is his gentleman, that he may let him know his belief that his Majesty is equally well disposed, and that as for Pole himself he will always be most ready to take any trouble and toil for the service of one side and the other, and for the quiet and public benefit of Christendom. Pole has always found, and continues to find, the same mind and readiness on the part of the Queen to do, through her Ministers, whatever may be required for this end; so

* Bishop of Lodève. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

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they will wait to hear what King Henry shall be pleased to let them know with regard to his will and disposition. Pole has always been of opinion that Divine Providence ordained that the same means, namely, the Vicar of God and Queen Mary, whom he employed for the reconciliation of England, are to serve for the pacification of the King and the Emperor, and that they may conduce much to render any agreement between them more firm and durable.

London, 17th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

356. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday the King of Spain departed for Antwerp, where he made his entry yesterday, being received outside the town by the community with discharges of artillery, and within it several triumphal arches had been erected by the foreign merchants, all at small cost, save that of the Genoese, in which were some hollow iron balls full of powder as fireworks (*per far fuoghi da dar piacere*), and on his Majesty's arrival at the gate, two of them being ignited exploded with such violence that seven or eight persons were killed, including one of the King's archers, one of his gentlemen, and several others of the town and some merchants being maimed; so his Majesty would not advance further, and made the whole court halt until he sent an order to the Genoese and to the other foreign guilds not to let off any more fireworks; and the "advices" say that had the King proceeded on his way nearer to the Genoese triumphal arch he would have run great risk of his life, as, to do him more honour, they had arranged, on his closer approach, to ignite the other fire-balls, in which case he and his retinue would have been in yet greater danger.

None of the ambassadors accredited to the Emperor accompanied the King to Antwerp, save those from Florence and Mantua, the one by express order from his master, the other with the hope that, should the King obtain any money, he may pay the 36,000 crowns so often promised to Don Ferrante on account of his credit. Having taken the opinion of M. de la Chaux, the most intimate of the Emperor's chamberlains, and of other persons of the Imperial Court, I did not go, although I had heard a contrary wish expressed by some of the King's attendants; but as the Emperor reserves the imperial dignity, and I am accredited to him, I remained with his Majesty. An honourable gentleman has told me that during the whole of yesterday the Emperor seemed more cheerful than for a long while, saying several times that he thanked God, who, after the renunciation of all his States, caused him to experience that mental repose which he had indeed hoped for, notwithstanding his performance of so great an act (*dicendo più volte che ringratiava Dio, che li faceva provar quel riposo d'animo dapoi rinuntiati tutti i Stati, che già havea sperato di havere, se ben faceva sì grande effetto*); and that he said several jocose things to his cham-

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berlains, asking how they would address him for the future, coming to the following details, that he wished them to say whether they would henceforth style him either your grace or your lordship (*o vostra mercè o vostra signoria*), leaving aside the dignity of Emperor, and he came to the conclusion that he was content to be called Don Carlos of Austria.

It is said that several gentlemen will be despatched to various Princes to give them notice of these renunciations in the name of the Emperor and the King, as soon as his Imperial Majesty shall have signed the great number of letters addressed to his vassals, which he has not yet transmitted, his hand being crippled with gout; and that the King will form a Council of State, Don Bernardino de Mendoza being proposed as its president; and some say that were not the King of opinion that Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] would decline this post, he would doubtless have sent for his Excellency and given him greater authority and salary than to anyone else on whom the choice may fall. The Bishop of Arras is named President of the Council of Justice, but the Castilians in the King's court are much opposed to him. Although there are 20 vacancies in the Order of the "Fleece," the number of whose knights is limited to 50, the King will not fill them all, and besides those already mentioned by me, the Duke of Mantua and the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna are under consideration. Much has been said about sending this Order to the Duke of Cleves, but his Excellency having been already sounded, showed adroitly that he did not wish for it. The report continues of a suspension of hostilities between their Majesties and France, or else a truce for two or three years, as understood chiefly through words uttered last evening by King Philip's confessor.

Brussels, 19th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl.x.

357. Cardinal Pole to the Constable of France.

Thanks him heartily for the three safe-conducts sent through the French Ambassador in England, who said that Montmorency having done this to oblige him, contrary to his first intention, requested Pole not to ask him for any more, as the King had determined not to grant them, and the more so as though he had conceded many, the one demanded by Signor Benedetto was refused him. Pole does not comprehend the causes of the difficulty made in this matter, though he would not be surprised at exceptions made in certain cases, but in others the concession might be made easily. Be this as it may, he has to thank him for these safe-conducts, by so much the more as it was the less easy to obtain them, and yet more would he have to thank him if by his means the causes for being obliged to demand similar favours were removed, by making that peace of which Christendom has so much need. Is convinced that the Constable continues to exert himself to this end with his usual goodwill, but notwithstanding his very great authority with the most Christian King, the desired result has not yet been obtained. It now, however, appears that God of his mercy

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remits this punishment of war, the power of making peace having passed into the hands of those who have never injured each other personally, as the Emperor has unexpectedly left the entire burden of matters relating to war and peace to the King his son, thus demonstrating to Christendom that he is so averse to war that not finding means to make a general peace with man, he has determined to make it for himself in particular, and enjoy it more commodiously with God. And if similarity of disposition, manners, and qualities, are usually a powerful and efficacious means for conciliating friendship and love, and as this similarity exists between King Henry and King Philip, according to the opinion of many who have known them both, it seems that there is just cause for fair hopes of peace, most especially with such mediators as the Pope and Queen Mary, who have no other end in view than the honour of God, and the public and private weal of both parties; though Pole knows not how it is that the longer this negotiation for peace continues, the more does the war seem to increase. With regard to himself, Pole had been enjoined by three pontiffs to endeavour to make a peace, and especially by the present Pope, as through the continuance of the war he perceives the greater increase of every disorder, and of the misery and ruin of Christendom, which his Holiness cannot but greatly lament. For the present Pole does not see what else he can do but pray God for the removal of so great a scourge, and in the meanwhile watch for every opportunity for again proposing the peace; this present resolve of the Emperor seeming to him one that should induce the most Christian King likewise to give some notable mark that his mind is no less pious, pacific, and generous, as Pole hopes, by reason of the great virtue with which God has endowed the King, and he is certain that the Constable will always employ his good offices for this purpose.

Greenwich, 20th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

358. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Abbot of San Saluto has not yet arrived, the contrary wind having detained him at Calais during the last 16 days, much to his misfortune and to the surprise of everybody. On the first day of his arrival there he wrote to Cardinal Pole how very anxious he was to be with his right reverend lordship speedily. Some persons were of opinion that he has gone from Calais into France, most especially as several persons are known to have attempted the passage, which they accomplished without danger. Cardinal Pole nevertheless says plainly that should the Abbot have taken this step he must have done so from his own fancy, as according to the order given him he was first of all to return hither, and his right reverend lordship expects him from hour to hour, knowing that there are upwards of 100 persons, together with the ordinary posts from Rome, all detained at Calais by the same impediment. The wind, although it has abated during the last two days, is still contrary.

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Last week some of the Lords of the Council here occupied themselves about a matter of which, although it will perhaps appear ridiculous and unimportant to your Serenity, as it did to us likewise, yet as they viewed it in a different light, I will not omit to give account. So far as I can understand, in many places in the city of London and throughout the kingdom, a printed paper was circulated and published, urging the people to rebel, giving them to understood that King Edward was still alive and well, and in France, awaiting some demonstration in his favour to enable him to come and recover his crown, and so forth. To ascertain the origin of these things, they ordered the arrest in the country of the same rogue who last year, after having been publicly whipped, had his ears cropped for personating King Edward; and now they have had him and some other persons of greater consequence brought hither prisoners to the Tower for close examination, which is being done, in expectation of thus discovering the ring-leaders, whom the Lords of the Council suspect of being instigated by method rather than by madness.

London, 21st January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

359. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A gentleman has been sent by the Admiral to the King to let him know that the Imperial Commissioners, his colleagues at the conference, had again recalled him concerning the affair of the prisoners, so he was leaving St. Quentin.* *This has surprised everybody, it being considered almost certain that this move* (retacamento) *is not so much on account of the prisoners as for the sake of renewing the negotiation for the truce, it being known that the Constable wishes for it, much more than he does for the League. It is supposed that if he can conclude this truce, his authority will enable him to persuade the King to accept it, regardless of anything* (senza rispetto alcuno), *even should the said League have been stipulated, but including those who are parties to it* (includendosi però li collegati).

Blois, 23rd January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 24? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Printed in vol. v. pp. 16, 18, "Epistolarum, etc."

360. Cardinal Pole to Pope Paul IV.

On the day when the Abbot of San Saluto returned from Flanders,† received the papal brief, confirming him as Legate for the negotiation of the peace, as he had been under the two preceding pontiffs, to which office he was appointed immediately on the present Pope's accession. Nothing could be more opportune than this nomination to silence malignants (of whom in these times there

* By the Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, pp. 207, 208, it is seen that the site of this conference was the Abbey of Vaucelles.

† The proximate date of this letter is thus ascertained, as the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated London, 27th January 1556, mentions the return of San Saluto on the 22nd.

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is abundance), who boasted that his Holiness meditated war. They will no longer know what to say, perceiving by the Pope's letters how earnestly he desires the conclusion of the peace. For an account of what has been done in this matter hitherto, to avoid wearying his Holiness, refers him to his (Pole's) letters to Cardinal Caraffa.

Together with this brief concerning the peace, received two others, one addressed to himself, the other to the English prelates, commending their exertions in assembling (*cogendâ*) the synod for the reformation of the English Church, and exhorting them all to attend with redoubled vigour to that work. This afforded additional encouragement to Pole, nor is it possible to say with how much veneration the prelates listened to the perusal of these briefs, showing their readiness to obey all the Pope's mandates.

There was also consigned to him the bull of his election to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Although in truth the weight of the charge at first alarmed him, so that he would not of his own accord have accepted it willingly, yet considering who the Princes were, at whose recommendation he was nominated to this post, by whom it was confirmed, and the persons who approved his election, as also those the cure of whose souls is confided to him and in his own country, which is naturally most dear to him, he dared not by the slightest word refuse this burden.

London, [24th January 1556. ?]

[*Latin*, 36 *lines*.]

Jan. 25. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

361. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

Has heard with great pleasure of the renunciation made to him by the Emperor of the realms of Spain, and his other remaining kingdoms. His Imperial Majesty has great reason to acknowledge the goodness of God, who, when the Emperor through indisposition could no longer conveniently bear so great a burden, granted him such a son, from whom he, his subjects, and the whole of Christendom may anticipate all comfort and benefit. The Abbot of San Saluto, who was detained a fortnight at Calais by contrary weather, has given him the King's letters and messages about the peace, and after communicating them to the Queen and the Regent Figueroa, it was thought well for Pole to send likewise to France, as he purposes doing, and will merely add that he has lately received a brief from the Pope, desiring him to pursue the negotiation vigorously. He has also received the bull of his election to the archbishopric of Canterbury, to which their Majesties were pleased to nominate him, the Pope having made the proposal in consistory, and although the weight of so great and to him so unusual a burden cannot but cause him much fear, nevertheless when he considers by what means it was laid on him, and whom he is to serve, he comforts himself with the hope that the Divine goodness will assist him to bear it.

With regard to what the King writes to him about the church of Trani, he remembers perfectly that the matter proceeded in the way written by his Majesty, and thus did Pole write at the time to Car-

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dinal Caraffa, and will do so again, reminding him of the fact, that he may speak about it to the Pope, who (Pole is very sure) will have every possible regard for the King, who may rest assured that the person [Bernardo Scotti], on whom that see has been conferred by his Holiness, is of rare virtue and goodness, and possesses every other quality becoming a worthy and good prelate, as Pole knows by reason of his long and close friendship with him, and on the present occasion he has thought it his duty to bear witness accordingly to his Majesty.

The Queen is quite consoled by the sure hope which the King has given her of his speedy return.

Greenwich, 25th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

362. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Ruy Gomez has arrived from Antwerp, having been sent by the King of Spain to the Emperor. He remained upwards of three hours with his Imperial Majesty, and went back early this morning. He came to show the Emperor a form of agreement to be proposed to the French commissioners respecting the truce, one clause stipulating the reciprocal restitution of the acquisitions made in these parts, and that the other matters were to be reserved for the treaty of peace. The Emperor did not approve the agreement either in form or substance, and some say that as the King could not have sent the Emperor any person for whom he has greater esteem, so it would have been impossible for the King in his whole court to find a more ardent intercessor for this truce than Ruy Gomez.

King Philip's commissioners write to him that they will do their utmost to keep the negotiation for this truce on foot until they receive fresh orders, saying that the French seem more desirous of settling the affair of the prisoners than that of the truce. Notwithstanding, at Antwerp, amongst the merchants, and even by the courtiers, many wagers are staked that the truce will be concluded in the course of next month, whilst the Imperial courtiers show by words and deeds that it will not take place. On the day before yesterday the Emperor received from the King no fewer than 300 documents for his signature, to all of which he affixed it without reading them to oblige his son, who, according to the Imperialists here, accepted the Emperor's renunciation, not of his realms themselves, but of the toil of ruling them, and they say that King Philip on his departure told the Emperor earnestly that he wished all honour and glory to rest with his Imperial Majesty (*che voleva che di lei fosse ogni honore et gloria*).

Brussels, 26th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

363. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 22nd the Abbot of San Saluto arrived and went to the court [at Greenwich] with Cardinal Pole, who was here in London on account of the synod. After giving account of his negotiations

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at Brussels he remained two consecutive days in great debate with his right reverend lordship, whether he ought to proceed to France or not, on two sole accounts which have arisen lately of no slight consideration with regard to the honour of the Cardinal and of the most Serene Queen. The one was, as it is heard for certain, that at the conference held by the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners, matters were so far advanced that if by this time the decision has not been formed it cannot be long delayed; and to send the Abbot hence, repeating a useless act (et rifar un atto frustatorio), *would consequently be a disreputable mission as the business is in course of negotiation elsewhere, besides the shame to which he would be put if compelled to return, from having met the news on the road. The other was, that the Lords of the Council represented to Cardinal Pole and complained to him that for the dignity and authority of the Queen, now that matters were drawing to a close* (che le cose stringevano), *it was not to be borne that he should appropriate the whole business to himself, sending his own agents and excluding those of her Majesty, to whom this office principally belonged, and they objected to the Abbot not only on account of his being the Cardinal's dependant* (servitor), *but also because he is an alien, and therefore not to be preferred to those who were the Queen's subjects. For these reasons it has been thought best not to employ either the Abbot or any Englishman, but to send Missier Mattio di Priuli, son of the most noble Missier Antonio,* who, under pretence of returning to Paris to continue his studies, will not seem to have been sent for this purpose, and will perform the office destined for the Abbot, taking with him both letters and the necessary instructions, of which he is to avail himself, if on his arrival at the French court he do not find that anything has been settled, thus avoiding any shame or affront from the danger of interfering with what was already accomplished, by sending a person ostensibly despatched for this business.* (Et così si fuggì et ogni indignità et vergogna che si potesse ricevere, per il pericolo di non moversi a cosa fatta, mandandosi persona che pari espedita per questo negotio.)

The said Messer Mathio was to have taken his departure yesterday, but they delayed it until to-day, and it will perhaps be prolonged till to-morrow, so that he sent to say he would do his best to come and see me before leaving. The decision brought by the Abbot from Brussels was the full confirmation of their Majesties' will with regard to every article; so by reason of what he had heard from the French he was in great hopes of an indubitable adjustment (*di certo appontamento*). At present he has met with this hindrance (*disturbo*), from the necessity for returning hither, Cardinal Pole having expressly ordered him so to do, *not choosing to give him credentials for France, which the Abbot—foretelling as it were what came to pass—very earnestly requested of him, he being now in great doubt and distress, lest others reap the fruit of his exertions.*

* Matteo Priuli, son of the Procurator Antonio, accompanied Cardinal Pole to England, and in 1565 became Bishop of Vicenza, which see he resigned to his nephew, Michele Priuli, in 1579. (*See* Capellari, Campidoglio Veneto, vol. 3, MS. in St. Mark's Library.)

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It has been said to me, on good authority, about the cause which in great measure induced the Imperialists and the French (questi) *to authorize the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners to conclude the adjustment, that the resolve in great part arose from the extreme coldness which both sides, but principally the French, perceived at the conference of Calais, not only on the part of Cardinal Pole—it seeming to them that had his right reverend lordship bestirred himself* (si fosse riscaldata) *as he should and might have done, the resolve now about to be made would doubtless have taken place then—but also in the English lords, two of whom, namely the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget—the late Chancellor being the third—showed themselves well disposed. These two, after the two first days, commenced urging their departure thence, declaring openly that the conference could produce no fruit or effect, so clearly had their colleagues evinced their mind and bias.* Therefore "* questi signori,*" now suspecting that, were the English again to mediate, the affair would encounter greater delay and difficulty, have not hesitated to act in this manner, the Imperialists knowing that they can safely do anything with the Queen, whilst the French have been still less scrupulous about transferring the negotiations from this side to their own ministers, they being no longer so well pleased as formerly, either with Cardinal Pole or with the English, hoping in this way to effect the adjustment much more easily and speedily; nor, in case of failure, would they ever be at a loss for the means of returning it here.*

On his passage hither the Abbot was accompanied by Don Luis Mendes and Don Juan Pacheco, gentlemen "of the mouth" in the service of King Philip, they also having been detained several days at Calais by the contrary wind. Mendes has come to announce the cession made by the Emperor to his son, of Spain, the Indies, and Sicily, and of what remained to him, that her Majesty might thus know she was mistress (*patrona*) to command in those realms as in these. Pacheco was charged to assure her Majesty that, immediately on the despatch of his business at Antwerp, the King will return hither, which news would have completely comforted the Queen, had not her consolation been somewhat diminished by hearing that he will first go back from Antwerp to Brussels, fearing he may be detained for a yet longer period; but as the King has ordered his household to be sent on from Antwerp to Calais, it is a great sign that even should he return to Brussels he will not remain there long.

Mr. Somerset [Edmund Atkinson, Somerset Herald,] also arrived here at the same time from Rome, with the "expeditions"† for

* The words in the original are, "Questi due fin dalli due primi giorni comintiorono a sollicitar la partita facendo aperta professione che non potesse seguire frutto o effetto alcuno, tanto bene mostrorono lo animo et desiderio loro." I gather the meaning of this obscure sentence from the fact that the English commissioners at this conference were Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget, so I infer that these two last, being of the imperial faction, opposed the more moderate English policy of Pole and Gardiner, who were therefore accused of being lukewarm. In Froude (vol. vi. p. 344, ed. London, 1860), no mention is made of the Earl of Arundel; and Michiel, on the other hand, shows that Pembroke was *recalled* from Calais before the 6th May, on the 20th of which month the conference commenced.

† See also Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 4th January 1556, No. 455, showing that Somerset Herald had been sent by Sir Edward Carne.

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the archbishopric of Canterbury in the person of the most illustrious Legate, who, having received the bulls, will take possession, and henceforth assume the cure and administration of that see; and the sentence against the late Archbishop [Cranmer] will soon be executed, he remaining more obstinate than ever in his heresies (*stando più che mai ostinato nelle sue heresie*).

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

364. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The most Christian King returned hither last evening, and before he left Chambord (*Schiamburgh*) advices arrived from the Admiral, who having gone back to the conference, the Imperialists again proposed the truce, if his most Christian Majesty would consent to restore three fortresses taken by him during this war in the Luxemburg territory, namely Javes (*sic*), Memades (*sic*), and Davvilliers (*sic*), and pay an annual pension of 50,000 crowns to the Duke of Savoy. To this proposal the Admiral replied that he had come to treat the affair of the prisoners, but as their lordships made these offers he could merely reply that his most Christian Majesty had commissioned him not to listen to any proposal for peace, unless the Emperor consented to restore the Milanese; nor for truce, unless equitable arrangements were made either by restitution on both sides, or that both one and the other should remain as they are (*overo stando ciascuno nelli sui termini*). After long debate the Imperial commissioners again proposed that the King of France should consent to restore Marienburg to the Emperor, and give a fair annual pension to the Duke of Savoy, and the Emperor, pitying his condition, would do the same by him, the Duke being left at liberty to live and reside (*di poter viver et trattenersi*) wherever he pleased. The Imperialists prayed the Admiral not to fail imparting these proposals to his King, in the Emperor's name, which the Admiral promised to do.

When this intelligence arrived, the decision was proposed in council with great altercation between the Constable on the one hand, who continues more than ever in favour of the Truce, and the Duke of Guise on the other, who uses every effort in order that with the League, the Italian expedition may be carried on. After much contest his most Christian Majesty resolved that he would not reject the compact (*quella sorte di compositione*) which was offered him, provided (as he had declared on every occasion) matters proceeded reciprocally (*che le cose andassero del pari*); that if the Emperor would give a pension to the Duke of Savoy, he also would give him as much more (*gli ne darebbe altretanta*); that if the Emperor wished for Marienburg, his Imperial Majesty on his part should also be pleased to give in exchange the new fortress of Hesdin; and if on the contrary the Emperor would not restore anything, that he be content that the King of France should do the like. Thus was it written to the Admiral, and the final resolve is expected in

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three or four days. *The Emperor is supposed to have come to this conclusion owing to the League treated by the King of France in Italy; and should this adjustment not take place, and lest it seem strange to the confederates that his Majesty should have given ear to it, I understand that the whole has been communicated to the Pope and to the Duke of Ferrara, and that the King will not form any decision without including and benefiting his friends and confederates.*

I notified to your Serenity the offer made by the Florentine outlaws to accommodate the King with 400,000 crowns, at the rate of 16 per cent. (*con utile di* 16 *per cento*) and subsequently it has been heard by letters from Rome that the Cardinals of Lorraine and Tournon made a contract with Bindo Altoviti for 300,000 crowns, at the rate of 16 per cent. interest, but as the debentures which the Cardinal of Lorraine (*il detto R^mo di Lorena*) had were not approved of, they sent back hither for fresh ones, but by reason of the aforesaid negotiation the resolve remains in suspense; and the said Altoviti, besides the King's security, bound himself on his own private account to pay the sums assigned to all the parties at the appointed times.

Yesterday the Nuncio here received letters from the Abbot of San Saluto, dated Calais, the 10th instant, concerning what the Pope wrote to Cardinal Pole about negotiating an adjustment between these two Princes, telling him that he had been sent by the Queen and Cardinal to the Emperor and his son, where he had already been, and as he could not have audience of the Emperor, who had a violent fit of the gout in both shoulders, he had performed the office enjoined him with King Philip, and brought back such assurance of the excellent disposition of both their Majesties, as was anticipated by the Queen and by his Cardinal. The Abbot added that he was awaiting fair weather to cross the Channel and return to London, from whence they would immediately despatch either himself or some other person to come and treat this matter with his most Christian Majesty, and in the meanwhile he requested the Nuncio to communicate all this to the Constable, but as yet no one has appeared, which perhaps proceeds from this fresh conference [at the Abbey of Vaucelles].

The said Abbot also writes that the cause of the postponement of the Emperor's departure, besides his indisposition, was the great risk of his life, as represented to him by the physicians, had he put to sea this winter, but that his Imperial Majesty is more than ever desirous of going to Spain as soon as the weather improves.

Blois, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

365. Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Hopes he will have returned from Rome on the arrival of the bearer of this letter, who will be Messer Mattheo Priuli, Pole's gentleman, whom he sends to do the like by King Henry as he has already done by the Emperor and the King his son through the

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Abbot of San Saluto, the Pope having again desired Pole to urge the negotiation of peace, for which Lorraine's piety and grade alike bind him to co-operate.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

366. Cardinal Pole to the Constable of France.

Montmorency will have heard that Pole sent the Abbot of San Saluto to Brussels about the peace, which the Pope has again desired him to prosecute, and as the reply was favourable, he is sending his gentleman, Mattheo Priuli, to the most Christian King on the like mission. It is unnecessary for him to exhort the Constable to favour so holy a matter.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

367. Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Viterbo [Nuncio in France].

Will have heard how he sent the Abbot of San Saluto to Brussels about the peace, and the reply being favourable, he is now sending Mattheo Priuli to perform the like office with his most Christian Majesty, and requests the Nuncio to introduce him.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27 ?* MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

368. Instruction for Mattheo Priuli from Cardinal Pole.

Will tell the King of France the reason why the Legate sent the Abbot of San Saluto lately to the Emperor and the King of England, namely to resume the negotiation for peace according to the commission again received from the Pope; and Pole having heard of the appointment of commissioners by their Majesties for an exchange of prisoners, he thought it was a good opportunity for proceeding farther with the negotiation for peace. The Abbot brought back word that the Emperor and the King approved of its being carried on by the Queen and Pole, who commenced it; and as after the return of the Abbot, who was for a long while prevented from crossing the Channel by contrary winds, news arrived that the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners had been joined by other personages to treat the peace, the Legate has thought fit now to perform no other office with the King of France than to announce this reply brought by the Abbot. Priuli will make this announcement also to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, and will be guided throughout by the opinion and direction of the Nuncio.

[London, 27th January 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

369. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

Somerset delivered to him Morone's letters of the 2nd and 12th December. Nor will Pole say more about the briefs brought by him concerning the peace and the archbishopric [of Canterbury],

* No date of time or place in MS.

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as Morone can hear all particulars from his agent and by the copy of his letter to the Pope. Requests him to pray God to enable Pole to bear the burden, as Pole constantly prays for Morone, which is all he can do in return for his affection as demonstrated on every occasion. Their Majesties' ambassador has written to the Queen about Cardinal Puteo, of whom Morone writes, and Pole spoke lately on the subject to the Queen, who promised to recommend him warmly by letter to the King, on whose arrival, which is hoped for shortly, Pole will not fail to perform every loving office with him in favour of Monsigr. Barengo, as due for his labours, and in conformity with the wish of Morone and Pole to do whatever they can to gratify him. Apologizes for not writing more from lack of time.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

370. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

Acquaints him with the missions to Brussels and France of Parpaglia and Priuli. Should Priuli on his arrival find matters in such a state as to render negotiation unseasonable, he is charged to do nothing further, but to remain in Paris, whither he had intended going previously, Pole thus avoiding any affront to which he might have been subjected had he sent a person who at any rate must have returned to England [before going to France].

Touching Caraffa's notice of the seven cardinals lately elected by the Pope,* Pole, being convinced that they are all worthy of the account in which his Holiness thus shows that he holds them, rejoices greatly at the promotion, and particularly at that of the Cardinal of Trani, Pole through his long and intimate acquaintance with him having always known that he is most deserving of every honour. The King wrote about the church of Trani to Pole, who replied as Caraffa will see by the enclosed copy, and he may remind the Pope of what Pole wrote to him on this subject heretofore.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

371. Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal of Trani [Giovanni Bernardo Scotti].

Heard lately of Scotti's promotion to the cardinalate with feelings of compassion towards Scotti himself and of congratulation on every account, both public and private, towards the Church and the Pope, with the sure hope that the goodness of God will always comfort and assist him. Subsequently Pole received Scotti's letter of the 11th evincing his great anxiety, besides what is caused him by this promotion, about the additional burden of the church of Trani, concerning which he will have heard what King Philip wrote to Pole, and his reply, whereby he bore witness to his intimate acquaintance with Scotti and his opinion of him, without proceeding further, nor has he heard anything more from the King

* The promotion took place on the 20th December 1555. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 342.)

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subsequently, and he has firm hope that in this matter likewise the Lord God will ordain what is most for his honour and service. It is unnecessary for him to make any offers to Scotti, who may believe how he wishes to serve him in whatever he can. Has desired his agent to request Scotti to avail himself of whatever Pole has at Rome as if it were his own, and prays that he will employ him for anything else he may require, with such reliance and confidence as become their true friendship and union in Christ, to which he has the greater hope Scotti may adapt himself the more it differs from his usual maxim, and that feeling the increased burden he will practise self-denial, and to comfort himself have recourse more earnestly *ad illum qui consolatur humiles,* of which remedy Pole always has had and continues to have constant need; so he requests Scotti to have him always present in his prayers, as he in like manner prays for Scotti, who will hear about the affairs of the religion in England from Pole's agent.

London, 28th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 49, pp. 180–182.

372. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis of Sarria, the Emperor's ambassador, has been informed by way of Venice that the Cardinal of Lorraine had found your Serenity favourable to the peace with the Emperor and the King of England your confederates (*suoi compagni*), and has given me thanks accordingly. I answered I did not know what the Cardinal of Lorraine had proposed, though I was aware of your Serenity's intention to keep peace with friendly powers your confederates. He then told me he went yesterday to the Pope, who spoke to him more warmly than ever about peace, evincing a great wish to attack the Turk, and saying that the King of France would not fail to aid the expedition with his forces, and that your Serenity, without whom the undertaking could not be made, would also give a great number of galleys; to which the Marquis told me he replied, "Holy Father! your Holiness has often spoken to me about this peace, and nevertheless I do not see that any of your actions serve to bring it about, whilst by treating us so badly as you do, you give us small cause to trust you entirely. I may observe that former pontiffs, when they wished to perform such a feat, either went in person or sent men of importance (*huomeni d'importanza*). As yet we have had nothing but words from your Holiness." He then said that as to French assistance against Sultan Soliman, he did not see how that could be expected from those who had so often brought infidel forces into the heart of Christendom, in addition to which he understood that a very handsome present sent by the King of France for the Turk had already arrived at Venice for the purpose of strengthening their mutual friendship, and in order that this year likewise he might have the Turkish fleet to plunder Christian souls (*che depredasse anime Christiane*).

The Pope's rejoinder purported that he was glad the Marquis had spoken thus freely, and that it would be well to find means for the removal of every difficulty.

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To me Sarria added—"Had there been anybody but myself at this court, a total rupture would have taken place many months ago; what has not been said about me here? what sort of injury have they abstained from doing to the honour of my masters? yet it has been tolerated, and this our toleration will serve as testimony to the world that we, on our part, shall not have recourse to arms, save from compulsion. The Pope gives us fair words and hopes daily, and by so much the less do we expect compliance with the demands made by D. Garcilasso; his Holiness nevertheless binds himself more and more closely to the French, and in every way increases our reasonable jealousy and suspicion."

Rome, 1st February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

373. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Last evening the Bishop of Arras arrived here from Antwerp, the King having sent him to give account to the Emperor of what he had heard from the Queen of England about the reply to the proposals conveyed by San Saluto, and to tell him of the difficulties made by the French commissioners with the Spaniards, which are reduced to two conditions; the one, that the French wish the truce to last for six years, and the Spaniards for two; the other, that they object to the inclusion in it of the Republic of Genoa and the Duke of Florence, saying that neither one nor the other have anything to do with the crown of Spain, and that, as they are not now treating with the Emperor, his son has not to solicit this. I hear from the Nuncio that the Bishop of Arras said that at last a truce will be made, and he departed this morning on his way back to the King to tell him the opinion of the Emperor, to whom his Majesty is to return next Monday. The King has not yet elected the knights of the "Fleece," his own wishes in this matter being in part opposed by the Flemish knights, who wish a greater number of their own countrymen to be elected than of any other nation, either Spanish, English, or Italian.

Brussels, 1st of February 1556.

P.S.—The Ferrarese ambassador has just heard that the truce is already made, the parties keeping what they hold, and that this decision will not be published for a fortnight. The ambassador remarked to me that this might facilitate the acquisition by the Imperialists of some places in Italy, adding his belief that the Emperor will be named in the said truce, although it was said at first that it would be negotiated and stipulated solely with the King of Spain, this having been necessary to stay the exorbitant demands made by the French. With regard to the duration of the truce he said he had heard nothing.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

374. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I have ascertained that in the proposal made by the Imperialists, besides asking for the restitution of Marienburg, they also demanded

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that of Ivrea for the Duke of Savoy, the most Christian King keeping the fortress in his hands, and allowing the Duke to have possession (*di poter goder*) of the city and its revenues in the same way as he permits the Duke of Mantua to hold Casale (*che goda Casale*). In reply the French commissioners were desired to say that if the Emperor wished for Marienburg, he should give the most Christian King thefortress of Hesdin, his Majesty not choosing to come to a compact unless matters proceeded with reciprocity; neither as to Ivrea did it seem to him the fitting moment when treating the truce to talk about giving anything to the Duke of Savoy, towards whom, should a negotiation for peace take place, the King would make every fair demonstration; and on the 28th ultimo this reply was given to the Imperialists, who took time to announce it to the Emperor and the King of England, promising to meet again on the 2nd instant, which will be to-morrow. *Now that this negotiation seems to narrow itself* (che vedendosi astringer questa trattatione), *the conflicting passions in this court come to light; the adherents of the Constable, together with the public, being desirous of its conclusion; whilst, on the other hand, the dependants both of the Queen* [*Catherine de' Medici*] *and of the house of Guise, together with those of Madame de Valentinois, demonstrate openly that for the benefit of his affairs his most Christian Majesty ought not to come to this agreement, but pursue the execution of the League* (ma seguitare la essecutione della Liga), *for which they say another opportunity will not so easily occur; and that although the Pope may not be able to furnish such great assistance as would be required, and therefore uses the utmost art to conceal his policy* (et che per ciò faccia con ogni arte tenire le cose sue secrete), *yet nevertheless he cannot fail to be very useful* (non potè non dare molto beneficio); *in addition to which, should the Duke of Ferrara have declared himself his most Christian Majesty's ally* (collegato), *he will run the risk of losing what he holds under the Emperor's jurisdiction; and as it is heard that the Cardinal of Lorraine will be here in a few days, they hope that, should the ratification not have taken place by that time, his coming may serve greatly to interrupt it, and having already heard something about these negotiations, he is expected to speed his journey.*

Blois, 1st February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

375. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The truce is here considered settled, but from an agent of the Cardinal of Trent, who is come from the King to the Emperor on his way back to his master, I have heard that although it was supposed to be settled, the difficulties between the commissioners at Cambrai being adjusted, there remained the question of its duration, the French commissioners insisting on six years, whilst the Spaniards wish for only three; and Dr. Malopera, who attended the former negotiation, on behalf of the Duke of Savoy, says that

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all the friends, dependants, and subjects of both their Majesties will be included. Am also informed that the said Duke, when speaking to the Bishop of Arras about this truce, was seen to be in so great a rage with him, that his right reverend lordship remained cap in hand longer than usual. Subsequently his Excellency sent him an additional article about his affairs to be sent to the commissioners, whereupon the Bishop told the gentleman who brought it that he had not sufficient authority to do what the Duke wished, and shrugging his shoulders suggested to him that it would be well for the Duke to use his own influence and to write to the commissioners, knowing that they were his devoted servants, but said he would nevertheless send them the said clause. One of his Excellency's intimate attendants says that when the Duke prayed the King to ponder well *all that the world would say about the stipulation of a truce of this sort*, his Majesty replied that he had not formed so momentous a resolve merely in conformity with his own opinion, but also with that of the Emperor, *on hearing which the Duke was struck dumb.*

Last night, at Antwerp, the King went to an entertainment and tournament, given in the English Guildhall by the Marquis del Valle;* and although the persons of his Majesty's court, who have returned hither, and the "advices" say that he will leave Antwerp in four or six days, some persons are of opinion that he will not come to the Emperor until the commissioners shall have fixed the duration of the truce; his Imperial Majesty having perhaps given orders for the decision to be made by the King while away from him.

Brussels, 2nd February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

376. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day received advices from Antwerp informing me that the King had received letters from the commissioners at Cambrai, including one from the Regent of Milan to Secretary Perez, who, being at dinner with Sir John Masone, councillor of the Queen of England,† mentioned that the said Regent wrote to him that after the removal of all the difficulties, there remaining the one about the longer or shorter duration of the peace, the French raised other doubts (*andavano movendo altri dubbij*); and thereupon the King sent a courier to the commissioners with some other clauses, decreed in council, whereby he conceded nearly all the French wished, and on the return of this courier the final resolve was expected. Although both in this court and in that of the King it continues to be reported that the truce may be considered concluded, the Emperor having consented both to be named in it and to the other

* This marquis was the son of Hernando Cortez, who died in the year 1554.

† In date of Antwerp, 7th February, Sir John Masone wrote to the Council, "The truce so commonly talked of yesterday is not, it seems to him, so hot to-day." (*See* Foreign Calendar 1553–1558, p. 209.)

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difficulties (sic) which might prevent the settlement (*havendo acconsentito l'Imperatore di esser* (*sic*) *et nominato in essa, et all' altre difficultà che potevano impedir la conclusione*),* there are some Spaniards of condition who say that from the proceedings of the French they rather suspect them of raising certain difficulties, not so much for the sake of benefiting their King, as in furtherance of some secret project for delaying this matter, they hoping perhaps *that his most Christian Majesty may form a league with the Pope for the present exigencies of Italy;* and it has been said to me *that the coming to your Serenity of the Cardinal de Guise causes suspicion of a league with his Holiness and the most Christian King; it also seeming to them that the reception given to his right reverend lordship was too warm.* In all my conversations I demonstrated *that this was your Serenity's ordinary mode of receiving personages of his grade when they come to see Venice,* and I positively assured everybody that you persevere, as you always will do, in your constant friendship and observance towards the Emperor, and also in the great goodwill and respect you bear his son.

Some days ago King Philip's confessor† suggested to him, and urged his Majesty to determine on sending to his ambassadors in all foreign parts, and to his viceroys at Naples, Sicily, and Milan, two or three gentlemen to each place, to instruct themselves thoroughly in statesmanship, so as in a few years to have men of experience in his service; and he says that all the reverses which befell the Emperor and his Majesty in this war with France, although the Emperor was always most prudent and valorous, proceeded from his not having foreseen that he might have need of men well skilled in matters of that sort; and that the King of France caused their Majesties more trouble and detriment, by means of the assiduous counsel of many persons in his employment, and of the intelligent agents who executed his resolves, than he did either through money, or other means of war. This suggestion has general approval, and the only impediment which prevents his Majesty from carrying it into effect is, that he has not so many and such able persons at his disposal as would be required for that purpose.

On the night before last King Philip supped with the Portuguese merchants, he having invited himself to do them that favour; and passing through the street where the English reside, he enquired in the hearing of many persons where they dwelt; but as they are few, and not wealthy, they turned a deaf ear to the honour intended them.

Brussels, 5th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* The writer probably meant that the Emperor had consented to the *removal* of the difficulties, &c., but in the original despatch the sentence is written as above.

† The Franciscan friar, Francisco Alfonso de Castro. He died at Brussels at the age of 63 on the 13th February 1558. (*See* Biographical Dictionary, published at Bassano.)

1556. Feb. 5.* Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

377. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the departure of the Magnifico Missier Mattio di Priuli, who was despatched hence for the purposes narrated in my last of the 27th ulto., as confirmed to me subsequently by Cardinal Pole himself, nothing further has hitherto taken place concerning this business. What yet more determined the Cardinal to make use of Missier Mattio, and not of the Abbot or of an Englishman, was that when the Abbot was at Brussels, the King having told him freely the Emperor's mind and opinion about such particulars as were most important in this matter; and the Abbot thereupon having asked his Majesty for an instruction respecting the mode to be observed by him with the French, that he might know how far he was or was not to unbosom himself to them; the King told him that on his return hither he would find it in the hands of the Queen and of the Cardinal, to each of whom he would write his intention yet more precisely than he had told it to him, and send an express who would arrive as soon as the Abbot, if not sooner. This not having been done, as this instruction never arrived, during the Abbot's stay at Calais, nor after his arrival here, nor perhaps down to the present day, Cardinal Pole began to suspect (fece entrar in sospetto il Cardinal) *that the King had changed his mind, transferring the negotiation elsewhere, and removing it hence, so that it was unnecessary for him to do anything more than what he as it were* (in certo modo) *deemed necessary, in accordance with his wish to maintain himself as much as possible in the confidence of both sides, namely, to send word to France of the Abbot's return from Brussels and of the excellent hope brought back by him, from the disposition of those sovereigns; thus showing that he did as much by the most Christian King as he had done by the Emperor and the King of England.*

At this present time the delay in hearing that any decision has yet been formed by the commissioners at the conference† *induces his right reverend lordship to believe that the mission of Missier Mattio will prove neither vain nor useless, most especially as the Abbot, according to what he himself has told me, represented amply by letter great part if not the whole of what he would have said by word of mouth and in* [*the most Christian King's*] *presence, although he made it appear that he wrote on his own account, and not by order of the Cardinal, which comes however to the same thing* (il che importa perhò il medesimo) *by reason of the trust gained by him in these negotiations with both sides.*

The two companies of "Merchant Adventurers" and "Staplers" were lately requested in the name of the Queen to pay in Flanders 100,000*l.*, her Majesty being debtor there for that amount, which she received in Spain on account of the loan contracted there two

* The original letter is misdated 5th January.

† As seen in the despatch from the ambassador Soranzo, date Blois 27th December 1555, the conference at the abbey of Vaucelles was originally held for the purpose of stipulating an exchange of prisoners, which was followed by a truce, as recorded in Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, date 5th February 1556, No 466.

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years ago. Both companies made many excuses, which not being admitted, they were at length compelled to pledge themselves, the "Adventurers" disbursing 60,000*l.*, and the "Staplers" 40,000*l.*, and for their repayment such provision will be made in the course of time as shall be most convenient for her Majesty.*

They are now intent on the general taxation of the city and the kingdom, the payment of the subsidy being at hand, which seems to proceed with such severity, no regard being had either for aliens or Englishmen, that it will greatly exceed former taxations, many persons having to pay three times as much as their usual quota. The Queen continues in hopes of her consort's return, as confirmed to her recently by his letters and messengers, to two of whom she gave each a chain worth 400 ducats; and she ordered the ships to drop down towards the sea forthwith, ordering the guard of 100 English halberdiers to be at Dover on the 20th instant; and the Earl of Pembroke, who is appointed to receive his Majesty at Calais, will depart from one day to another.

Some of the persons arrested with the new King Edward have been hanged, and the affair is consigned to silence.

London, 5th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 5. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

378. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

In reply to his letter of the 4th ulto. concerning the Chancellorship of England, is very glad to find that his opinion agreed with that of the Pope and Morone. With regard to the Cardinal of Trani, was very sure that Morone would consider him such as Pole has always known him to be, and rejoices much at the reciprocal satisfaction of the whole College of Cardinals.

London, 5th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

379. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The truce is settled to last for five years, and the Secretary Banos (*sic*) is to bring the news express to both their Majesties.

When the courier wished to announce the intelligence in person to the Emperor, having come hither before going to Antwerp to the King of Spain, one of the Imperial ministers charged him to depart instantly for Antwerp to give the first news to the King.

Brussels, 6th February 1556.

Postscript.—M. de la Chaux and Don Luis de Avila, to whom I sent my secretary with congratulations on this conclusion of the truce, confirmed the fact, and Avila told him that it had been concluded for five years, but with a reservatory clause about the Emperor's acceptance, though the fact is that his Imperial Majesty formed the decision when the Bishop of Arras came hither.

[*Italian.*]

* In Hume's History (vol. 3, p. 387, ed. London, 1744), allusion is made to "the Queen's extortions," and the author quotes "a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London," but does not name the staplers.

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Feb. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

380. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night the King sent news to his sister, Madame Margaret, that on the 3rd instant the truce between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty was concluded for five years, without restoring anything on either side, but with the obligation on the part of his most Christian Majesty to give an annual pension of 25,000 francs to the Duke of Savoy. All the honour of this adjustment is attributed to the Constable.

Blois, 7th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8.
Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 51, pp. 185-187.

381. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I yesterday presented to the Pope the honoured privilege* conceded by your Serenity to his nephews of the Caraffa family. He never tired of looking at the parchment, examined the golden seal, folded the patent with his own hand, and replaced it himself in its case (*nella borsa*), saying to me, "We will call our nephews and rejoice together; return the greatest possible thanks in our name; assure the State that as long as we live we shall have no greater wish than to do them some signal service." He then said to me, "We will unbosom to you all our ideas (*tutti i nostri concetti*). We have tolerated so many and such great injuries from these Imperialists, that in patience we have surpassed Job. We have so many proofs of all their plots and acts of treachery that some day, when at leisure, we could tell enough to astound you. We have dissembled everything from our wish for peace, but what they did lately cannot be put up with. It is this, that they attempted to bribe (*corrompere*) even the soldiers of our guard, to kill my cardinal and me; and they moreover reached such a pitch of impiety as to purpose poisoning the water of the palace, which fact the goodness of our Lord God has willed should come to our knowledge, nor is there reason to doubt the truth of this;† so we greatly fear being compelled to proceed *ad ultimum terribilium*, which is war. We shall do so unwillingly; but perhaps Divine Providence, to punish them for their sins, will allow us to be driven to this, which may perchance be the way to free this wretched and unhappy Italy; nor will we call our most Serene Signory to any share in the danger, but we indeed hope that when matters are arranged to the grandeur and honour of Italy, she will take thought for the liberty of the said Italy, in which she has so great a part, and for her own likewise."

* In a despatch dated 18th January 1556, the ambassador wrote to the Doge and Senate, that on the preceding day Paul IV. expressed a wish to him that the Signory would deign (*si degnara*) to inscribe his nephews on the golden book, and the "privilege" here alluded to was the "patent" with the pendant golden seal. When making this demand, Gian Pietro Caraffa told Bernardo Navagero that he was eighty years old.

† In this same letter, Navagero mentions having been told by Cardinal Caraffa that the conspiracy was entrusted to the Pope's Switzer guards, one of whom was to have shot the Cardinal from the guard house when he stood at a certain window, but no particulars are given about the mode of poisoning the water.

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I remarked that the Pope said these things to me with his mind in much suspense and trouble (*con l'animo tutto suspeso et travagliato*).

Rome, 8th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

382. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the arrival at Antwerp of the courier to the King of Spain with the news of the conclusion of the peace, his Majesty assembled the council of state, but did not say a word on the subject to any other of his attendants.

This same courier brought a letter from the Regent of Milan to the Dr. Malopera, one of the chief ministers of the Duke of Savoy, giving him notice of having been unable to obtain more than is expressed by the letters sent to the King, to whom the Duke went immediately, and after reading the letters of the commissioners, his attendants say, that perceiving how disastrous the decision was for him, he remained (to use their own words) more dead than alive (*tra viva e morta*), nor until then had he ever been seen to shed tears; and they assert truly that what has come to pass was foreseen by him. On his return to his lodging, the Bishop of Arras, and the Knights of the Fleece, and many other noblemen, went to comfort him, but he never evinced resignation. His adherents add that he has refused an annuity of 20,000 crowns which the King of France wished to give him during the truce, his Excellency not having chosen to degrade himself by so base an act; *and if on account of the Emperor and the King of Spain he was deprived of all his revenues, and if their Majesties did not think of providing him with another State, although on the other hand they did think of availing themselves of his services for their own States, he would nevertheless endure this misfortune likewise, and neither they nor* the most Christian King would ever prevent his Excellency from remaining a brave prince, and bearing with this adverse fortune.

Shortly after this, Secretary Bave arrived with the draft of the articles to be signed by the King, who sent them to the Emperor. None of the chief ministers of either of their Majesties have chosen to tell the Duke of Savoy, or anyone else clearly, what they are, *common report saying they are not honourable;* although letters from Antwerp tell me that the truce is to last for the five years, so that what each of them holds may be enjoyed quietly during that period, neither of the parties being allowed to fortify any place, nor to keep a greater number of troops than usual on the frontiers, and that should either of them make war he be bound to declare it sufficient time beforehand, to save the subjects and merchants from any loss; the truce moreover comprises all their Majesties' friends and dependants, the Pope also being left at liberty to join it or not, and I heard subsequently that your Serenity is specified.

His Majesty, with the council of state, has fixed the salaries of each of the secretaries already elected, and of the officials to be named hereafter, and has enacted a law condemning to death such as accept presents of any sort, proposing a reward for those who

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inform against them, and binding them also when in council neither to speak nor to suggest anything unless demanded.

Brussels, 8th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 8. Parti Secrete Consiglio X. File No. 9.

383. APOLOGY proposed by the CHIEFS of the TEN to EDWARD COURTENAY, MARQUIS of EXETER.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and junta by the chiefs, Alvise Contarini, Hironimo da Leze, and Domenico Morosini.

That by the chiefs of this council our faithful Vicenzo Pelegrini, advocate, be told, in such good form of words as shall seem fit to them, that our beloved noble, Philippo Foscari, sage of the council, having reported to us what the said Pelegrini narrated to him about Lord Courtenay, he is to let his lordship know that we did not make a demonstration of our goodwill and esteem for him, on account of respects relating to himself (*per rispetti di sua Signoria*), as, did they not exist, we should not have failed to display our benevolence, nor will we omit to do so when the opportunity occurs.

Ayes, 23. No. 1. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

384. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Constable gave me notice that the truce had been made on fair terms. The King will be here in three days, when M. de Bassefontaine [Sebastien de l'Aubespine] is also expected with the agreement (*capitulatione*) duly made and signed, and the Admiral will be present at the ratification by the Emperor and the King of England; and when the agreement is returned, the Prothonotary de Noailles, brother of the French ambassador in England, will depart hence for Italy, to announce this adjustment to the Pope and your Serenity, and to the other potentates there. The terms of the truce are, neither side to make restitution of any kind, the truce to be valid in all the states and dominions of either Majesty, both by land and sea, commencing on the 5th instant, and lasting for five years. Should any towns or any place whatever be taken or occupied, they are to be restored reciprocally. The most Christian King has included in the truce his Holiness, the King and Queen of England, and the other kings of Christendom, your Serenity, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duke of Parma, Madame his wife,* the Prince of Salerno, and the Marquis Albert, and the Duke de Bouillon (who is now the Emperor's prisoner), with regard to certain free jurisdictions held by him (*per rispetto de certi sui dominij liberi che possiede*), and the whole League of the Switzers.

Besides this general agreement two particular articles (*altri due articoli particolari*) have been stipulated, by one of which the most Christian King permits Queen Eleanor [widow of Francis I.], the

* Margaret of Austria, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V.

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Emperor's sister, to enjoy the revenues of the estates (*usufruttuare li beni*) assigned for her dower (*duario*) as late Queen of France, and what she possesses in this country on account of her marriage portion (*per conto della sua dotte*) ; and on the other hand, at the suit of the most Christian King, the Emperor will restore to the aforesaid Duchess of Parma, his daughter, her estates (*li beni sui*) now in the hands of his Imperial Majesty. The other article stipulates payment by the King of France of an annual recompense under the name of pension to the Duke of Savoy on account of Ivrea, which city the Imperial commissioners laboured hard to obtain for the Duke ; but to this not only did the King refuse his consent, but would not even allow either of the articles to be included in the general agreement, and the recompense will consist in an annual pension of 25,000 francs. The Imperialists earnestly endeavoured to have the truce made for ten years, but as the French seemed averse to its lasting for more than three, the term of five years was at length agreed to as aforesaid.

With regard to the release of the prisoners, the Imperialists have always made a difficulty about stipulating any agreement until the conclusion of the truce, saying that when the general agreement was settled, the prisoners likewise might very speedily be despatched, and thus was all discussion about their release postponed until the 5th instant. I have heard that no decision has been given, save that the agreement already made will be confirmed ; and that the Duke d'Arschot and Count Mansfeldt, who are his most Christian Majesty's prisoners, will be released for money, as also the Duke de Bouillon and the Constable's son, who are the Emperor's prisoners. And thus after five years will there be an end of this war, which, according to persons able to ascertain the fact, has cost the King upwards of 45 millions of crowns, including the ordinary and extraordinary supply, which last having been already imposed and agreed to for the present year, his Majesty will receive the money without having occasion to spend it.

Blois, 9th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X. Vol. 22, p. 100.

385. Precautions taken by Edward Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

That license be given to Lord Courtenay, with 15 servants, of whose names a list is to be given as usual, to carry weapons in this city and in all our towns and places.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11.
Parti Comuni Consiglio X. Vol. 22, p. 100.

386. Marquis of Exeter.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

That the arms-license given yesterday to Lord Courtenay be increased from the number of 15 to 25, according to the request which he caused to be made (*che esso ha fatto ricercar*) of the chiefs of this council.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Feb. 15.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Vol. lxix. p. 171, to.

387. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By his letters of the 16th ultimo, heard that the Emperor had renounced to the King, his son, the realms and signories of the crown of Castille and Aragon, in addition to the renunciations made by him previously of his other kingdoms and states.

To congratulate the King on his accession in suitable terms, and inform his Imperial Majesty that they will send an ambassador to reside with his son. To transmit the accompanying packet to the Ambassador Michiel in England, who is to congratulate the Queen.

Proposed, to elect forthwith an ambassador to the said most serene King, to reside with his Majesty; the person elected being unable to refuse under the penalties contained in the Act passed by our Grand Council in the year 1536, against those who refuse embassies to crowned heads.

The person elected to have two hundred golden ducats per month for his expenses, without being obliged to show any account of them, and to be bound to keep eleven horses, comprising those of his secretary and servant, and four stirrup-men, and to depart at such time, and with such commission, as shall seem fit to this council.

Ayes, 102. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

Elected, Ser Michiel Surian, Knight.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Vol. 69, p. 172 to.

388. The DOGE and SENATE to the KING of SPAIN.

The Magnifico Don Francisco de Vargas, Imperial ambassador resident with us, has acquainted us with the renunciation of the kingdoms and signories of the crown of Castille and Aragon made by the Emperor your father. It has caused us such satisfaction as becomes the love and observance we bear your Majesties.

Similar letter to be sent to the ambassador in England, changing the name, vid^t^., Zuan Michiel, who is with his Majesty's Most Serene Consort.

Ayes, 162. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.
Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), Vol. 69, p. 172, to.

389. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

By letters from our ambassador with the Emperor, dated the 16th ultimo, we have heard of the renunciation made by him to the King, his son, of the kingdoms and signories of the crown of Castille and Aragon, in addition to the other renunciations made previously. To congratulate the Queen in the name of our Signory; and also to congratulate the Right Reverend of York and Lord Paget, saying you have orders from us to that effect, on the dignities obtained from their Queen.*

Ayes, 162. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, had recently been made Lord Chancellor; the office of Lord Privy Seal being also conferred on William Lord Paget. (*See* Haydn's Book of Dignities.)

1556.
Feb. 15.
Senato Terra, vol. 40, p. 87, &c.

390. Introduction of EDWARD COURTENAY, MARQUIS of EXETER, to the DOGE and SIGNORY, and present made to him.

The Lord Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, having lately arrived in this city, and having been to visit the Most Serene Prince and our Signory, it is fitting to make some demonstration towards his Excellency, as usually practised in similar cases; wherefore, put to the ballot, that our College be authorised to spend to the amount of 100 ducats on such things and refreshments (*quelle robbe et rinfrescamenti*) as shall be most fitting to present to the aforesaid Lord.

Ayes, 182. Noes, 4. Neutral, 0.

Mem.—That the above-written motion was made by a mandate from the College on the above-written day, whilst the Senate was sitting, and the laws about the distribution of the public moneys were called to mind (*memoratæ fuerunt*).

[*Motion in Italian, memorandum in Latin.*]

Feb. 15.
Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 52, p. 190.

391. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is said that a truce may possibly be made between the most Christian King and the King of England. Yesterday at audience I asked the Pope what might be hoped, and he answered me as your Serenity will see by the enclosed.

Rome, 15th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.
Dispacci, Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 7 B.

392. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Pope told me I was to write, as otherwise he should have cause to complain of me, that he had a later advice than the one received by the Nuncio, whereby he was informed that the Bishop of Arras went up and down (*in su et in giù*) to settle the business, which was not yet concluded, and that he had said they were compelled to make a disgraceful treaty through the obstinacy (*durezza*) of the Pope; at which I remarked that his Holiness was quite delighted. He said to me besides that the Emperor is quite out of his mind, for which reason the renunciations were made, and that both father and son were bad Christians, as he understood that at this Lenten season good joints of meat are served (*vanno intorno*) at their court; and they must beware, either with or without the truce, of giving him cause to break it, as should he once begin the dance (*che se entra una volta in ballo*) he shall choose to finish it, and that even were they to come upon their knees he will not listen to any sort of adjustment, as he well knew how they stood in the kingdom of Naples, which is in such despair owing to their vile treatment (*i loro tristi portamenti*) that it would give itself to the Turk, not only to a Pope, being a fief of the Church, and especially moreover to one of its own citizens [a person] of some account, to say the least of it.

Rome, 15th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Feb. 16.
Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 55, p. 194.

393. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning the Count of Montorio sent to tell me that after midnight a courier arrived with letters from the Nuncio in France, dated the 6th, announcing the suspension of hostilities for five years, between the most Christian King and the most Serene King of England.

Rome, 16th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

394. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.*

As now, at the beginning of Lent, it is fitting for the prelates of England [now in London] to be at their residences, Pole has thought fit to close the synod; and as some matters, about which full information could not be obtained at present, remained for regulation, it was dismissed with orders to meet again on the 10th of November next to settle what remains. They occupied themselves with making provision for the things most necessary for the ecclesiastical reform and government of England, with regard to which all these prelates and the rest of the clergy evinced the utmost goodwill and zeal for the honour and service of God, and took care, as much as possible, to replace things according to the rules and institutions of the Church, without any innovation whatever; and much to his satisfaction he availed himself of the assistance of the Father Fra Bartholomeo Miranda, and of Fra Pedro de Soto, whom he sent for lately from Oxford for this purpose. Pole will not molest the King by giving him at present more precise information about what was done, more especially as he hopes soon to be able thus to do at the King's greater convenience on his return, which in truth becomes more and more necessary, and more desired daily; and although the Queen is convinced of the necessity which detains his Majesty, she cannot but greatly regret being so long deprived of his company; and Pole prays God that she and all may soon be comforted.

Having received the bulls for the archbishopric of Canterbury (as he wrote to the King), he has now commenced preparing for his consecration, as he thinks it fitting not to allow Lent to pass without going to his said church;† so, please God, he purposes (with their Majesties' leave and favour) to betake himself there on Palm Sunday, and prays the Divine goodness to give him the grace to serve to the honour of God, and for the salvation of the souls committed to his charge, thus acting in accordance with the King's piety. Has received the King's letters of the 11th ult.; they are anxious to hear of some favourable conclusion about the truce, and Pole's messenger, whom he sent to France to negotiate it there, writes in date of the 9th instant, that as it was considered settled he had done nothing further.

London, 17th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* In the original MS. (p. 158, *verso*), the heading of this letter is "*Al medemo*," a clerical error, as the one that precedes it (p. 158, *recto*) is addressed to Cardinal Morone.

† In the year 1556 Easter Sunday was on the 5th April. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

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Feb. 19?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. p. 220, recto. No date of time or place in MS. Printed in vol. v. pp. 18, 20, "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c., without any date.

395. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

Congratulates the Pope on his diligence and piety in commencing the reform of the Roman Court and Church, as the pious and wise always thought that this would be the best mode for providing against the iniquity of the times; and he, Pole, being charged to reform the English Church, is glad to have it in his power to show how the reform has been commenced at Rome, he having to urge obedience to the See Apostolic and to his Holiness. The Pope will see what has been done in the synod by the acts, showing that the measures proposed had been already adopted by the Pope at Rome. This notwithstanding, he refers everything to the Pope's judgment. Such, however, had been the confusion of ecclesiastical law and customs (*morum*), and the corruption of the Catholic doctrine of late years, that the necessary reform could not be effected so immediately. The greatest difficulty consisted in the distribution of the [church] property, which the piety of the Sovereigns left at Pole's disposal as his Holiness' Legate; and it still remains, as nothing can be settled either about liabilities (*de oneribus*) or fruits until the exaction of both, namely before next Michaelmas. In the meanwhile, Lent now approaching, the Bishops must be at their churches; nor could abuses be remedied until after the visitations of the dioceses, which will be effected during this interval. The bishops were therefore dismissed, and the synod has been summoned for the 10th of November; and he thinks also of sending to Ireland, where the same reformatory remedies are needed and desired.

This letter and the acts of the synod will be conveyed by his attendant Mariano Retino (Marianus Reatinus), whom, as he is returning to Italy, Cardinal Pole considered a very fitting person to give account of the decrees and other matters, in many of which he took part; and he is of such piety and learning that in like manner as they had his approval, so will he be able to explain them becomingly. Requests gracious audience for him, praying God long to preserve the Pope for the world and His Church.

[London, 19th February 1556?]

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 19.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. pp. 159, 161.

396. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

As it is fitting for the English prelates to be at their churches at the beginning of Lent (although they had not completed all the business assigned them), the synod has been adjourned till the 10th of November next, during which interval the bishops, by visiting their dioceses and acquainting themselves well with certain matters, will then be better able to make provision for them, as they have already done for what seemed most necessary; and as the decrees are not yet in suitable order to be sent to the Pope, Pole will now give Morone a summary of what has been done that he may communicate it to his Holiness.

First of all, before proceeding farther, many days were spent in regulating the affairs of the church property restored by the Crown, verifying it in detail, and assigning to each diocese its portion of said property, as also of the charge (*gravezza*) to be levied in payment

1556. of the pensions, which will cease with the death of the holders, to the great relief and advantage of the Church.

Considering in the next place all the haste, mischief, and disorder caused by the schism, it was determined to celebrate annually the first day of the meeting of the synod throughout the kingdom, by public processions and solemn thanksgivings for so great a benefit, and that in the daily masses a collect composed for the purpose be added to all English missals. As on the withdrawal of the obedience, the authority of the ecclesiastical laws was simultaneously abrogated, it seemed necessary to restore them by acknowledging all the ordinances (*consoli*) and decretal epistles of the popes, and every other ecclesiastical law and tradition approved by the Roman Church. And as from disobedience to the laws there arose the license to read every sort of book, so that the people began to be infected, all heretical and suspected works are now prohibited, the penalties being revived against such as keep, read, print, and bring them into the country, with orders that henceforth nothing whatever be printed without a license from the ordinary, according to the decree of the last Lateran Council. In order that the people may not be carried about by every wind of doctrine (*non circumferatur oñia veno doctrine—sic*), it has been forbidden to hold or teach any other doctrine than that which is approved and held by the Roman Church, and all those who believe and teach otherwise are condemned as heretics, all the penalties and provisions enacted heretofore against similar persons being renewed. And as in England they sinned especially with regard to the doctrine of the primacy of the Church, and the sacraments, it has been decreed in these two matters to give the people (*di dar al populo*) the brief doctrine as clearly explained in the Council of Florence (*nel Concilio Fiorentino*). And as in England there are many abuses about the custody and administration of the sacraments, all the laws and provisions made in this matter have been renewed, and it has been ordained that the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist be kept in every parish church, *sub serâ et clavi*, in a stately (*honorevole*) and suitable tabernacle on the altar, as at Rome.

Having established this foundation for doctrine and canon law, and the administration of the sacraments, they made decrees about the residence of bishops and curates, and of all persons holding dignities, offices, and administrations (*administrationi*); providing also against the absence of canons, in which matter the abuse was such that the churches remained well nigh desolate, nor was there any visible difference between a collegiate church and cathedral and a mere parish church. They provided against those who without sufficient dispensations hold incompatible benefices (*beneficij incompatibili*); and as residence would be of little use unless they perform their office, it has been ordained that every bishop and curate, unless legitimately impeded, is to teach and preach the word of God in person; and for such curates as are not so able to preach, certain pious and learned men of the clergy have been commissioned to write homilies, on such subjects as shall seem most necessary and to the purpose, for the edification of the people, taking everything from the writings of the fathers of the Church (*degli antichi dottori della*

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chiesa), chiefly with a view to remove and extirpate the past errors; which homilies will be printed in an English translation, the bishops distributing them to the said curates that they may read them to their flocks in lieu of sermons. It was also ordained that no one is to preach without apostolic authority, or that of the ordinary, who is also to instruct the preachers *de materiâ et formâ predicandi;* the curates being also ordered, at least on holydays, to teach the children of their parishes *prima rudimenta fidei.* And as the example of a good and decorous life gives authority and vigour to the doctrine preached, a general decree has been issued for the reform of the bishops personally, their furniture, household, and table, and for the dispensation of the church revenues, the bishops being also ordered to make their dependent clergy observe the ecclesiastical laws *de vitâ et honestate clericorum,* and to make a brief compendium of the things most necessary, and publish it in their dioceses; and it has been enacted that the clergy of the higher orders, whether beneficed or not, and those of the lower orders holding benefices, are bound to lead a life becoming the clerical state, both with regard to apparel and everything else. They have especially censured (*dannato*) the illicit matrimonial union of the religious, of professed nuns, and of all persons in holy orders; to the collation of which orders but little attention being paid, this matter has been regulated, as also that of their serving the bishops. Moreover, touching the collation of benefices, in order that they may be conferred on meritorious persons, an abuse has been remedied whereby those who possessed the right of presentation to a living conceded to others the faculty of presenting before the benefices were vacant, thus giving rise to great disorders. Provision has also been made against simony, which prevailed greatly in England, and most especially by purchasing the favour of the person employed to intercede for the candidate for any benefice. To provide for the conservation of such property as has remained to the churches, orders have been given to observe the "Paulina" and the other ordinances *de . . . . is eccᵉⁱˢ non alienandis,* and that careful inventories be made of all the property of the churches. Certain ancient regulations have been revived about provincial councils, and giving benefices on lease; and there being a great scarcity in England of ecclesiastical ministers, with risk, unless provision be made, of its increasing daily, orders have been given for every cathedral, according to the quality of the church and extent of the diocese, to rear a certain number of scholars according to ecclesiastical discipline, especial regulations being instituted about the books they are to read and their mode of studying, which may also serve for the other schools throughout the realm. All persons have been prohibited from assuming the charge of teaching without a license from the ordinary, who will give the masters the order to be observed by them in teaching their pupils. In conclusion, certain provisions have been made about the visitations of bishops and others invested with this charge, a compendium being formed of what they are to do, and Pole as Legate has conceded to the bishops the faculty *auctoritate apostolicâ* to visit exempted places, *pro unâ vice tantum,* which they will do after Easter, visiting all their dioceses.

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This is the summary of all the provision it has been possible to make at present, endeavouring to bring things back to the ancient ordinances and institutions of the Church without making any innovation. They will now attend to the arrangement of the decrees in order to send them to Morone, that he may present them to the Pope, to whose holy and prudent judgment Pole refers everything as becoming. Amongst the most pious people in England great complaint is heard about the facility with which licenses are obtained at Rome to eat meat at the prohibited times, and for penitents to choose their confessors, of which licenses they make an ill use to their own ruin, and set a bad example to others; the like being done with regard to dispensations on account of incompatibility (*ad incompatibilità*); in which matters Pole has proceeded with great caution, this being requisite for the service of God. He has firm hope that the Pope will give a general order about things of this sort, but nevertheless it would be perhaps well for him to make especial provision, *de presenti*, with regard to these things in England, and should Morone think fit he might speak about this to his Holiness.

London, 19th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

397. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

Has letters dated the 6th and 9th from the gentleman sent by him to France, informing him that, on his arrival there, he found the truce was considered settled, and therefore acted according to Pole's order, which was approved by the Nuncio and the English ambassador in France; and in truth, under these circumstances, to have sent the Abbot of San Saluto would have been undignified, which has thus been avoided, without, however, failing to do what was due, though as yet there is nothing new from Brussels. Notwithstanding, the truce is supposed to be concluded, and the French ambassador in London has sent to tell him that he was ordered by his King to congratulate him, as he acknowledged this to be the result of the conference of Calais, and that after performing this same office with the Queen, of whom he had demanded audience, he would go to Pole. Hopes that this may be the commencement of a true and lasting peace.

Has given account to Cardinal Morone, for communication to the Pope, of the prorogation of the synod, and of what it had enacted.

London, 19th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

398. Cardinal Pole to Henry II., King of France.

His Majesty's ambassador has acquainted him with the conclusion of the truce, at which he rejoices greatly, hoping it may lead to a lasting peace for the complete comfort of Christendom, and especially of the Pope, who lately charged him most warmly to urge both their Majesties to that effect. As the King will have heard that he sent the Abbot of S. Saluto to Brussels, he now writes the present letter, which will be delivered by his gentleman, to congratulate the King on this commencement of quiet.

Greenwich, 20th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 20. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

399. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of LORRAINE.

Congratulates him on the truce, and hopes it may lead to peace. Thanks him for his letter from Rome, and for his friendly demonstrations there, both in public and private.

London, 20th February 1556.

Autograph postscript.—If he had reason previously to urge Lorraine to use his authority and favour with the King about the peace, he has now cause to do so the more strongly on account of this preliminary truce, which he is sure will yet more stimulate him to this good end, in like manner as it will cause Pole to perform every good office with King Philip on his return to England.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

400. CARDINAL POLE to the CONSTABLE of FRANCE.

Montmorency will have heard that Pole sent a messenger to King Henry, in like manner as the Abbot of San Saluto was sent by him to the Emperor and his son to negotiate the peace; and King Henry having informed Pole, through his ambassador, of the truce, he congratulates him on it through this messenger, who will do the like by the Constable, who he is sure will exert himself so that the truce may be followed by a peace.

London, 20th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time or place in MS.

401. CARDINAL POLE to the NUNCIO [in France].

Has heard from Mattheo di Priuli that, following his own prudent opinion, he did not present the letter to the King, to whom Pole now writes his congratulations on the conclusion of the truce, as announced to him by the French ambassador.

[London, 20th February 1556?]

[*Italian.*]

Feb.? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time in MS.

402. CARDINAL POLE to the PRESIDENT of the CONGREGATION of MONTE CASSINO.

The bearer of this letter will be a Venetian hermit called Angel Madonna, whom Pole knew at Rome shortly before his departure thence, and from information received by Pole he is a very worthy person, and was for some years in the hermitage of Monte Spoleto, and in other places likewise. Pole has never much liked this institution of becoming a religious (*di darsi alla religione*) without obedience [to any superior?], and when discussing the subject with Angel Madonna, said he should think it better for him to pass the rest of his life in some monastery, to which he seemed disposed, evincing an especial inclination and affection towards their congregation [of Monte Cassino];* and from a hermitage where he still is he wrote lately to Pole requesting his recommendation and assistance to obtain entry for him into the monastery of Santa Giustina of Padua, or of St. Giorgio of Venice, declaring his readiness to work

* Cardinal Pole was the "Protector" of the Benedictine order of Monte Cassino.

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as much as he can for the service of the monastery by embroidering (*ricamando*), in which art he is very skilful. Pole prays the President to accept and harbour this poor old man, in such place and manner as shall seem fit to him, for in Pole's opinion it will be a very good and pious act.

[London, February 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. ?

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time in MS.

403. SAME to SAME.

According to the request of the President and the fathers-expounders (*padri diffinitori*), Pole recommended the congregation to the Cardinal of Trent, as written to them in his letter of the 10th, since when he received their second letter of the 30th ulto., and one from the Abbot of S. Pietro Gasson, complaining of many grievances to which the monasteries in the territory of Trent were subjected, and that they could obtain no favour from the cardinal-bishop because he was so very much offended with them; so they wished for letters from the King to his right reverend lordship recommending their monasteries to him. Pole does not think it well to comply with their request, lest it irritate the bishop, who might think the King acted at Pole's instigation, and, as he had written in their favour, reproach him for distrusting his affection, for which same reason Pole also hesitated to write a second time to the Cardinal of Trent. With regard to the present exactions (*essattioni*), as he understands from the letter of the Abbot of San Pietro that they are still unpaid, no aid or relief whatever can be expected; but, touching the future, Pole will not fail to avail himself of some good opportunity for writing either to the Cardinal or to the Duke of Alva, should he return to those parts, as is apparently expected; and when the King comes to England, will endeavour to obtain letters from him in favour of the monasteries in the diocese of Trent, and do all he can for the benefit of the congregation.

Is anxiously awaiting the arrival from Spain of the "fathers-visitors," hoping they will render good service for the restoration of the monastery [of Westminster ?], which is about to be effected.*

Thanks the President for his affectionate remembrance of him in his prayers.

[London, February 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21.

Deliberazioni Senato (Secreta), vol. lxix. p. 173.

404. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador in France.

The reverend French ambassador has acquainted us with the settlement of the quinquennial truce made with the Emperor and his son. The King of France writes to us that his friends have been comprised in this truce, amongst whom he had constantly held our Signory. We made a suitable reply, and hereby charge you to congratulate him, expressing our satisfaction at this loving proof of

* The Benedictines were replaced in the Abbey of Westminster, on the 21st November 1556. (*See* Machyn's Diary.)

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his Majesty's holding us in the place and grade assigned to his true and confidential friends, which we are.

Ayes, 146. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 55, pp. 194, 196.

405. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although to-day consistory assembled, and on such days the Pope does not give audience, one of his Holiness' grooms (*parafreniero*) (*sic*) came to say he would hear me at the 23rd hour, when I went to him, and after the usual compliments the Pope said, "Magnifico Ambassador, we will continue to talk with you unreservedly. We love the Signory, both as Pope and as man. As Pope, seeing that nothing remains in Italy but that daughter of ours; and as man, remembering the many benefits and courtesies received, under all circumstances (*in ogni nostra fortuna*), from those most noble senators. You must have heard what has been said lately about the truce; we believe ourselves to have been the good cause of it, owing to the fear of us felt by certain persons. We were counselled to send nuncios and other personages for the negotiation of the peace or truce. We refused to do so, and believe we did well, for our mind abhors every sort of baseness and supplication; it suffices that for the avoidance of war we have tolerated many things, and should this peace or truce have taken place—for we are not yet sure of it—it would be disgraceful for the Imperialists, who wished to make the world tremble. To speak confidentially with you as usual, we say that any agreement between the Ultramontanes may easily prove detrimental to these wretched remains of Italy, where there is nothing but the State of Venice and the Popedom. We have never chosen to involve you hitherto in many current affairs, endeavouring to disentangle ourselves single-handed, so great is our love for the most Serene Signory, to whom, should God give us life, we will prove our affection effectually; and we tell you, *de more*, our belief that it would be well for both one and the other of us to stand prepared and with our eyes fixed on our interests, for every reason. Let the Signory amass money, and not forget that they have an Italian and a Venetian Pope, and a true, I will not say vicar, but servant, of Jesus Christ, for whose honour and service I will always hazard my life, my friends, and my property (*facultà*). Were I the servant of a temporal prince, and that I saw him, or his interests, incurring any danger, I should deserve death did I not seek to take the life of the man who sought to injure my master. I have for my Lord—Jesus Christ—from His Divine Majesty I have at all times received so many benefits that were I ever to refuse any sort of peril for His honour and service, I should be cruel and impious. We speak with you in this form because we consider ourself talking with ourself; nor do we as yet know what may come of this business; it may and it may not be; and if realized we promise you, that even during this truce they will not find us unprovided, as we well know their proceedings."

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To this I replied in general terms, returning thanks for his paternal affection demonstrated towards the Republic, and after a very long interview took leave.

Rome, 21st February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 56, p. 197.

406. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday in consistory the Pope conferred several churches, one in Ireland, and also monasteries in France.

Rome, 22nd February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

407. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier has arrived from the Duke of Ferrara with letters for his ambassador and for a secretary whom his Excellency keeps here. *The Duke wrote to the latter, "We are compelled, by one who has the power to command us, to do a thing which will not be advantageous for their Majesties; so we, having such regard for your person as is due for the good service received from you, you will depart immediately from their Majesties' courts."* The ambassador tells me that he also is recalled, *and commissioned to tell their Majesties as of himself, that he thinks the Duke his master will be compelled (to use his own identical words) to do something or other which it will not be to the satisfaction of their Majesties to hear;* and that he had intended going to the King at Antwerp, but hearing that his Majesty will return shortly, he shall wait for him, and then execute the order as the spirit shall dictate to him; remarking to me diffusely that according to his belief it was given him by the Duke *rather to show himself a man capable of resentment, having already protested against the precedence in favour of the Duke of Florence, and to create suspicion* about other affairs of his, than because his Excellency has any wish to declare himself opposed to their Majesties, either to content the Pope or the King of France. Since the residence here of the secretary and the ambassador they have always been at enmity with each other, the one being considered a Frenchman, the other an Imperialist; so for the ambassador's sake, as also for that of the chief ministers, the ambassador having written to the Duke that the Bishop of Arras had complained of the secretary, his Excellency recalls the latter, and for contrary reasons will not make use of the ambassador.

The Emperor's courtiers and those of the King, according to my letters from Antwerp, are afraid that a league has been formed between the Princes aforesaid, and I am expressly asked about this, *being told openly that your Serenity is suspected of having a secret understanding with them, and comments are made about the Republic's negotiations with the Duke of Urbino for the purpose of taking him into your service, as likewise respecting the galliot captured by the Proveditor of your fleet, and because of your anger on*

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account of the seizure in Sicily of your two ships by Don Juan de Vega as an act of reprisal.

Brussels, 22nd February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

408. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose copy of the treaty of truce, and also of the articles agreed to apart,* but no intelligence having yet arrived about the arrangement having been made (*dell' ordine che si sia dato*) concerning the ratification of the truce, nor for the release of the prisoners, everybody is much astonished, but the Constable's cheerful mien relieves most people from any suspicions which might arise.

The Brescian Dom Gio. Francesco Stella, Cardinal Pole's auditor, has arrived here, who comes from Rome, having departed thence last December, on a summons from the Cardinal to go to England. The Pope gave him briefs for King Philip and Queen Mary, and for his right reverend Lordship, acquainting them with the office performed some time ago in consistory by the Cardinal of Lorraine,† demonstrating the good disposition of his most Christian Majesty, and his inclination towards the peace and quiet of Christendom. In these briefs the Pope expressed a certain wish that the disputes between these Majesties should be referred to his Holiness' arbitration, which the most Christian King offered to accept, and Stella brought another brief to his Majesty, announcing the office thus enjoined him; and he had audience first of the Constable, and then of the King; but the answer received by him from both one and the other of them, was in general terms suited to his delay in executing the commission; and from what he said he also purposes presenting himself to the King of England, and will proceed to the Queen and to her Cardinal.

Blois, 22nd February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Filza, No 134. Miscellanea di atti diversi manoscritti, Venetian Archives.

409. WILLIAM RYCE to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

Having the opportunity of this messenger, could not but take upon himself "this boldness to write unto your lordship. Your lordship shall understand the Queen's Majesty is in very good health, thanks be unto God." Has no other news except the truce between the King our master [Philip II.] and the French King, as it is said, for five years; "to a certainty whereof at the writing of this letter I did not know, but on the 20th instant the French ambassador desired audience, which was granted; judges it was for that matter.

The King's Majesty is yet in Flanders, where he hath solemnized the feast of the "Toyson," but for his return to England, as yet it is not known. Hopes it will be before Easter.

* Neither of these documents have been found.

† As mentioned in the despatch from Navagero, dated Rome, 30th November 1555.

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My Lady your mother is in very good health, and hath been lately at the court, where the Queen's highness made very much of her, which I was right glad to see; and I doubt not but shortly to see your lordship here with a safe return with much honour to yourself, and comfort to all your friends, which I pray God shortly send to his pleasure.

I am desired by divers of the ladies and gentlewomen to make their most hearty commendations unto your lordship, as my Lady Ane Wharton, my Lady Waldegrave, Mrs. Clarencieux (Clarencious), Mrs. Fynche, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Baynam, otherwise called my Lady Stokleyes, who hath lost her maidenhood since you were here, not forgetting my wife, also with many others of your friends.

By the hands of him that is all your Lordship's ever to command, (Signed) William Ryce.

Greenwich, 22nd February 1556.

[*Original, holograph, directed:*] "To the Right Honorable and his very good lord, the Earl of Devonshire, to be delivered."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*] "Mr. Ryce, 22 February 1556. By Prune, from England to Venice."

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

410. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier from Antwerp informs me that the King of Spain sent for the ambassadors of Florence and Mantua, and for the agent of Genoa, telling them that the truce is settled, and that he would give them a copy of the articles; so it is supposed that his Majesty has even signed them, as the King of France is reported to have done. Yesterday many people of the trades went about Antwerp on cars, making sundry signs of rejoicing, and from a Flemish gentleman who came hither from the frontiers, and is said to have been on a mission from King Philip to the King of France, it is heard that in several frontier places the poor people, the subjects of either crown, had commenced rebuilding their dwellings which were burned and destroyed during the war.

My letters from Antwerp say that the King's speedy return to Brussels is no longer talked of; and indeed one of the chief ministers said that the deputies of these provinces would perhaps receive fresh orders to go to his Majesty at Antwerp instead of at Brussels. The Nuncio, and the Portuguese, Ferrarese, and Sienese ambassadors, who have to negotiate with the King, are in doubt whether they ought to go to him or not, as on the one hand they wish to execute the commissions enjoined them, and on the other are afraid of importuning his Majesty, Don Ruy Gomez and the Bishop of Arras having given them to understand that he preferred appointing their audiences here rather than at Antwerp, keeping them still in hope of his returning shortly, and if not, he would let them know, so that they may make the communications with which they are charged.

It is confirmed that many troops are being raised in Saxony, and that the Landgrave has already 12 regiments (*bandiere*) of infantry on foot, and a good amount of cavalry, saying that he chooses to be prepared, lest the Prince of Orange, their Majesties' general, when

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the forces are disbanded on account of the truce, attack him by reason of a dispute between them about a county ;* but here they are very suspicious of the Landgrave, owing to past events, although apparently he shows every mark of observance and submission (*servitù*) towards the Emperor, evincing especial obligation to Queen Maria for the courtesy shown him when he was a prisoner. Some persons say these troops have been raised for the affairs of Middelburg and Augsburg, whilst others suspect the Landgrave and other princes of making this stir that they may have a fair opportunity, not only for not going next month to the Diet at Ratisbon, as they promised the King of the Romans, but also for dispensing themselves from sending forces for the defence of Transylvania against the Turk, as each of those princes wishes it to be restored to the son of the late King John [Zapolski] of Hungary. The Bishop of Arras and Don Ruy Gomez returned me thanks for the newsletters from Constantinople, and yet more for the loving words which they know me to have uttered to everybody in these troublous times with regard to events in Italy, namely, that your Serenity is and always will be on terms of firm friendship with their Majesties here, and the like office has been performed with me by Colonel Aldana, who told me Don Luis de Avila said this had given very great satisfaction to all the chamber attendants of the Emperor, who, as well as the King of Spain, placed great trust in your Serenity ; and although the movements of the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara cause their Majesties great suspicion, yet they say openly that they do not fear them, provided the Republic make no movement, and have no secret understanding. I do not fail to rid them of these thoughts, in conformity with what I know to be your Serenity's intention.

This courier conveys the grant made by the King to Don Ruy Gomez of the town of Eboli in the principality of Salerno. The revenue amounts to about 3,000 crowns annually. Don Ruy Gomez, however, does not call himself duke, but is addressed by the title of Excellency.

Brussels, 24th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

411. Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

Was very glad to hear by Caraffa's letter of the 18th ulto. that the Pope, in order to give sure pledge and testimony of his holy purpose of executing the reform, had chosen to commence with the Datary's office, so that by spontaneously depriving himself at these times of his own emoluments, the others, with this example, may willingly support any temporal inconvenience which the said reform may subject them to. The greatest praise will accrue to the Pope from this reform, from which his Holiness will derive the utmost praise, and it may be hoped that God of his goodness will most amply remunerate his piety ; and Pole is of opinion that by these means those who have strayed will be recalled to the unity of the

* The estate of Catzenelo-Vogen. (*See* Foreign Calendar, p. 244, letter of Sir John Masone to Queen Mary, date Antwerp, 28 February 1556.)

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Church and to their obedience to the Apostolic See, and all others be confirmed therein.

As to the affairs relating to these princes, all cause for umbrage and suspicion ought in reason to subside on the conclusion of this truce, nor has Pole failed to assure their Majesties of the Pope's good will towards them, as proved by his having appointed Caraffa's brother, the Count of Montorio, Captain-General of the Church.

On the 19th Pole informed Caraffa of the announcement made to him about the truce by the French ambassador, so he thought fit to thank his Majesty, congratulating him on it as a disposition towards peace, for which Pole is certain the Pope will continue to perform every warm and paternal office with both parties, both in order more conveniently to execute his holy projects with regard to the spiritual reform of the Church, and the quiet government of his temporal subjects.

Before Easter Pole purposes going to his church, after being ordained presbyter in London,* and there receiving subsequently the episcopal consecration and the "pallium," and has already asked leave of their Majesties to make this journey, they being very well aware how much that province needs the presence of its prelate.

After Easter, by means of some of his attendants who are returning to Italy, Pole will give the Pope full account of his own state, and of affairs in England, where they are still in hopes of the King's speedy return, most especially after hearing of the conclusion of this truce, about which Pole does not write further particulars to Caraffa, knowing that the nuncios at Brussels and in France, who were more at hand, will have given him all its details.

Greenwich, 25th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

412. Cardinal Pole to [Girolamo Muzzarelli] Archbishop of Conza.

Has received his letters of the 14th and 15th, alluding to another about the truce which never arrived. Amongst the Roman letters forwarded by Muzzarelli was one from Cardinal Caraffa, which, after alluding to the negotiation of the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rome, announced the election of Caraffa's brother to the post of Captain-General of the Church, which will convince the Emperor and King Philip (*quelle maestà*) of the Pope's goodwill towards them, this military command being given to a person so much in their confidence. Pole is certain that this will have been written to Muzzarelli, who will not have failed through this and every other opportunity to perform every good office, as Pole likewise has done; and he hopes this truce will facilitate the peace which is so desirable for the common weal, and to give the Pope quiet in his temporal state, and greater convenience for executing his holy projects, about which also Cardinal Caraffa has written to him.

Pole informed Muzzarelli that after the return to England of the Abbot, he wrote to France by Priuli's nephew, who found the truce concluded, and therefore did nothing further, and it was much to

* In Grey Friars Church, 20th March 1556. (*See* Hook, p. 316.)

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the purpose his not having sent the Abbot, whose return from Brussels to England previously would have rendered Pole liable to some affront, which was thus avoided, without failing in what was due. The French ambassador in London has congratulated the Queen and Pole in his King's name on this truce, acknowledging it to proceed from the pains taken at the conference of Calais, with the hope that it may lead to peace. Prays God that thus may it come to pass, be the means what they may. With regard to the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], Pole by long experience has had palpable evidence of what Muzzarelli says about the certainty of his being sincere, for which reason he has always willingly employed him for this negotiation for peace, as also in many other affairs; thanks Muzzarelli for his affectionate notice of the subject.

As the English prelates are to be in their dioceses by the beginning of Lent, the synod has been adjourned until the 10th of November next, to provide for some matters which remain for settlement. Has thought fit to send immediately a summary of the proceedings to the Pope, with a letter to Cardinal Morone, Vice-Protector [of England], until the transmission of the decrees, and encloses a copy of the information for Muzzarelli. Is preparing to go to his church before Easter, and has already asked leave of their Majesties, who are well aware of the need those places have of their pastor.

Greenwich, 25th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

413. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has sent M. de Lalain to Cambrai, where he is to confer with the Admiral of France, and they will confront together the agreement and its signature by both their Majesties, whereupon the said Lalain will proclaim the truce on the frontiers of the King of Spain; but although this act has not yet been performed, the subjects of the most Christian King have for some days commenced frequenting several places in these provinces both by land and sea, and three days ago two ships arrived in Zealand. The Queens [Maria and Eleanor] and the Duchess of Lorraine arrived here yesterday, and the King is expected in three days.

Brussels, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

414. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Count de Lalain, the Emperor's commissioner at the conference for the truce, has written to the Admiral that his Imperial Majesty and the King of England have ordered him to come to this court to have the truce ratified (*per far fare la rattificatione delle tregue*); and his most Christian Majesty sent a similar order to the Admiral to go to the Emperor and King Philip for the same purpose, so on the 12th of next month he will leave St. Quentin, where he now is, for Brussels. Yesterday his Majesty departed hence for Amboise, where he will remain to effect the aforesaid ratification

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and he will be some ten days on the road for his field sports (*piaceri di caccia*), and I in like manner shall follow him as usual.

The Duke of Soma, who was sent hither by the Pope, has now been despatched by the King with every assurance to his Holiness that his Majesty will never fail in the protection promised by him to the Pope and all his family and relations; in like manner as I understand that the King by every sort of good office on all occasions will not fail to keep his Holiness well confirmed in his bias (*di tenere la Santità sua confirmata*), *being apprehensive lest his covert anger* (sdegno occulto), *caused by the stipulation of the truce, if he be plied* (praticata) *by the Imperialists, and if they offer him terms, should make him change his will and opinion, which is apparently not considered impossible here.*

The Duke of Soma brought letters from the Pope strongly urging the King to make his Excellency a Knight of the Order [of St. Michael], as was done last Sunday, greatly to his honour, to which was added a pension of three thousand francs; and as a yet greater demonstration towards his Holiness, the King has appointed the Duke general of the Italian infantry, a very honourable and profitable post; in return for which he is to do his utmost in the King's name, and in that of her most Christian Majesty [Catherine de' Medici], to induce the Pope to give the hat to the brother of the late Cardinal Salviati, which demand is now repeated, it having been heard here that during these Ember-days the Pope purposed creating a good number of cardinals at the suit of his most Christian Majesty, but owing to the truce it is supposed his Holiness will have cooled; at any rate, both their Majesties would wish for the promotion of this personage.

Blois, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 28. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 57, p. 200.

415. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The suspension of hostilities between the most Christian King and the King of England may still encounter some difficulty, although besides the letters of the 18th from the King of France, which confirm it, there are also letters of the 16th from the Nuncio at Brussels to the Count of Montorio to the same effect, but without particulars; which letters his Excellency most kindly sent to communicate to me. These various accounts of this truce purport that, although it has been made, there will be no lack of opportunity for a speedy rupture. What we see here is open dissatisfaction, which cannot be dissembled on the part of Cardinal Caraffa, and it is heard that the Imperialists are in greater force than ever on the borders of the kingdom of Naples. To this must be moreover added words uttered by the Pope in public against the Spaniards, calling them Moriscos (*Marani*),* and saying that God of his good-

* The word is not to be found in Pasini's Italian and Latin Dictionary, but in Frizzi's History of Ferrara (vol. 4, p. 407), it is said to signify circumcised Portuguese and Spaniards, of whom he says, that in the year 1590, there were 200 in the Jewry at Ferrara.

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ness does not choose them any longer to remain in Italy, and that his Holiness will not disarm until they set him the example, as he remembers what befell Clement VII. from trusting to them. But what moves the Pope more, and gives cause for doubt and suspense, is that as yet no one has appeared in the name of the King of England to give news of this truce, it seeming to his Holiness that from the 3rd instant, when it was signed, down to this day, which is the last of the month, advice should have been sent as a friendly demonstration, and that this delay indicates the little esteem in which the King holds his Holiness, and the little trust he places in him.

Rome, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

416. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio has again been commissioned by the Count of Montorio to assure both the Emperor and the King that the Pope remains armed, and mentally agitated, just cause for this being given him by the ministers and dependants of their Majesties, and not because he purposes acting in any way hostilely against their Majesties; he, on the contrary, being well disposed towards them; and the Nuncio in like manner vouched vehemently for the present obsequiousness of said Count towards their Majesties, and said that he purposes persevering in it, in which strain the Nuncio discourses with everybody, *though no one believes these offices to proceed from the heart either of his Holiness or of the Count, but they are performed designedly, coming especially through the medium of this Nuncio, who is supposed to be an agent extremely partial to their Majesties here.* Colonel Aldana and Don Enriquez, and other Spanish gentlemen, have told me *that the Pope did his utmost to prevent this truce*, and they demonstrate the ridiculousness of believing what the Queen of England wrote to her consort, that the most Christian King had chosen to condescend to the stipulation of the truce, being moved to do so principally by the words of the Pope, and then by the Queen herself. Many personages of the chamber and court of the King of Spain arrived here to-day, and to-morrow his Majesty will leave Antwerp on his return to the Emperor, by whom I understand he has been urged to come.

Sir John Masone, councillor of the Queen of England, has been to pray his Majesty in the name of Cardinal Pole, and by a letter from his right reverend lordship, to be pleased to let him know at what time he purposes crossing over to England, he being very anxious to receive from the King the following favour, that having to sing his first mass his Majesty should be present at it. The King answered him that he should be glad of the opportunity, and hoped that his passage would take place soon, as on arriving here he would speed the despatch of many of his affairs in order to return to the Queen his consort. *But according to what some persons say, the King seems but little inclined to go to England speedily for the satisfaction of the Queen, she showing herself but luke-*

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warm in fact, although ardent in appearance about such things as it seems she might do for the King's honour and profit (ma per quanto dicono alcuni, poco mostra infatti il Re di voler andar in quel Regno speditamente per dar satisfattione alla Regina, non si mostrando Lei se non tepida in quelle cose che pare che ella potria far per honor et utile del Re); but he will go thither in order to show the world the authority exercised by him in that kingdom, and also because it is convenient for his necessary voyage to Spain, which is generally expected to take place without fail in three or four months; and the Bishop of Arras and M. de la Chaux told the Mantuan ambassador, who repeated it to me, that according to their belief the Emperor will give leave to all the ambassadors who shall choose to do so to serve the King.

Don Luis de Avila,* the senior chamberlain in the Emperor's service, and Don Ernando de la Cerda, also an official of the Imperial chamber, as likewise several other Spanish gentlemen, twenty in number, have in like manner demanded their discharge (which they obtained) in order that they also may go to Spain, some by land through France, and some with the ships of Don Luis Caravajal, on board of which divers effects of the King, which were considered unnecessary, have been embarked.

This determination of de Avila to depart was caused in great part by his extreme resentment at not having been appointed to any office, especially in the council of state of the King of Spain, neither in the first election of councillors, who were six, nor in that of six others which his Majesty made subsequently, who are said to be absent, their names not being published, and they are all Spaniards.

It is said that the King of Spain has written to the Duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Navarre, that he purposes sending him to reside in England during his absence, as he has experience of that country; and it is supposed by the Spaniards that he will not accept that post, in which case, it is said, that for the present year he will send Don Diego de Azevedo.

There have arrived at Antwerp the Marquis of Arranti, who went as ambassador in the King's name to the Lords of the Rhine and the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Bavaria to inform them of the renunciations of these States made to him by the Emperor; and there has also arrived Alvise Vanega, the King's harbinger major (*forrier maggiore*), sent by him some time ago with part of the money for his sister the Queen of Bohemia, and to perform sundry loving offices with the Kings of the Romans and of Bohemia.

The Duchess of Lorraine says she will not send anyone to condole with her sister on the death of the Elector Palatine, as the Emperor and the King did, but will go herself in person, and then purposes returning to Lorraine to enjoy her property, hoping that the most Christian King will grant her son the grace to replace him in his duchy.

The Landgrave has his cavalry and infantry in readiness, but as

* His commentaries on the Emperor's war against the Protestants of Germany was printed in Spain in 1546. It was one of the books which the Emperor took with him to Yuste. (*See* Mignet, Charles-Quint, son abdication, &c., p. 215, ed. Paris, 1868.)

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yet he gives no indication of marching them out of his own territory so immediately; it is also said that he is supposed to have armed from suspicion of the Prince of Orange, rather than on any other account, it having come to the Landgrave's knowledge that when the truce was proclaimed a great number of soldiers said they would go and serve the Prince gratis, by reason of the good treatment they had received from him.

Four days ago at Mechlin three male Anabaptists were arrested, as also a woman of the same religious tenets, from whose house they removed her son, a youth 14 years of age, and christened him in public, and she and the three men were burned yesterday; and before their deaths they accused many others of this same heresy. The President Viglius,* when speaking about this matter, said that in Holland, according to the list received by him, the number of persons condemned to death for similar opinions and for Lutheranism in 18 months, and who had been either burned, hanged, or drowned, amounted to 1,300, and that for the avoidance of greater cruelty the execrable intentions of these sectarians must be tolerated as much as possible, they being in too great number.

The Duke of Cleves also writes to King Philip that there are so many of his subjects who would fain communicate *sub utrâque*, that were he to proceed against them as they deserve he would find it impossible, and that he is aware of being unable any longer to keep them to their duty.

In order to perform the office enjoined me by your Serenity, I sent my secretary to M. de la Chaux to ask for audience of the Emperor, but the answer was that his Majesty, being troubled with the gout, could not grant my request at present, but would do so willingly when he is free from it, and on the arrival of the King of Spain I will announce to him your Serenity's election of Messer Michiel Suriano to reside with his Majesty.

Brussels, 1st March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 3.
Senato Terra, vol. 40, p. 93.

417. ADDITIONAL COST of the PRESENT voted for the MARQUIS of EXETER.

On the 15th ulto. this council authorised our college to spend to the amount of 100 ducats on things (*robbe*) and refreshments to be presented to the most illustrious Lord Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and as the cost incurred for the aforesaid present comes in all to the sum of 128 ducats, 1 grosso, and 16 soldi, it being therefore fitting to defray this cost,—

Put to the ballot, that of the moneys of our Signory there be given to our officials of the office for old accounts (*rason vecchie*) the above-written 128 ducats, 1 grosso, and 16 soldi, to settle with those from whom the things and refreshments aforesaid were taken.

Ayes, 152. No, 1. Neutral, 2.

Read on the 21st February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

* President of the Council of Brussels. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

1556. March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

418. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Spain arrived yesterday with his whole court, and dismounted at the Emperor's villa (*casino*). Early this morning he returned to the Emperor, with whom he heard mass and had a very long conversation. M. de Lalain departed for Cambrai to show the Admiral of France the signatures of the Emperor and the King of Spain affixed to the articles of the truce, and to inspect the French King's signature, and also to have the truce proclaimed on the borders of their Imperial and Spanish Majesties, as was done many days ago on the French frontiers, after which he was to proceed, the Admiral, on the other hand, coming to these courts.

Since the departure of M. de Lalain the subjects of one side and the other have occupied certain villages in several quarters; the French have also arrested divers subjects of the King of Spain, and four couriers who had been sent through France, two to Spain and the others to Italy. Certain Frenchmen write to their relations and friends from the French frontiers that they were moved thus to do from having seen that their King's subjects had been sent away from Antwerp, and prohibited to enter San Thome (*sic*) and other places, and that not only had the Spaniards not proclaimed the truce, but were the first to seize certain places, claiming the right to do all this until the proclamation; whereas the French maintain that the truce should take effect from the day of its date, and that this long delay in proclaiming it must have been for the purpose of gaining some place and territory, or from a wish to gain repute with the world by acting in this way. On the other hand the Spaniards say that after the arrival in France of M. de Lansac they believe that the King or his ministers, *from certain hopes given to his most Christian Majesty that the Pope would declare himself openly owing to the affairs of Tuscany*, delayed the Admiral's mission to King Philip, although he had announced it to his Majesty by M. de Lalain; so to deprive the French of an opportunity for revoking what has been stipulated, a courier was despatched yesterday to M. de Lalain desiring him to write to the Admiral that the Emperor and King Philip were content that whatever had been occupied since the date of the truce should be restored to its former state. To-day the Regent of Milan when speaking to me about this matter, said that on the 11th instant they will receive the true reply concerning the will of the French, and that he hoped that what he and the other commissioners stipulated at Cambrai would take effect, provided the French do not grow malignant (*caso che Francesi non volessero malignare*), the only remaining difficulties relating to the chief prisoners; and that to confess the truth freely, these ministers of the King of Spain had also erred by not having the truce proclaimed immediately, as they ought to have done, thus to reciprocate the proceedings of the French in this matter.

The articles of the truce, printed in France, have arrived at Antwerp, and for the sake of no longer detaining the ambassadors of the powers concerned who earnestly demanded them, their suit has at length been granted, the Florentine having received his copy

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some days before the others. Encloses a transcript of them. Don Ernando de la Cerda, an official of his Majesty's chamber, and some other Spanish gentlemen have left for Spain, and as they had safe-conduct from the King of France before the stipulation of the truce, it is supposed they will be allowed to pass.

Brussels, 5th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 7. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 58, pp. 203, 206.

419. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope has desired me to tell you that the ratification of this truce being so long delayed, and knowing its articles to be so disadvantageous for the Imperialists, he suspects them of having benefited themselves by some secret clause, which can relate to nothing but the States of the Church, or to those of your Serenity; and that as to himself he will make such provision as not to be found unprepared. He then added, "With regard to your affairs we are convinced that the same thoughts have occurred to those most prudent senators, who otherwise would be neither good nor sage, but traitors to themselves. We tremble also at that name of Cambrai, so fatal to your Republic, and indeed to Italy, which reminds us that those who made this truce are barbarians, and that it is for their own interest, the Constable choosing thus to recover his son, and Madame de Valentinois her son-in-law, without even waiting two days for the Cardinal of Lorraine, who by that time would have arrived at the court. We believe it was for the sake of depressing the Guise faction (*questa parte*) which is opposed to him, and who knows what the Cardinal of Lorraine may effect after his arrival; he is the soul of the King, and has so many brave brothers, and is well acquainted with the affairs of Italy. And to conceal nothing from you as usual we will add two things; one is, that when these Switzer ambassadors were passing through a part of the territory of those friends" [the Imperialists] "the most illustrious governor there," — the Count of Montorio, who was present, adding, "His Holiness means the Cardinal of Trent,"— "inquired whether it was true that we had sent to raise 4,000 Switzers; to which the ambassadors replied that his Holiness had not sent to raise any amount of troops, but that if he required them they would give him not 4,000 but 10,000, and as many as we might choose, and that even the women would come for our defence, by reason of our grandeur (*per la nostra grandezza*); on hearing which reply, *obmutuit, non aperiens os suum.* The other is, that we are in hopes that a part of the Germans (*di quelli di Germania*), *qui discesserant a nobis*, may through a good medium be brought back, and if not brought back on account of the religion, they always will, and say they will, be on our side, owing to their natural hatred of these kings and tyrants, who usurp the liberty of others, and plot against it. We have chosen to unbosom everything to you, because we believe that we can talk with you as with our nephew here, the Count of Montorio, and all our conceits will

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invariably be communicated to you. Represent them in the form which we know is familiar to you to those sage elders and consummate statesmen (*a quei savij vechi consumati nel governo de' stati*). If it were in our power we would go in person to Venice, but some day we shall perhaps send you, Count; and this magnifico the ambassador" (speaking of me) "will not fail to write, as he has done hitherto, what we have said to him." I replied that thus would I do according to my duty; and after returning thanks for the great confidence evinced by his Holiness in your Serenity and in me, as also for his very manifest care for the most Serene Republic, I took leave.

Although aware of the great prudence of the most excellent Senate, I will not omit respectfully to suggest, that on several accounts, it cannot but be beneficial for the State to keep what I write very secret.

Rome, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Letter Book, pences me, Letter No. 60, pp. 206, 207.

420. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Whilst the court was in suspense about the non-signature of the truce, letters arrived from the French court dated the 20th, addressed to Cardinal Farnese by his agent the Reverend Tiburtio, together with a copy of the treaty in French, containing a clause which stipulates that the Princes are to sign it within six weeks.

Rome, 7th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

421. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Concerning the truce, I have nothing more of importance to communicate; all the personages of the Imperial and Royal courts most strongly suspect the King of France of intending to find an opportunity for making his ministers cancel (*disconciare*) what has been done. This suspicion is increased by all the letters *from Italy, and especially from Rome, informing their Majesties and all the ministers that the Pope, although he made a show of rejoicing at this truce, regretted it extremely; his mind being more restless than ever, and his thoughts turned chiefly to the affairs of Tuscany; and although* the Nuncio congratulated the King of Spain in the Pope's name on the renunciation of the states made to him by the Emperor, and that his Holiness is excellently disposed towards their Majesties, *yet nevertheless there is no minister nor any person, be his condition what it may, who in the least believes what this Nuncio said, and continues saying to everybody; many persons being of opinion that the Pope, in order to cause the Emperor and the King of Spain to have a good opinion of him, made the Nuncio perform these offices, knowing that being an Imperialist at heart, and interested on account of his archbishopric of Conza in the kingdom of Naples, he wishes matters to proceed favourably for the King of Spain.*

Three days ago I announced to the King the appointment of the

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ambassador Suriano, and congratulated his Majesty on the conclusion of the truce. He answered me with a very cheerful countenance that these loving offices resembled those invariably performed by your Serenity with the Emperor; and that having been made the heir of his states, he chose also to inherit the good friendship invariably maintained by his Imperial Majesty with your Serenity; and that as to the truce he had inclined towards it for the benefit of Christendom, for whom he should always desire a good peace. Concerning the affair of the galliot taken by the Proveditor of the fleet, as nothing was said to me either by the King or any of the ministers, I said not a word about it, and to such courtiers as discussed the matter with me, I made such replies of my own accord, as commissioned by your Serenity, nor do I find anyone who does not commend what was done, or who is otherwise than convinced of your goodwill towards the Emperor and King Philip, both by reason of the election of the ambassador, as also through the "advices" from Venice and from Rome, demonstrating that you have not the slightest thought *in conformity either with the Pope or with others* about moving, should it be chosen to make a stir of arms in Italy. I was unable to perform similar offices with the Emperor, as he does not give audience to any ambassador, being in bed with the gout, which has molested him in such wise as to cause a violent paroxysm of fever, from which, however, he is now freed, and the pain is somewhat diminished.

The deputies of these provinces have arrived here, and the King will demand 600,000 crowns from them, it being said that but little less would suffice for payment of the officials of these two courts, and of the Spanish and German troops on these frontiers.

Brussels, 9th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

422. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In execution of the Signory's missive dated the 21st ultimo I went to-day to his most Christian Majesty, having been first, as usual, with the Constable, who told me that in Corsica Giordano Orsini had recovered 200 Christian slaves who were wrecked on board the Imperial galleys, having released all of them save a few Spaniards and other commanders (*capi*) who were on board; doing the like also by 600 Turks and Moors, it being his most Christian Majesty's intention to free the Turks and send them to Sultan Soliman at Constantinople. He had also recovered some guns, and hoped also to get some more, forming a total of 70. The said Signor Giordano has imprisoned some of the crews, to ascertain what these Imperial galleys had intended doing, as on board of them he found a great number of long scaling ladders, nor could he as yet learn positively whether they purposed plundering San Fiorenzo and making themselves masters of the old harbour.

After returning thanks to his Excellency for this communication, I told him that I was commisioned by your Serenity to

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congratulate his most Christian Majesty on the conclusion of the truce, and to thank him for having included your Serenity in it, and also to congratulate his Excellency, who might be called the principal author of this boon conferred on Christendom. To this he replied that so great was the conformity between the course of fortune which the most Christian King ran and that of your Serenity that it was not surprising if what was agreeable to the one should gratify the other; and that, as to himself, he had never failed performing every good office for the quiet of Christendom, without any consideration for the imprisonment of his son, his brother-in-law, and his nephew M. d'Andelot, and he thanked your Serenity for the honour you did him. I asked him when the Admiral would go to the Emperor to effect the ratification, and he replied, "The King will not ratify until after the decision about the affair (*la materia*) of the prisoners;" and then, having reached the King's presence, after delivering your Serenity's congratulatory letter, his Majesty replied that he greatly thanked your Serenity for your goodwill, and that thinking that the conclusion of the truce would be agreeable to your Serenity, and that it had also taken place advantageously for you (*et non meno l'esser seguito con avantagio suo*), he had chosen to acquaint you with it immediately.

With regard to the nomination of the Signory, the King said that it was much less than he wished to do on any occasion that might present itself to him: and after receiving my thanks he added, "The Emperor has already made (*fatto*) his ratification, and sent it to M. de Lalain, as I also did mine to the Admiral, and the said Lalain wanted to send his that he might come to me as customary, but I did not choose this, and indeed I sent an express order to the Admiral not to receive it, nor to send mine, until a conclusion be come to (*sino che non si concluda*) about the prisoners, as I do not intend the matter to remain thus;" and he then continued, "It is usual for the commissioners on both sides reciprocally to convey these first ratifications, with which they subsequently enter the respective territories, and mine will then go to the Emperor and the King of England, and his will come to me, in presence of whom, and in public, the final ratification will be solemnly made." Thereupon I said, "Sire, your Majesty treats me so confidentially that I shall venture to tell you what is said at the court. That everybody remains in suspense, perceiving that on the part of the Emperor no proclamation whatever is made, it being indeed reported that the Marquis of Pescara declares he knows nothing at all about it, and that he was continuing the war; and it seems that the Pope likewise is in some trouble; in addition to which it is not yet heard that any communication whatever has been made, even to the Queen of England."

To this his Majesty replied, "Ambassador, believe me that the Count de Lalain is most earnest about the ratification, although I had him answered as I told you; and with regard to their wish for it I will give you the following proof—that immediately on hearing of the conclusion certain French merchants went about their merchandise into the Emperor's territory, where they

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were arrested, and having complained about this to the Admiral they were all released immediately, their captors being punished; but the reason why neither this business nor any other obtains despatch at the court of the King of England is that as yet he has not much experience, and there is so much disagreement amongst his ministers that what is done by one the other would fain undo; and the following particular I can tell you for certain, that the Bishop of Arras avoids interfering in the negotiations as much as ever he can." I asked his Majesty when the term appointed for the ratification expired. He said in nine days, within which period, should the affair of the prisoners not be settled, he has consented to its prolongation. My belief is, though he did not really say so, that in the meanwhile they will either send a messenger, or something more will be heard than we know at present.

This conversation having ended thus, we commenced talking about the beautiful site of this palace, and the fine country this is, discussing other similar topics, and having stayed a long while with his Majesty I took leave, and then performed the office enjoined me by your Serenity with the most Christian Queen. Her Majesty received me very graciously, returning you many thanks, and in course of conversation said to me, "We must believe that his Divine Majesty will reward the King for his good intention, as he has assuredly consented to make this adjustment at a moment when the Emperor was at the last extremity (*quando l'Imperatore non poteva più*), as is evident to the whole world, he having been induced thus to do for the benefit of Christendom, and not for his own advantage; as, besides there being no urgent need of money here, we had the Pope and so many others in our favour that we had nothing more to wish for; but praised be God for everything." I then went to perform the like office as enjoined me by your Serenity also with Madame Marguerite,* who showed herself beyond measure grateful, thanking your Serenity for it infinitely. She in like manner commended the King's goodness, saying, "The others do not act in like manner by him, for it seems to me that they do not comport themselves like Princes, as they ought to do."

With regard to this matter, it is heard in secret that the King and the Constable are in some apprehension about these proceedings of the Imperialists, lest it be their desire to protract this ratification as long as they can, in order by any ways and means in their power to make themselves masters of some important fortress (qualche piazza di importanza), *and some persons greatly fear that the Pope may incur some detriment, or else that, finding himself deserted here, he may make some fresh arrangement with the Imperialists; and although as yet nothing can be ascertained authentically about the state of the case, there are at least various indications to prove that there is no slight disquiet, and the King remains constantly alone with the Constable, they keeping as much aloof from this negotiation as they possibly can, the Cardinal of*

* Marguerite de Valois, sister of Henry II., and who in 1559 (July 9) became the consort of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy.

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Lorraine, the Duke de Guise, and the Marshal de St. André, these and the Constable being the sole members of the council for affairs* (consiglio di affari) [foreign affairs ?].

Amboise, 9th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

423. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning the King came to hear mass in the monastery where I am lodged, and I having gone to salute and pay my respects to him, he himself told me what had been told me shortly before in his name by a gentleman, that last night advices arrived from the Admiral announcing a conference held by him with M. de Lalain, at which it was settled that all the prisoners should be now released, except the Duke de Bouillon and the Constable's son on the one side, and the Duke d'Arschot on the other, on the terms already notified, namely, that each individual was to pay one year's annual rental, and in like manner such pension or stipend as was received by him during that same period from his Prince; and those whose fathers are alive, to be ransomed for merely one half of their fathers' annual revenues, the sons paying their entire pensions for one year. With regard to the three above-written personages, Count de Lalain promised on the word of the Emperor, and of the King his son, that within the term of three months the two Frenchmen should be released for such fair pecuniary ransom as should be stipulated with his most Christian Majesty; the Admiral promising the like respecting the Duke d'Arschot. The King told me besides that Spanish couriers had arrived here with orders to go, accompanied by those who would be despatched by his most Christian Majesty, into Piedmont and other parts of Italy wherever requisite, to proclaim the truce, with the express command, that should anything have been taken, or in case of any innovation since the conclusion of the truce, it be immediately replaced as it was on the aforesaid day, according to the tenour of the said treaty, as would be done by his most Christian Majesty on his part; so seeing that the King evinced great joy at this, I congratulated him on it in your Serenity's name. He then mounted on horseback immediately to hunt; and the Cardinal of Lorraine having remained behind, chose that we should walk together, and when I alluded to the aforesaid resolution he said to me, "The King wished for the immediate release of these chief prisoners likewise, but it was requisite to comply with the will of the Emperor, who persevered in his harsh mode of proceeding to the last (*ma è stato forcia compiacer all' Imperatore, continuando sino al fine nel suo duro proceder*); but it has been stipulated that the ransom shall be paid in money, without even saying a word about the restitution of any fortress for their release." I then asked him when the Count de Lalain would come hither to effect the ratification; he said it was not settled, the Count not yet

* Jacques d'Albon, Seigneur de St. André. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

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having the commission, and the Emperor not having determined on the person to be sent by him as ambassador resident here ; nor would Lalain come save in his company that he might present him to his most Christian Majesty, as the Admiral will do by M. de Bassefontaine, who will reside with the Emperor and King Philip. This termination has manifestly caused very great satisfaction to everybody, in like manner as previously, when there was some doubt of it, no slight disquiet (*molestia*) manifested itself openly.

Amboise, 12th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 63, p. 213.

424. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Sunday the Pope did not again appear in chapel because on the preceding night he was on foot until the 9th hour [3 a.m.], so a report arose of his being unwell, which having reached his Holiness, he ate in public, and said he would no longer give audience after sunset to any person soever, and ordered the chamberlains not to dare bring him any message whatever after that time even were it to announce the resurrection of his own father (*se ben portasse nuova della resuretione di suo padre*) ; and this he repeated on the morrow when he held consistory, adding that he is old and must take care of himself, and have regard for his life.

At a private audience Cardinal San Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], asked leave of the Pope to propose the archbishopric of Toledo for a person in the confidence of the Duke of Florence, but his Holiness got into a violent rage (*s'alterò sopra modo*), and drove him out of his presence (*et se lo cacciò dalla presenza*), to the surprise of the Cardinals who did not know the cause, the circumstance having been narrated to me by one of their right reverend lordships to whom S. Giacomo himself communicated it.

On Wednesday his Holiness called congregation of all the commissioners for the "reform," and made three speeches with his usual eloquence. In the first he addressed himself to the Cardinals alone, in the second to the prelates, and in the third to the whole congregation united. The substance, although his Holiness with marvellous skill each of the three times expressed himself differently, varying his language, was to the effect that to establish this reform as firmly as possible, besides the 10 prelates added to the 24, he had chosen to put in each class including theologians and canonists 27 other officials, in order that every one might suggest and give good counsel for the honour of this Holy See, so that each of the classes will number 50 persons.

His Holiness then said that he would give the "*dubbio*" (*daria il dubbio*) in writing, but wishing to do so in clear and explicit terms he required a little time for consideration, it being of the greatest importance ; to-day, however, I hear he has issued it in print.

Rome, 14th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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March 14. Original Letter Book, penes me, Second Letter, No. 64, pp. 215–217.

425. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I had audience of the Pope, who said to me, "We are still intent upon the reform and the length of time taken by us, is for the sake of doing the thing well, as it is most important, nor do we choose it to be said that it is a whim of ours (*un nostro ghiribiccio*), and that we acted according to our own fancy without listening to anybody. We choose every one to speak, and the worse they say the better we shall be pleased, as we shall better, once for all, discover the truth. It is not mettlesome discourse (*brio di parole*); Christ is speaking here, not Augustin, Thomas, or others; *gratis accepistis, gratis date.* Magnifico Ambassador, we have had this at heart for many years, as in the house of the Lord we saw many things being done which would terrify you. Any man in want of a bishopric went first of all to the bankers' shops (*in banchi*), where there was the list with the prices; and on a promotion of cardinals, calculation was made of how many tens and hundreds of thousands could be got by it; so immediately God gave us this dignity without our asking it, as His Divine Majesty knows, we said we knew what our Lord wished of us; we must do deeds to purge the head of this malady, and if we did not do so immediately it was because we chose in the first place to make a promotion of cardinals to employ them [in this work] with the certainty of their serving well, although we did not distrust the others. Now we will effect the reform even at the cost of our life; those who say that we shall put too much of our own and not have wherewithal to persevere (*che vi metteremo troppo del nostro, et che non haveremo da sostentare*), do not disturb us, because we are certain that He, who from the void created all things, will not fail us. It is a miracle, Lord Ambassador, how this Holy See has maintained itself, preceding Pontiffs having, one may say, done everything to destroy it, but it is founded on such stones that there is nothing to fear—those two Apostles who are the ornament of heaven, and then the blood of so many martyrs who have been put to death in so many parts of the world, and especially in this city; and even were we not to succeed, we would content ourselves with cleansing this place, consecrated to God, and then die. And to tell you everything, this *congregation* of ours will have the force of a *council*, and we have given it '*il dubbio*' in writing (*alla quale habbiamo datto il dubbio in scrittura*), and we have had it put into print, as we do not choose to send it to the universities, it not being dignified for this Holy See, which is *magistra omnium*, to go begging the opinion of others, but we are content that it should circulate under-hand (*sotto mano*), and to hear everyone so that we may be enabled to form a better resolve."

Conversing thus, the Pope approached his writing table, and took two copies of this "*dubbio*," which he gave me, saying, "You will send one to the most illustrious Signory, the other you will keep for yourself." He then stopped like a person who wished to say something, but feared to do so (*come persona che volesse dire una*

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cosa, ma temesse), and after a pause continued, "We will not withhold from you (*non vi vogliamo defraudare*) that which is known to ourselves, being very certain that you will write in such a form, and that those most illustrious Lords will in like manner keep what we communicate to them in such wise, as never to give us cause for regret. We hear through a sure channel, for we do not easily believe every one, and choose to ascertain matters thoroughly, that King Philip of England—as the Emperor is no longer mentioned, because as you must know he does not exist, so one may say, Philip late Charles (*si può dir Filippo quondam Carlo*)—charged those who negotiated this truce by no means to make mention of '*council*,' as they well knew what would happen to them; and this their fear of us proceeds we are aware from the powerful hand of God, for we do not deceive ourselves about our temporal forces. Well do we know that the Almighty giveth and taketh away courage as he listeth. This we have said to you as an introduction to what follows, namely, that our reform will draw many things after it should God grant us the grace to cleanse ourselves (*ci da gracia che possiamo netarci*), and that there be not said of us, *Read thine own book, and Medice, cura te ipsum;* we shall perhaps show the Princes that in their courts there is more simony than in this one, and we purpose getting rid of it because we are placed in authority over them as over priests, all being our children; and when needed we will convoke a council in this famous city, as there is no need to go elsewhere, and we, as is notorious, would never give our vote for the council to be held at Trent in the midst, it may be said, of the Lutherans. Although the decision has to be made by the bishops, one may indeed admit learned laymen provided they be Catholics, as otherwise we might be told to include even Sultan Soliman. Thus, Magnifico Ambassador, have we chosen to unbosom ourselves to you completely, as lovingly as we do to Cardinal Caraffa; and we will also tell you that with regard to the truce, we do not as yet know that the articles have been signed. To us, indeed, so far as can be conjectured, it does not seem that it can stand thus, being so very disadvantageous for the King of England, or else it must be inferred that he is in some very urgent need, about which all we know is that neither in Piedmont nor in Tuscany is there a cessation of hostilities, nay, they are doing worse than ever. We do not know what truce this may be. God grant that we may have a good and true peace! In the meanwhile we shall remain armed that they may not be able to deceive us, and were we to ask counsel of your Signory we believe they would advise us to keep prepared. To no one will we give occasion, but should others give it to us we will not fail doing like honest men.* They, perhaps, are more afraid than we are, and we know that already a good many days ago, when in consultation, some of their military commanders said 'Let us go to Rome, there to do deeds and make ourselves heard,' but by those who *altius videbantur sapere*, they were answered, 'Go to Rome!! to do what? See you not that he is armed and has a

* Non mancheremo di farla da huomini da bene.

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city which adores him? that every one would fight for his Holiness? and then, when should we return?' as they know we should wage fiercer war on them in the kingdom of Naples than here. So that, Magnifico Ambassador, apologize for us to the Signory, and tell them to pardon us if we remain armed as we do, for the maintenance of these afflicted relics of Italy,* for it may be said that nothing remains of her but this mitre and that ducal bonnet;† be this Holy See recommended to the State in like manner as we are ready to do everything for its conservation and increase."

Perceiving that I had been well nigh two hours with his Holiness, after thanking him for so confidential a communication, which I said would not be divulged beyond the walls of the senate hall, I then took leave.

Most Serene Prince, although aware that the Pope has very often said to me the things above mentioned, and that I wrote them to the Signory, it seeming to me nevertheless that it is the duty of an ambassador to transmit all that he hears orally from the lips of the Prince to whom he is accredited, I therefore endeavour to notify to your Serenity not merely the conceits of his Holiness, but his identical words.

Rome, 14th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

426. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Three days ago, in the court of the King of Spain, on the market place of this town (*nella piazza di questa terra*), and at Antwerp, the truce was proclaimed to the trumpet's sound, in the Spanish, Flemish, and French tongues; after which the bells were rung as a mark of rejoicing, and letters have been despatched to his Majesty's chief ministers with news of this event.

These gentlemen of these two courts have determined to make a joust here after the Easter holidays, and it is said that the King in person will joust, the challengers being Don Ruy Gomez, Don Luis de Caravajal, and Don Rodrigo di Benavides, they maintaining that the women of Brussels are handsomer than those of Mechlin, where Count Schwartzburg is preparing a tournament for his sweethearts (*per suoi innamoramenti*).

Visited the Bishop of Arras, informing him that I was charged to do the like with the Emperor, but that having heard he was in bed with the gout, I would not ask audience. He told me that the proclamation of the truce had been delayed because their Majesties did not choose to make it until the French confirmed what the commissioners concluded at Cambrai, as it is necessary to proceed very cautiously with them, but that in the meanwhile the ransom of the prisoners had been discussed, and the Admiral of France is

* Queste afflite reliquie d'Italia.

† Quella beretta.

‡ Gaspar de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon. (*See* Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

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expected here from day to day; also that their Majesties in the articles had borne your Serenity in mind, as due, and that you had also been named on the part of the French. We had a long conversation about the many and toilsome labours performed by his right reverend Lordship in the service of the Emperor. He says he is now weary of further work, and tells everybody that he purposes retiring to his bishopric, though this is supposed to proceed from his perceiving it to be the King's intention that everybody is to go and transact business with Don Ruy Gomez, whose apartment is thronged from morning till night by negotiators of all sorts.

On his return from Antwerp I also visited the Duke of Savoy, who, after the usual compliments, abounding in extreme respect and demonstrations of love for your Serenity, repeated his determination to keep an ambassador with you.

On the 13th instant the King of Spain made his demand for money from the deputies of these provinces, who according to custom have taken the term of one month to go and report to the towns and to their lords. The demand purported that his Majesty, having incurred debts for the defence of these provinces to the amount of a million and a half of crowns, and having also need of other moneys for matters of extreme necessity, he requested them to give him one per cent. on the value of immoveable property, and two per cent. on moveable, promising not to make any further demand for the next two years. The deputies all evinced greater displeasure at the mode whereby it was proposed to raise this sum, it being chosen thus to ascertain what they are worth, than from having to pay it.

His Majesty has ordered the Count of Meghen to raise six regiments of Flemish infantry, that he may march them to the frontiers of Luxemburg in lieu of the troops from upper Germany (*in luogo degli Alemani alti*) now there, the cost being less, and the Flemings thus obtaining pay and employment, as desired by them.

Colonel Aldanna has been consulted several times about remedying the defects known to exist in the Spanish infantry with regard to their weapons and discipline.

The King has received letters from the Cardinal of Toledo, wishing to spend his archiepiscopal revenues for the conservation of Oran and the recovery of Bugia, and requesting his Majesty to write to the communities of Spain to receive in pledge all the revenues of his right reverend Lordship, and to lend him 300,000 crowns, to be repaid within six years, the King to bind himself to them by contract that the archbishop's successor will acquit the debt with the revenues aforesaid, or his Majesty to repay the money with that which he is accustomed to receive from the Cortes of Monçon; and the Spaniards say it is intended to spend a million of gold on this expedition, and that in his granaries the Cardinal has the wheat of several harvests to the value of 50,000 crowns.

Brussels, 14th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

427. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday Sir John Masone, councillor of the Queen of England, owing to a fresh order from her Majesty, went to pray the King her consort to be pleased to say frankly in how many days he purposed returning to that kingdom, as besides her other reasons she wished to know it for the purpose of continuing or not to incur the cost of the ships already prepared for his passage. Masone, moreover, as of his own accord, warmly persuaded him to comfort the Queen, as also the peers of the realm, by his presence, saying that there was no reason yet to despair of his having heirs.* The King, after the general replies, and answering lovingly with regard to details about the Queen and all the inhabitants of England, said that the causes for detaining him here kept multiplying in such wise that it was impossible to say anything certain about the time of his departure, and that it would be well to get rid of the cost of the aforesaid ships; repeating, however, his intention, as soon as he could despatch all his affairs, of going, that he might gratify his consort. So the said councillor [Masone], having been unable to elicit an especial promise indicating the time, went immediately to Don Ruy Gomez to hear his opinion on this subject, and having received for answer "that he thought speedily" ("*che credeva presto*"), Sir John Masone rejoined that the non-performance of these promises at any time was so evident that he would write to the Queen to dismiss this thought from her mind for many months; whereupon Don Ruy Gomez added that his opinion was that she would have the King with her next June, and that Masone might notify this to her Majesty. Don Juan Manrique, a member of King Philip's council of state, and other honourable Spanish gentlemen, say *that the King has no cause to gratify the Queen in this respect, nor yet in any other, as she has in fact shown but little conjugal affection for him, and that but little can be hoped from her; coming to the following particulars, that not only had the King to pay his own expenses, but also those of a great number of Englishmen, spending so vast a sum of money, and being subjected to so many vexations in that kingdom on account of the Queen, that, were he not bound by this marriage, the imperial and royal courtiers say generally,* were there no other cause, he ought to be deterred from going thither by the prognostic of his astrologer, to the effect that in this year the English will form a conspiracy against him; in addition to which, in the month of July (*sic*), the period assigned by Ruy Gomez for his being in England, he should for his own profit, and also from necessity, visit and inspect all these provinces, which could not be done in less than two months.

Brussels, 15th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* In the Foreign Calendar (Mary), p. 216, there is a letter from Masone to the Queen, date Brussels, 14th March 1556, but it does not allude to the particulars recorded in this despatch by Badoer.

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March 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

428. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At the conference mentioned in my last between the Admiral and the Count de Lalain, they exchanged the ratifications of the truce made by their princes, without altering the agreement in any way; and the one made by the Emperor and the King of England was sent hither to his most Christian Majesty by the said Admiral, the Imperial couriers who arrived here on their way to proclaim the truce in Italy having departed with other couriers despatched by the King of France for the same purpose. Subsequently other couriers arrived on their way to do the like in Spain, and have already gone on.

Last night news arrived of the rout given by the French to the Imperialists under San Lorenzo, some commanders and artillery having been captured, which gave satisfaction, it seeming here that after the conclusion of the truce the Imperialists should by no means have continued hostilities, although it had not been ratified; and here it is said that if after the proclamation by the couriers they desist, the French will do the like, and give back the guns and prisoners and everything else taken since the conclusion, provided the Imperialists act similarly.

The King will depart hence to-morrow for Tours, to remain there three or four days, and will then return hither to pass the rest of Lent and the Easter holidays.

Amboise, 16th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

429. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has no occasion, with this opportunity for sending the duplicate of his last letter dated 10th instant,* to add anything, nothing having occurred worthy of the Signory's notice, the Queen being for many days without notices from beyond sea. Her Majesty still awaits anxiously the return of her courier Francesco, it being supposed that the King detains him so long a while that he may bring back the positive resolve about his Majesty's coming.

Notwithstanding the Queen's regret that Cardinal Pole should be away from her, he has, however, obtained leave, though with difficulty, to go for a few days to take possession of his archbishopric of Canterbury, making his solemn entry on Lady-day the 25th instant, and on the following Palm Sunday he will sing his first mass, and preach in public, to commence the full exercise of his office. By reason of the great reverence and respect which all the chief personages of the kingdom bear his right reverend Lordship, it was their wish to accompany him on his entry, had he not prevented it for the avoidance of cost and inconvenience both to himself and to them; nor will he admit (*admetter*) any but the nobility and gentry of Kent who are within his diocese, and some of the chief personages here of the court, whom he cannot refuse,

* This letter of the 10th has not been found.

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and even they will be too many. On this occasion the Queen presented him with episcopal robes and ornaments (*paramenti et ornamenti episcopali*) estimated at 10,000 ducats, the Cardinal has also increased his household by 180 mouths and upwards, including gentlemen and servants.

For many consecutive days a comet has been visible, as it still is,* and with this opportunity a gang of rogues, some twelve in number, who have been arrested, went about the city saying we should soon see the day of judgment, when everything would be burned and consumed. These knaves, with a number of others, availing themselves of this device, agreed to set fire to several parts of the city, to facilitate their project of murder and robbery, and if this be true, due punishment will be inflicted on them.

London, 17th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

430. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Lodgings for 300 persons have been prepared for the Admiral of France.

The Landgrave of Hesse has disbanded all his troops with the exception of four infantry regiments, his suspicion of an attack from the Prince of Orange having now ceased entirely.

The Duke of Ferrara has staid the recall of his ambassador now resident here with the Emperor and the King, either from repentance, after hearing of the conclusion of the truce, or because he made this stir in aid of France during its negotiation, or perhaps from finding himself deceived in the treaties on foot between himself, the Duke of Parma, and the most Christian King.

Consultations have been held lately about entrusting the African expedition to the Cardinal of Toledo and the other lords of Spain, or that the King should send thither troops from his other States, paid at his own cost. Nothing has as yet been settled, nor has his Majesty answered the Cardinal. The Finance Committee is discussing the means whereby to free the King from the heavy interest he is now paying, and amongst various schemes two were debated at great length yesterday; one that, as the new successor to these Provinces, his Majesty should take himself all offices of profit, and receive a good sum of money on confirming the old ministers, or appointing new ones in their stead; the other, that he should establish wardship, reserving all the property of minors until their majority, giving them seven per cent. interest per annum and security on some of these towns, thus saving five per cent. out of the twelve which he is now paying to the merchants.

The Emperor is still in bed with the gout.

Brussels, 18th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* In Machyn's Diary (p. 101, Camden Society Publication), "*the blassyng* [*star*]" is said to have made its first appearance on the 7th March. Stowe, in his *Summarie*, says it continued for twelve days, having commenced on the 4th March. The Venetian Ambassador now shows that it was still visible on the 17th March.

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March 19. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 65, pp. 218, 219.

431. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day had audience of the Pope, who in reply to your Serenity's advices from Constantinople, said, "It is evident that the armadas of Sultan Soliman are always fitted out for our detriment; as against the Sophy, he has merely need of a few galleys to guard his territory when proceeding in that direction. May God assist us! Would that we could witness a good peace between these princes, and thus have we always said to their ambassadors—we say a *good* peace, and not merely a peace, as was said also by Christ, *pacem meam;* that is, I give it you good, tranquil, and real; adding, should anyone not have understood, '*non quomodo mundus dat.*' This truce is making great progress; the King of England has written to the Marquis [of Sarria, Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro; not Sir Edward Carne] his ambassador here, to tell us that he was content to sign it, thinking to do us pleasure, as he knew that we had urged him thus to do, through our legate, Cardinal Pole, by means of the ambassador here [Sir Edward Carne], whom we charged to write to him in our name, and by our nephew the Signor Ferante di Sanguini, who went lately to that court; his Majesty ending his letter very respectfully with regard to us. Then to-day you saw here the French ambassador and the Prothonotary de Noailles, who has brought us a letter, written throughout in the King's own hand, telling us the same; which letters of either sovereign we have given to our right reverend secretary, that he may answer them becomingly, and we will show them to you should the secretary not have gone away;" and then having had him called, and as he was not in the antechamber, the Pope continued, "As he is not here, you will content yourself with what we have told you, which is their substance."

He said, moreover, "The satisfaction derivable from this truce consists in this, that ardour of theirs has abated, it having hitherto prevented them from listening to anybody or to any good suggestions. There being now a cessation of hostilities, some attempt might be made to bring them to a good peace, which may God of his mercy grant, as without the hope of peace this truce cannot prove to our satisfaction, as the conditions it contains forbid its duration; and lest there be some secret understanding it is our duty to keep well on the watch, to guard against their deceiving us. We remember the disastrous results of the League of Cambrai. We pray you, Magnifico Ambassador, not to be scandalized and think us garrulous (*che habbiamo il prurito nella lingua*), for we know how to be silent when we choose. This opening of our heart, and committal of it to your trusty ears, and to those of the Signory, proceed from the very great love we bear the most Serene Republic, so that it would seem to us greatly to wrong you also, were we to suppress anything we have on our mind; write therefore to those sage signors that if ever there was a time to preserve friendships and form new ones, and to have a good mutual understanding, it is the present one, for this is the way to preserve one's own and augment it, and to inspire terror to such as entertain mischievous

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projects; for the sovereigns note everything, however trifling it may be, and of a straw they make a beam (*e d'una festuca fanno una trave*), which we discovered lately in these negotiations of ours, when they laid great stress on matters of little importance; so you may now judge what important feats they will perform, and whether, whilst thinking of their own safety, they will meditate an attack on their neighbours."

The Pope also said, "It seems a great sign of the goodness of God on earth, that when any one, however iniquitous he may be, is about to perpetrate a crime, he cannot rid his heart of that fear and torment called remorse (*sindéresi*), which was felt by these Imperialists when they came to our frontiers from the kingdom of Naples and Tuscany, and confessed to everybody that they came from fear (*che venivano per paurà*); so we answered them, There is something more than fear, what are you afraid of? that we with four or six thousand infantry intend to wrest from you the kingdom of Naples? They put us to great expense, for long since we have had a considerable force under arms; but to return to what we were telling you, God knows with how much love and charity we say and assure you that we choose the enemy who attacks your Signory to know that he will have to attack us also; and we choose to have the same care for our sons and feudatories, the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and the Swiss cantons, and we pray the most illustrious Signory to hold them dear, both because they deserve it, as also for the welfare of your Republic. The Duke of Ferrara is a Venetian nobleman much attached to the State; his late father was in the habit of going to Venice for recreation; the Duke of Urbino is your son and servant, for the sake of his father and for his own sake. You are aware that we told you heretofore, and we believe you wrote to the State accordingly, that we gave him leave to enter your service; but even had they not been such we should have chosen them to become so, and to serve the Signory like ourselves in person. The Switzers are attached to you; they are the bulwark (*antemural*) against Germany, and armed, so that you can make use of them instantly. Write to the Signory to caress and treat them hospitably, allowing them to trade in the Venetian territory, so as to bind them yet more to you. Should the Republic be of this opinion, we promise not to fail you; but if, on the contrary, the State thinks differently, let them make themselves heard, as we will listen to you quietly, though we should indeed wish those most potent Signors to ponder with their usual prudence, that the sole way to eradicate the evil designs of the barbarians is to form a good alliance amongst friends. We will not fail to gratify these Switzers as much as we can, in order that they may remain staunch to us, and that the other cantons which have seceded may return, as we choose to hope may come to pass; and here we will tell you a thing which we have never communicated to any one, namely, that to make more sure of this nation, had we found in it any individual—I will not say of most consummate learning, but of moderate literary acquirements, and a man of worth and universally popular amongst the Switzers — thinking thus,

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through such a person, to gratify all the cantons—we would have made him cardinal, but we have not found him, the nation (as notorious) seeking its glory in the field; but we obliged the other nations, German, Spanish, and French, though not on the demand of any one, as we choose the Princes to be convinced that at their suit we will not name even one. We promoted Groppero by reason of his repute for goodness and learning; the Archbishop of Toledo, because he leads an exemplary life, is a great prelate, and with regard to the interests of this Holy See, has opposed even the Emperor himself; Reumano, '*Auditor di Ruota,*' because he has always given good account of himself, and by reason of the integrity of his awards (*et della sua innocenza in giudichare*); as also in order not to elect any great personages whose election might have caused a suspicion of our naming them at the suit of the King or others. Where was the abuse in this (*che abuso era questo*)? Of our predecessors the Emperor demanded at least eight Cardinals, and we said to them, let *Him* ask, and do you make the Cardinals, at the suit of *Christ.* Magnifico Ambassador! it was impossible for us more clearly to demonstrate the love we bear the Republic, and our care for it, than by unbosoming all our thoughts to the Signory, and reminding them of what is to their advantage and honour, and we choose to have it in our power to say that thus have we done. As soon as we are sure of this truce, and when it is confirmed to us, we shall relieve ourselves from expenditure, but not entirely, as it is our intention to keep provided; we shall disband the multitude (*la moltitudine*) and retain the men of worth (*gl' huomeni da bene*), who are in great number, as they come more willingly to serve us for small stipend, than they go with considerable pay to fight for ultramontane Princes whom they profess to serve under compulsion, and for the sake of emolument—God knows how far this may be true—and we from good companionship share what we have with them. In truth, Lord Ambassador, we receive endless letters from personages of importance who wish to come and serve us, and those we engage will always be yours, as whatever we have we choose to hold in common with your most illustrious lords."

In reply I told his Holiness that I would write what he had said to me to your Serenity, as I always had done, and according to my duty. He rejoined, "Write it to them, as we would moreover fain have it in our power to utter and affirm it to them with our own lips, as it proceeds from nothing but what is aforesaid, namely, our thought for the preservation of Italy, since it has pleased God to give us this charge;" and thus, having been a very long time with him, I took my leave.

Rome, 19th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 21. Original Letter Book, penes me. Letter No. 66.

432. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The letters from the Imperial court, to which I alluded in my last, were dated the 22nd and 29th ultimo, from the Nuncio; and those from private individuals, and from the King of England to his

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Ambassador here [Sir Edward Carne; or Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis of Sarria; or Don Juan Garcilasso de la Vega] were of the 2nd instant. In the morning the Count of Montorio sent his secretary to show me their contents, as your Serenity will perceive by the enclosed copy, and although the letters are stale, it is nevertheless not amiss to see what was then said at that court about Italian affairs, and the opinions formed there about them. The letters from the King of England contained what I wrote in the accompanying despatch, as told me by the Pope; and this same packet also brought a distribution of pensions to sundry gentlemen and others at this court, which pensions, being upon bishoprics, have to pass consistory; it is not known what the Pope will do, but as some months ago those of the most Christian King were made valid, his Holiness will do the like by these.

The Cardinal of Augsburg has been unable for many months to obtain audience of the Pope, because he gave it to be understood that he intends asking for money to pay certain creditors of his, and leave to repair to his principality, which he said was in great danger, as the Lutherans have so increased in his dioceses that, unless he go thither in person, something scandalous may occur.

To-day, having sent my secretary to the palace, as usual, to hear whether there was any news, Cardinal Caraffa called him, and exhibited a paragraph from a letter written by the Bishop of Arras to the Signor Giovanni Battista Gastaldo, containing the following precise words, "The truce has been made, as your Lordship will have heard; I took no share in it (*io non ci sonno intervenuto*), as had I been present it would not have taken place; or, if ratified, the terms would have been more honourable; but being such as they are, it will prove of short duration;" after reading which words, the Cardinal inquired whether I had anything to this effect. The secretary answered him in the negative, adding that had the intelligence reached me, I should have communicated it either to the Pope, or to his right reverend Lordship.

Rome, 21st March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

433. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of France arrived at Cambrai with upwards of a thousand horse, and having understood that lodgings had been prepared for him at Brussels for only three hundred persons, and as on this occasion he was compelled to take with him a much greater number, he requested accommodation for a more numerous retinue. M. de Lalain wrote therefore to the King of Spain, who replied that there being resident here the courts of the Emperor and his own, as also of the Queens [dowagers] of Hungary and France, and of so many other lords, the lodgings are so occupied that the purveyors did their utmost by finding the place already assigned him for three hundred horse; so he was to tell his Lordship as of himself to take patience, as he, M. de Lalain, would also go with fewer persons to the King of France.

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The Emperor and the King have been written to *from Rome that the Pope by divers signs has evinced extreme regret for the most Christian King's consent to the conclusion of the truce, and that when the French Ambassador, speaking to the Pope on this subject, and demonstrating the cogent reasons which had induced him so to do, presented him with a letter from the King, his Holiness eyed him askance* (lo guardò con torto occhio), *using language showing his dissatisfaction; concerning which fact the chief ministers of the Emperor and the King express themselves beyond measure violently against the Pope.*

Don Ruy Gomez, in reply to the Ferrarese ambassador about a request concerning the nomination to the vacant archbishopric of Milan, said that at the present time there was reason to perform offices the reverse of good with regard to the Duke of Ferrara, instead of favouring his kinsfolk or dependants, as the Emperor and King Philip had received notice that during the negotiation of the truce his Excellency had done many things to their disservice, *and that they even knew the following particular, that the Pope had said with his own lips that during those emergencies the Duke of Ferrara had offered him both money and troops, and his own personal services, for no other end than to do what was agreeable to the most Christian King.* Don Ruy Gomez also alluded to the clandestine departure of the Ferrarese secretary, and to his language, saying that these proceedings impugned the Duke's character for prudence, his forces not being such as to allow him, of himself, without leaguing with others, to form a resolve (to use his own words) "like a Signory of Venice" (*come una Signoria di Venezia*). The ambassador after apologizing for the Duke by saying that regard should be had for deeds rather than for words, and having endeavoured to soothe Don Ruy Gomez, inquired whether perchance his Lordship wished him to write this to the Duke, and being answered in the affirmative he said he would do so.

Some of the deputies of these provinces have implied that they will give his Majesty as much as a million of gold, in order that he may not carry into effect the intention already announced by him of levying one per cent. on immoveables, and two per cent. on moveables; and his Majesty has said that he does not purpose altering his proposal, as he knows that this sum of money would be taken from the poor, and that the rich would not pay in proportion to their wealth.

Brussels, 22nd March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

434. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The suspicion about the conspirators (*coloro*) who purposed setting fire to several quarters of the city for the sake of plunder, had a different root and origin to what was reported, a plot having been lately discovered of such a nature that, had it been carried

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into effect as arranged, it would doubtless, as generally believed, considering the ill-will of the majority of the population here on account of the religion, besides their innate love of frequent change and innovation, have placed the Queen and the whole kingdom in great trouble, as it was of greater circuit and extent than had been at first supposed.

The plot was, that a number of gentlemen here (*molti di questi nobili*), together with some officials and subordinates (*ministri*) of the court, agreed to rob all the public money as by an understanding with the officials of the Exchequer, whither all sums levied both in London and in the country are taken and preserved there, and in which place, on account of the subsidy lately levied, they expected to find a considerable amount. To facilitate this scheme, as already mentioned, they had arranged to set fire to several parts of the city and of the court itself, so that the greater part of the population being occupied with the fire, they in the midst of that turmoil and confusion might more conveniently do their own business, and after its accomplishment make their escape more securely and save themselves, for which purpose they had already prepared two of the Queen's ships, very well armed and provisioned, and which are here called pinnaces (*spinazze*),* and are good for any service either by oar or sail, they having been kept during several days near at hand here in the river, their commander, who was in league with the conspirators, giving out that he was bound for Ireland on the Queen's service, to quell the insurrections there, and to protect some of the inhabitants of that island, who were so hindered that even the fishermen could not put to sea to gain their livelihood; but according to current report here hitherto, his intention was to escape with the money and the conspirators to the Isle of Wight, in front of the harbour and town of Hampton, having moreover an understanding with the captain of the island,† to fortify themselves there, and by means of the money raise troops and an army with which to effect a national rebellion, having perhaps yet more important negotiations and designs which are as yet undiscovered.

It, however, did not seem fit to the goodness of God, to whom alone the preservation of the Queen and the protection of the realm is manifestly committed, that such wicked projects should be realized, as by good fortune some 20 days ago a person, either from hope of reward, or to exculpate himself (which yet remains a secret), revealed the plot to Cardinal Pole.‡ The Lords of the Council, proceeding with good method, secured themselves in the first place as silently as possible against the threatened danger and robbery, by privily removing the money from the Exchequer, and by dissembling, giving the conspirators opportunities to pursue their project unmolested,

* In the "Verney" Papers, p. 65, the vessel destined for the removal of the treasure is called a "crayer."

† Richard Uvedale, captain of the Queen's castle of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. (*See* Verney Papers, p. 61.)

‡ The person who revealed the plot to Cardinal Pole was apparently Thomas White. (*See* Verney Papers, p. 65.)

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and then, when the matter seemed ripe, the government showed itself, having it may be said seized three or four of the ringleaders in the act; and although others are discovered daily and the arrests will continue, yet am I told that had the ministry delayed the demonstration for two or three days they would have captured the whole gang. As yet upwards of 40 persons have been imprisoned on this account, and arrests take place daily, all hope and opportunity for flight being removed by a very rigorous order, issued on Wednesday the 18th (the day of the first arrests), forbidding embarkation at all the passage ports from that time forth, all the vessels being in like manner placed under embargo.

Amongst the prisoners are the commander of the two ships (*il capitanio delli dui navilij*), one Master Cardin (*sic*),* official of the Queen's wardrobe, and some other gentlemen (*nobili*) and officials of the Court, persons who, although not of much consequence, are, nevertheless, some of them, supposed to have an annual rental of from two to three thousand crowns, besides some of these Londoners, and certain searchers and custom-house officials on duty at Gravesend and Dover, through which places the conspirators were to pass; an individual who resided here as agent for Lord Courtenay having also been imprisoned,† and they have sent for the captain of the Isle of Wight to come hither. The Lords of the Council confess, as told me by the Chancellor [Nicholas Heath], and the Treasurer [William Paulett, Marquis of Winchester],‡ that they were and are much alarmed, owing to the great danger which they know they have incurred, and from fear lest yet more important facts may transpire. I will not fail to acquaint your Serenity from time to time with whatever occurs, although as the passage-ports still remain closed and inaccessible, it is difficult to send letters or messengers across the Channel, the couriers of last week having been detained, and the present despatch likewise may perhaps share the same fate.

This casualty, in addition to the regret which Cardinal Pole's absence would have caused the Queen, induced her Majesty absolutely to forbid his going to his archbishopric, and she made him defer the singing of his mass until after Easter, and perhaps until after the return of the King, his Majesty having written by the courier Francesco Piamontese, who has returned, that he also hoped to be able to be present at it, again promising the Queen that as soon as the proposals made to the states of Flanders, which alone hinder him, are despatched, he will set out, evincing a great wish and desire to come back, as written by him in a letter to Cardinal Pole, which I read, and wherein he apologizes for having so long delayed announcing here and elsewhere the conclusion of the truce, because he wished first of all to witness its ratification.

The Legate nevertheless, did, not fail to have himself consecrated archbishop, as he had determined, the ceremony being performed last Sunday publicly, with great state, in the presence of the Queen

* Query John Calton. (*See* Verney Papers, p. 61.)
† John Walker. (*See* Domestic Calendar, p. 80.)
‡ Li Signori Cancellieri (*sic*) et Thesorierj (*sic*).

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and the whole Court;* and to-morrow, the Feast of the Annunciation, he is to come to London to take the "*pallium*" sent him by our Lord [the Pope], in a church dependent on his diocese, and to commence preaching and making himself heard therein.

On Saturday last, the 21st, Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, was burned, having fully verified the opinion formed of him by the Queen, that he had feigned recantation (*che si havesse fatto mostra di disdirsi*), thinking thus to save his life, and not that he had received any good inspiration (*et non per buon spirito che le fusse venuto*), so she considered him unworthy of pardon; and thus, immediately on hearing that there was no remedy, and that he must die, relapsing into his usual heresies, he retracted in public all that he had uttered and signed with his own hand. At the moment when he was taken to the stake, he drew from his bosom the identical writing, throwing it, in the presence of the multitude, with his own hands into the flames, asking pardon of God and of the people for having consented (*consentito*) to such an act, which he excused by saying that he did it for the public benefit, as had his life, which he sought to save, been spared him, he might at some [future] time have still been of use to them, praying them all to persist (*a persister*) in the doctrine believed by him, and absolutely denying the sacrament and the supremacy of the Church. And finally, stretching forth his arm and right hand, he said, "This, which has sinned, having signed the writing, must be the first to suffer punishment;" and thus did he place it in the fire, and burned it himself. An English translation of this writing was published in London, and as it was signed by Father Soto and his associate,† both Spaniards, resident at Oxford on account of the university, where Father Soto is public lecturer in holy writ, and had long laboured to convert Cranmer, the Londoners not only had suspicion of the document, but openly pronounced it a forgery; so the Lords of the Council were obliged to suppress it and to issue another, witnessed by Englishmen. This circumstance, coupled with the execution, will cause greater commotion (*scandalo*), as demonstrated daily by the way in which the preachers are treated, and by the contemptuous demonstrations (*li dispreggi*) made in the churches.

London, 24th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

435. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

In reply to two letters from your Serenity, the one desiring me to congratulate the King and the Emperor on the conclusion of the truce, the other charging me to acquaint King Philip with the seizure of the ships by the Viceroy of Sicily, complaining seriously, and requesting his Majesty to send a positive order for their release;

* The ceremony took place in the Grey Friars church at Greenwich. (*See* Machyn's Diary, p. 102.)

† The fellow lecturer at Oxford of Father Soto was Friar Garcina. (*See* Lingard, vol. 5, p. 236, ed. London, 1854.)

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the King desired me to give him a memorial, promising to have it speedily despatched by his council. As his Majesty expressed himself kindly and with cheerfulness, I said I knew his ministers could not do otherwise than was required by me, but that I wished him to tell them to do so quickly, and on taking leave I presented the memorial, knowing it to be his custom to ask for similar documents. On quitting his Majesty, I narrated to Don Ruy Gomez the circumstances in detail, urging him to favour this just demand, but perceiving that the courtesy used by him towards me did not seem such as was desired by me with regard to this business, I inferred that the Viceroy's agent at this court had given him some sinister account of the capture of the galliot; and having told him how it took place, he replied that my reasons were so strong that he could not but suppose that Don Juan de Vega had acted ill in this matter, promising both in the council and with the King to perform every good office, and the more willingly, knowing that I, at the time when the league was being treated in Italy, not only assured those with whom I conversed that your Serenity would not meddle with it, but my language utterly removed any suspicion of the sort, and that as you were of the same mind as his King, he would some day discuss several matters with me at full length, in order to keep up this constant good friendship between his Majesty and your Serenity, saying that one of these Easter holidays he would come and dine, and pass the whole day at my lodging in conversation.

Brussels, 24th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

436. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 19th the Admiral left Peronne for Brussels, accompanied by 500 horse, the Count de Lalain having crossed into France, being lodged on the way in the Constable's mansions (*luoghi*) and received honourably, and he was to arrive in Paris yesterday with a retinue of 300 horse. He will remain there for two or three days, and then proceed to Blois, where he will remain until Easter day, after which he will come hither to meet his most Christian Majesty, when the ratification of the peace will be effected, which act it is supposed will have been performed some days previously by the Emperor and King Philip, unless delayed by the Emperor's indisposition or some other accident, as the journey from Peronne to Brussels is much shorter than to Amboise from Cambrai, from which place M. de Lalain took his departure. Persons who profess to understand these forms say they are superfluous and not usually observed, save in a treaty of peace; *so in this matter the Admiral is reproached with having gratified the Imperialists,* as they are said to have proclaimed that the term of six weeks was reserved solely for the Emperor and King Philip, and not for his most Christian Majesty, although this is contrary to the truth. M. de St. Julien has arrived from Rome, and gives account of the many public demonstrations made by the Pope in proof of the satisfaction felt by him for the conclusion of this truce; *but it is understood that in*

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secret he, together with all his dependants, remains, much disquieted; and here, in like manner, everybody is surprised that as yet his Holiness should not have had any office of congratulation performed in his name with his most Christian Majesty.

The King returned hither yesterday from Tours, nor could I follow him, from violent fever.

Amboise, 25th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 28. Original Letter Book, penes me. Letter No. 67, pp. 220, 222.

437. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marshal Strozzi has returned from Tuscany, whither he is said to have gone for the purpose of giving the French agents there advice respecting the mode of government to be observed by them during the present truce, and the amount of soldiery to remain as garrison of the fortresses held by them. He went publicly to see the Pope eat, on which occasion, as he frequently does, the Pope exhorted all men to pray for universal peace, owing to the ratification of the truce, and to forgive their enemies. He moreover first of all explained the allegory of the "rose," which he had blessed according to the ancient rite, saying that it signified the flowers which preceded the fruits of our Lord's passion; wherefore it was hallowed the week before that passion. His Holiness has not yet given this rose to any personage.

A few mornings ago the Imperial Ambassador [Marquis de Sarria], on his way out hunting, having to pass the gate of Saint Agnese, the soldiers closed it, and levelled their harquebuses at him; but having taken patience on former occasions, and having been told in reply to his complaints that he might go, and would be allowed egress, his attendants therefore disarmed the guard, and opened the gate, through which he passed; which being reported to the Count of Montorio, his Excellency remained somewhat pensive in suspense (*alquanto pensosa sopra di se*); and then replied that the ambassador had done well and that the guard had acted indiscreetly.*

On Monday consistory sat, at which they gave the *pallium* to the right reverend Patriarch of Venice, and after disposing of three churches, one in France, one in Spain, and one in Portugal, they conferred the archimandicate (*l'archimandichato*) on the Cardinal of Messina, with the pension of 1,000 crowns to Cardinal San Clemente; so it is supposed that having made this beginning, there will be no further difficulty about allowing the pensions which come from the Emperor's court to pass. On Thursday in the house of the Decano (Cardinal Bellai?) the first-class members of the congregation for the "*Reform*" assembled, and the result was that 12 gave their votes on the point sent by me to your Serenity, and there were three opinions—one of the Bishop of Feltre that money might be taken for the use of the spiritual power; the second of the Bishop

* *See* Foreign Calendar, 8th April 1556, p. 221.

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of Sessa, that by no means could it be exacted; the third of the Bishop of Senegaglia, that it may be taken, but not at stated periods, nor with fixed conditions. They will meet again after the holidays, and the remaining members will give their votes, either by word of mouth or in writing, and the two other classes will do the like; about which the Pope will use diligence, as he is desirous of seeing the end of the business.

Rome, 28th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

438. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of France arrived here on the 25th instant. He was accompanied by the French ambassador in ordinary, who is to reside here at the courts of the Emperor and the King, and by many honourable French noblemen and some Italians, including the sons of the late Cesare Fregoso, and of Count Caiazo, numbering in all some 300 persons. The chief personages of these courts went to meet them outside the town, and the Prince of Orange and the Count de Feria performed the offices of ceremony in the name of their Majesties, and accompanied them to their lodgings. On the morrow King Philip sent the Prince of Orange to bring the Admiral to audience of his Majesty, who received him in public, and with a gladsome countenance moved a few paces to meet him, doffing his bonnet, and not allowing him to kiss his hand as the Admiral humbly showed a wish to do. After reading the letters of credence, the King listened to him for a long while, and in reply reciprocated his loving expressions, nor did any of the bystanders hear a single word; and after taking leave of his Majesty, he embraced the Duke of Savoy, and made the Constable's son first of all kiss the King's hand, the like being afterwards done by some of the other chief personages; and on his departure likewise the King went a few paces with him.

On the same day and yesterday the Admiral was visited by the ambassadors and other chief personages of these courts. I also did the like both by the Admiral and the French ambassador, each of whom made many inquiries of me as to how the conclusion of the truce was liked here; in what state the Emperor finds himself with regard to health; how I was pleased with the rule of his ministers, and many other similar inquiries, saying they made them of me confidentially as to an ambassador from your Serenity, who could speak freely and ought to do so, without offending their Majesties here. I made such replies as fairly satisfied them, dilating on several things observable at these courts touching the mode of negotiating. The Admiral then told me that shortly before, the Bishop of Arras had been to him in the Emperor's name, to apologize for not having been able to give him audience sooner, laying the blame on his indisposition, owing to which he should perhaps be unable to come into church to take the oath, so the Bishop thought it would be well to perform this act in his Imperial Majesty's chamber. To this the Admiral said he made answer that he was not come to regulate the Emperor's affairs, but to give him

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such satisfaction as lay in his power. He said besides, that his King had treated and concluded the truce principally with the Emperor, and that he had no commission whatever from his most Christian Majesty to speak about peace, the like being told me by the ambassador also; and by the personages who have come with them, this truce is said to be rather a retreat for the purpose of mustering greater forces, than any design for negotiating peace. He also told me that, contrary to the custom of other ambassadors, he will not discuss such business as he may have to transact with the Bishop of Arras, but with the Emperor, save in case of some great difficulty, when for the avoidance of trouble to his Imperial Majesty he will be content to examine it with the Bishop of Arras in their respective houses alternately.

This morning the Admiral and the ambassador heard mass in the chapel of the palace, with King Philip, being opposite to him, seated on a bench covered with cloth of gold, and on the conclusion of the mass his Majesty moved from his place to the high altar, the Admiral and the ambassador doing the same from the other side; and there the Bishop of Arras in his episcopal habits, having uttered a few words in so low a tone as to be inaudible, presented the missal to the King, who placed his hand on it, swearing to observe what had been already said by the Bishop of Arras, who then gave him the image of our Lord to kiss; and this ceremony being accomplished they left his Majesty; and the Duke of Savoy kept the Admiral to dinner. Yesterday the Emperor rose from his bed, and to-morrow will give audience to the Admiral and the ambassador, and take the oath in his own chamber; after which the Admiral is expected to take leave, having said that he shall depart in three or four days.

Brussels, 28th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

439. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lord of Monaco* charged his agent to complain to King Philip that his ministers have not named him specifically in the truce, he inferring that they considered him a vassal; and he requests his Majesty, knowing the agreement (*capitolatione*) between them, and that he is the King's servant solely by election, to give orders for him to be specified, as otherwise he shall renounce his service; and the said agent having communicated this to some of the ministers, was promised the grant of this demand, the commissioners being apologized for on the score of inadvertency.

There has arrived here Sir Henry Dudley [*sic*; Sir Henry Sidney ?]† an Englishman, destined by the Queen to be Governor of Ireland (*è arrivato quì il Signor Herico Dudleo Inglese destinato dalla Regina Governator d'Irlanda*), and he is come hither to kiss first

* Onorato I. Grimaldi. (*See* Chiusole "Genealogia delle case più illustri di tutto il mondo.")

† *See* Haydin's Book of Dignities, p. 441.

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of all, by her order, the hand of her consort, to whom she has also written the cause of the arrests made by her, as your Serenity will already have heard from the Ambassador Michiel; saying moreover that she entertained no little suspicion of their having an understanding with that kinsman of the Duke of Northumberland who lately escaped to France,* and had plotted against her. King Philip is requested by the said Queen, and by the councillor [Sir John Masone] whom she keeps here, to expedite certain writings which were sent him a long while ago; and I have heard that he delays this business owing to the difference of opinion between the privy councillors (*i secreti ministri*), some saying, with regard to his titles, that first of all he should be styled King of Spain, and secondly King of England; whilst others maintain that in matters relating to the kingdom of England this order should be reversed, as the English would never tolerate the other style; this councillor [Sir John Masone] having said that Henry VI. of England, who was crowned King of France in Paris, when in that country, gave it precedence when writing to England, whereas when residing there and writing to France he did the contrary. Don Juan Manrique, a member of King Philip's privy council, has declared (and the like is said publicly) that nothing will be said about his Majesty's departure for England before September; and that next May the King of Bohemia will come hither, and be perhaps accompanied by his consort, to whom the King of Spain has sent 14,000 crowns for the expenses of the journey, his Majesty wishing his sister to come, in order through her medium the more easily to settle entirely the existing disputes between them, and such as might arise hereafter.

Brussels, 29th March 1556.

Postscript.—I hear that the Admiral and the French ambassador have now been to the Emperor, and that after a long conversation together his Imperial Majesty took the oath, the King of Spain not being present.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

440. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lords of the Council are still diligently intent on the examination of the individuals imprisoned because of the conspiracy, having already detected a great part of them, and possibly the whole of their plot, as is proved by the opening of the ports, by the release of the ships, and by the permission for the passage of couriers. According to report hitherto the persons accused are solely military men, soldiers, and captains, who both on account of their religious opinions, and, as the kingdom has had a long peace, being doomed to idleness, without any pay, are consequently worse satisfied than the rest of the population, more anxious for change, and more bold and daring in attempting it. Amongst them mention is made, and according to report a warrant has been issued for his arrest, of one Master Croft,† an individual who from the proofs afforded by

* Sir Henry Dudley. (*See* Foreign Calendar, April 1556, pp. 221, 222.)

† Sir James Crofts. (*See* Machyn's Diary, Index.)

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him both here and elsewhere is considered one of the chief military commanders in the kingdom, having been heretofore Lord Deputy of Ireland, in which government he acquired great honour and repute, though subsequently, having been concerned in Wyatt's conspiracy, he was condemned to death, which he escaped, together with many others, in virtue of the amnesty clemently conceded by the Queen on the King's arrival. Besides these persons, I hear that they have also arrested Sir Anthony Kingston, the gentleman who some months ago, for the very bold and licentious language used by him in Parliament, was put in the Tower; and then, with the same clemency, her Majesty set him at liberty. The quality of the prisoners shows that the plot was not as represented by many persons, for the mere purpose of robbing and carrying off the plunder to enjoy it in revelry abroad, but that it had a much more important object, it being said that there was an understanding with some foreign prince or potentate (*principe o signor*). Another individual has been arrested here in London solely for having written letters to and received letters from Lord Courtenay, besides the other person who was his man of business. At the Court no one dares any longer to mention the affair, by reason of the secrecy maintained by the Lords of the Council, nor even with me has Cardinal Pole chosen to enter into any particulars, but the punishment, which will be very severe, will soon throw light on the matter.

Since the discovery the Queen has no longer chosen to appear in public, being greatly troubled, both on this account, as also by reason of the last news received from Brussels about the postponement of the King's return, because he is expecting there the King and Queen of Bohemia; and although the Regent here, Don Juan de Figueroa, endeavours to comfort her by saying that the visit of those princes was not quite settled, his Majesty having sent them a courier to ascertain whether they were coming or not, as he did not intend to be delayed . . . * nevertheless it appears to him it should be soon . . . . . (*nondimeno pare li sia presta, and then follow other words corroded*), and that it would be agreeable to the Queen, as repeated in my presence by Cardinal Pole, in case of the arrival of the Princes aforesaid, that they should all come hither with her most Serene husband.

The sight of the most illustrious Legate† was most welcome to this entire population, and yet more so the office he performed by preaching the sermon, to the edification of many souls; and as his right reverend Lordship gathers such good fruit from his seed, he will show himself frequently, part of this city being under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He will thus make amends for being justly restrained by the Queen from going to his archbishopric, her Majesty not choosing by any means, during the King's absence, that he should be at the slightest distance from her, most especially when she has daily to encounter such serious and impor-

* Illegible in the original.

† In the church of St. Mary's of the Arches, on the 25th March.

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tant troubles, for extrication from which she knows that none of her ministers can give more sincere or more prudent counsel than he does.

To the church of Winchester, vacant through the death of the late Chancellor, the Queen has appointed the Bishop of Lincoln, a person of exemplary doctrine and good life, but she has not yet conferred the see of Lincoln. They will subsequently send to Rome for the due ratifications (*a far le debite espeditioni*).

London, 30th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

441. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count de Lalain wished to come straight on to the court to despatch his business before the holidays, but his most Christian Majesty requested him to delay until after Easter, because they wish the Admiral to perform the office first with the Emperor and his son, it seeming that to be the last to perform this complimentary act (*questo complimento*) is more honourable.

[*Italian.*]

March 30 ?* MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl.x.

442. CARDINAL POLE to GENOVA (*al Genova*).

Heard with great pleasure by his letter received some months ago of his satisfaction at having married (*collocata*) his daughter so well, on which Pole congratulated him by a letter which perhaps miscarried. Genova now sends him his very learned discourse on the two commandments about charity, which Pole always understood as explained by St. Augustin and the other doctors of the church in many of their treatises against the Pelagians (*Palagiani*), nor has he now time to discuss the subject more at length with him, being so fully occupied that he has as yet been unable carefully to read Genova's discourse, in which he hopes to recognise his usual learning and sharp intellect, and his love for Pole in communicating to him this his conceit, for which he thanks him greatly. To give Genova some account of his state, informs him that having been elected Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope, he lately had himself consecrated as bishop (*io mi sono ultimamente consacrato da Vescovo*), and hopes soon to go and reside at his see (*andar far la mia residentia*), where, with God's assistance, he trusts to do what is necessary for His service. Master Thomas Clement, an English law student, who was recommended heretofore to Genova by Pole, wishes to be remembered to the eminent Doctor [LL.D.] Pancirola,† which office Pole requests Genova to perform in Clement's name, and in his own likewise; and any especial favour and assistance in his studies obtained by Clement through Genova from Pancirola will be no less agreeable to Pole than if rendered to his own kinsman, as

* No date of time in MS., but in Hook's Life of Pole (p. 316), it is stated that he was consecrated on the 22nd March 1556, so I date as above.

† Guido Panciroli, one of the most celebrated jurists of the 16th century. In the year 1547 the Venetian Senate appointed him second Professor "*degli Instituti*" in the University of Padua.

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Pole considers him such on account of Clement's father, his old and very dear friend. Pole offers his services to Pancirola, and informs Genoa that Monsignor Priuli is well, and salutes him affectionately.

London [30th March 1556 ?].

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

443. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

This afternoon I went to the Emperor to congratulate him, in the form enjoined me by your Serenity, and found his Majesty in good bodily health, and as by his eyes and movements he appeared more joyous than I had ever seen him on any other occasion, I told his Majesty, that when your Serenity heard how very well he was, you would charge me to congratulate him on this account likewise, as you did heretofore when you heard that he had renounced his states and realms to his most serene son, and when you heard through their Majesties' ambassador, and my letters, of the conclusion of the truce; but that I, knowing your Serenity's good intention, congratulated him cordially on his excellent health, as a manifest sign of his mental tranquillity, caused by having, according to his will and most prudent judgment, laid down the very heavy burdens of so many states and kingdoms, and from seeing at this commencement, that his most serene son rules them so prudently, and has made such an admirable truce for the benefit of Christendom, which you hoped would produce peace; showing in many words, the satisfaction felt by your Serenity at this most christian work, and assuring the Emperor that you would always maintain with his most serene son, such good friendship, and do him such honour, as his Imperial Majesty could desire; of which I did not think it necessary to render him further oral testimony, as since many years he might have been well able to know it, by a variety of facts; and that as a fresh proof of this you were sending a most worthy ambassabor to king Philip. I then thanked him for the loving offices performed with your Serenity in his name and that of his most serene son, by the magnifico their ambassador, whose great goodness and prudence caused him, I said, to be much beloved by you. The Emperor replied precisely as follows: "Ambassador! I have known the Signory's good-will on so many other occasions that it is unnecessary now to repeat it; and as I have always reciprocated, so will I endeavour that the King my son may do" (*cosi operarò che facci il Re mio figliuolo*); repeating himself thus: "for assuredly I have always seen an excellent will on the part of the Signory, and am sure that by reason of her good disposition and policy she will continue to act thus towards him, with whom, although there is no need for it, I will constantly use my influence (*farò officio*) that he may continue the friendship." He then said, "I am content that the truce should have taken place, for the causes which made me wish for peace, as I have so often said, nor is it of any use to recapitulate them. With regard to the renunciations, I also willingly accomplished that which it had long been on my mind to do, and continue to be glad of it (*et ne resto contento*), because from age and illness I am now weary, and because it was time no longer to allow the King

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my son to remain without giving him command (*senza darle governo*); in addition to which, by nature I was not desirous of these burdens." And here he took to laughing heartily (*si mise a rider molto*), and said, "Now, indeed, Ambassador, are those words verified, which many and many continually repeated, that I wished to make myself monarch of the world; I assure you that I never entertained this thought, though I might have believed in the possibility of realizing it, not only by deeds, but by words" (*se ben havesse creduto non solo con fatti ma con parole di poterlo fare*). He then showed me his hands, crippled with gout, and said, "I have now no other thought than that of passing the rest of my life with as little inconvenience as possible, and I purpose retiring to some place, there to end it in the service of God." I thanked his Majesty extremely for having discoursed with me for such a length of time so graciously and kindly; again congratulating myself on finding him so quiet in mind, and with such Christian thoughts as I believed him to have had at all times; and I said I prayed God of his benignity to grant him a state of life (*stato di vita*) no less long and tranquil than it had hitherto been glorious; without disturbing him with news of the fleet in preparation at Constantinople, and not saying anything about the seizure of the ships in Sicily, knowing that it could not but distress him, as he professes not to choose to be spoken to about any business; and I sent my secretary to communicate the news-letters to the Bishop of Arras, that he might give them to his Majesty, should he think fit, letting him know my reason for not having done so.

Brussels, 31st March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

444. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

M. d'Ibremon, (*sic*) a gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, sent to condole with his niece* on the demise of her consort, the Count Palatine, reports that the Duke Otho Henry went armed with upwards of 800 horse to take possession of the Electorate, and met with no impediment.

The Admiral of France is now on the point of departure, and many of the nobility of these two courts have gone to his lodging to accompany him outside the town.

Brussels, 1st April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

445. Cardinal Pole to the Constable of France.

As the Abbot of San Saluto is returning to Italy, Pole has willed to pay his respects to Montmorency, and although convinced that he is well disposed to favour Parpaglia, thinks it his duty to request him to do so for love of Pole likewise, who will thus be especially obliged; and touching Montmorency's reply to Pole's last letter, delivered by Lord Clinton, has merely to thank him for his affection, and pray God to aid the Pope's pious wish about the peace, to

* Dorotea, daughter of Christian II., King of Denmark.

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effect which, he is understood to have appointed legates to these princes [Philip and Henry II.?], and to preserve and prosper Montmorency.

London, 3rd April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

446. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of France departed on the 1st instant, going by way of Antwerp to see that place ; and, besides presents, the King gave him leave to negotiate the ransom of his brother by the mother's side, M. d'Andelot, whose captors keep him now in the Castle of Milan.

The Bishop of Arras has been several times to negotiate at his lodgings with the French Ambassador,* *who says his right reverend Lordship now transacts business so timidly as clearly to show that he has not that favour and authority with the King of Spain which he enjoyed with the Emperor.* The Ambassador also said he heard that the King of Bohemia, although he gives hopes to the Emperor and King Philip of coming to see them according to their wish, does not intend to do so unless he be fully assured that the Emperor will renounce unconditionally (*liberamente*) to the King of the Romans the government of the empire, and that the private differences between all their Majesties be in a state to render an adjustment possible.

The Ferrarese Ambassador has had letters from his Duke, commending him for not having obeyed the order to return, and desiring him to inform King Philip's ministers that he will send an ambassador in his stead ; the ministry replied courteously, and hence proceeded the commission given to Don Federico de Enriquez to pass through Ferrara and visit the Duke, when on his way to take possession of Sicily.

Brussels, 4th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 4. Original Letter Book, pencs me, Letter No. 68.

447. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Imperial Ambassador's mode of going out of Rome has been very angrily resented by the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, it seeming to them that he evinced little respect for their commands, and that the gates, which ought to be held in such great account, had been forced ; so when on Palm Sunday the ambassador came to accompany the Pope to chapel, his Holiness, on hearing that he was in the palace, sent to tell him to depart ; whereupon this Marquis Sarria was much confused, and after consideration and consultation with the Cardinals Pacheco and Cueva (whom I saw draw aside with him), a fresh order supervened for him absolutely to go away, and by the advice of the Cardinals he did so. He subsequently endeavoured by all possible means to appease the Pope, but none of

* The name of this ambassador was Basse Fontaine. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Brussels, 23rd March 1556.)

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them as yet have succeeded; and having demanded audience for Tuesday, his Holiness promised it him, with the intention of sending him to Castle St. Angelo, and of perhaps doing something worse to him; of which having been warned by a person averse to so great a stir, and so very unusual a proceeding (*et tanta novità*), he did not keep the appointment.* They do not, however, fail to draw up a very minute process about this circumstance of having forced the gates, and some of his servants have been arrested on account of it. To all those who speak to him about the matter, the Ambassador excuses himself by saying that the Count of Montorio had told him that he might always at his pleasure pass the gates whenever he chose; and that when the gates were closed to him, he inquired of the officials whether they did this by order of his Holiness, or of the Cardinal, or of the Count of Montorio, and they answering in the negative, and saying the command had been given them by one of their captains, whom the ambassador knew to be a man who had been outlawed from the kingdom of Naples, and was the Emperor's enemy, he therefore inferred that the order was given for the purpose of affronting him personally, and consequently chose to open and pass through the gate.

It is moreover said, that with this opportunity they are forming a process about the death of an individual who was killed heretofore, in the house of the said ambassador, whose friends and adherents tell the story thus:—

A certain Portuguese having come to Rome, and being lodged in his house, went mad, and amongst other proofs of insanity he is said to have killed his wife without any cause, and, in the ambassador's house, causelessly wounded one of his servants. In his own chamber this individual killed a groom who waited upon him, and who was found dead. The Marquis of Sarria, that he might not die by the arm of the law, it seeming to him dishonourable for one of his countrymen (*uno della sua natione*), and lodged in his own house, to be put to death in public, he sent him for trial to Naples to Don Bernardo, that he might send him to the gallies, or do what he pleased with him. The people here say that the dead man was put to death by the ambassador's command, and that to prevent the truth from ever being known, the perpetrator of the crime was immediately sent off to Naples. People are very anxious to see what turn this affair will take, and those best acquainted with the Pope's nature are of opinion that it cannot be advantageous for the ambassador. I understand from one, who heard it from the lips of Cardinal Caraffa himself, that at least the Pope will not allow the ambassador ever again to negotiate with him, nor acknowledge him; and the Imperialists say this mode of proceeding will make the Emperor and the King of England determine on no longer keeping here either ambassador, agent, or secretary.

During this week the Pope has performed the holy rites in the

* Sir Edward Carne does not enter into these details, but writes that a cardinal had desired him to tell Queen Mary that her consort would do well to recal Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, and appoint in his stead a representative less disagreeable to Paul IV. (*See* Foreign Calendar, as before, p. 221.)

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[Sistine] chapel with great devotion, and in robust health, remaining erect in his pontifical habits without ever moving, thus inspiring all persons with much piety, and surprising them by such strength and vigour at his age.

It was a fine sight to see the Vicar of Christ (who in all his other actions maintains so much dignity) with his own hands washing the feet of 13 poor men, clad in white at his cost, and to each of whom he gave a medal, with his Holiness' arms on one side, and on the other the figure of our Saviour kneeling to wash the feet of his disciples; which medal is of the value of two treasury ducats, and was accompanied by two silver "*giulij*" for each of them. The first of these individuals was a man who declares openly that he is 116 years old. I do not know whether such be his age, but I saw him, and his age seemed to me very great. All the others became confused (*si contaminorno*), nor could they restrain their tears, save this man, who remained firm and intrepid. The Pope chose to lay out a considerable sum on the holy sepulchre, so that no man living remembers to have seen it represented more magnificently and decorously, he having given it to be understood that for things of this sort the Popes ought to spend largely.

Rome, 4th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

448. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Saturday, in London, the heralds and royal officials proclaimed twelve individuals, who although not of great consideration, yet are for the most part gentlemen of Devonshire (in the province of Cornwall), of which county Lord Courtenay bears the name and title, rebels and traitors, for being privy to the conspiracy, and sharers in it;* part of whom went abroad, or were dispatched thither, before its discovery, perhaps for some hidden purpose; and part, anticipating the moment, took flight before they were sought for and summoned. Amongst them is one Henry Dudley, of the same family as the late Duke of Northumberland, to whom he was related;† he, like the greater part of the rest, having escaped beyond sea to France, as reported; all of them being considered factious individuals of bad life and worse intentions.

I understand that Lord Courtenay's agent, about whom I wrote, has been placed in yet closer confinement; another person, who also at the beginning used to be his servant (*che soleva in quel principio esser servitor suo*), having also been arrested. His name is Stadan, (*sic*)‡ he being the step-son (*figliuolo della moglie*) of one of the wealthiest aldermen in London, and has the reputation of being a very meddlesome busybody, and not devoid of ability

* A copy of this proclamation is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, and is dated 1st April 1556. (*See* Verney Papers, p. 67.)

† An original document in the State Paper Office shows that Henry, or Harry Dudley was supposed to have been related to the late Duke of Northumberland, but in what precise manner does not appear. (*See* Verney Papers, p. 59, foot note.)

‡ William Stantun, alias Staunton, "late a captain." *See* Machyn, p. 195, and Verney Papers, pp. 61, 70, 71.

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(*persona tenuta molto curiosa et non senza ingegno*). Of the prisoners in the Tower, I am told that eight or ten will be condemned and deservedly executed after these Easter holidays. Not only does it seem that Sir James Crofts was never arrested, but that they did not even summon him, which rejoices everybody, by reason of his universal good character; and the captain of the Isle of Wight [Sir William Uvedale] after being examined, was set at liberty, not having been found guilty of anything; but it is again confirmed that the conspirators purposed withdrawing into that island. The Lords of the Council, in short, proceed so secretly in this matter, that nothing can be known about it, save from the result.

From the daily increasing suspicion of the King's tardy return, as besides the letters of the 25th ultimo, brought by Lord Fitzwalter on his return from Brussels, the Queen has heard of fresh impediments and fresh excuses; her Majesty is determined to send this very day to the Imperial Court Lord Paget, now Lord Privy-Seal,* whose mission, with that of his colleague the Bishop of Ely, seemed not only suspended but given up. Lord Paget is sent under pretence of congratulating the Emperor and the King on the truce, and in order that with this opportunity he may perform such office as was announced in my foregoing letters with regard to the King's return, reminding him as impressively as possible not only of the desire of the most Serene Queen, and of the entire kingdom, but also of the need and necessity for compliance by reason of her Majesty's age, which does not admit of delay; and, as told me by Cardinal Pole, Lord Paget will request the King, should he be delayed by the wish to wait for the King of Bohemia, or any other impediment, as his Bohemian Majesty has come so far, to let him proceed even to England, where the King and he can treat and decide all that and other business (*tutti quelli et li altri negotij*), as conveniently as in Flanders, her consort being no less at home here than there; and in the meanwhile the most Serene Queen will not distress herself.

With the opportunity afforded by this commission, Lord Paget will be enabled to discover the inmost determination (*volontà*) of the King and of the Emperor, and being deep in the confidence (*confidentissimo*) of both one and the other, ascertain *whether this delay is caused by any hidden motive; or because the King wishes for greater authority, and greater public marks of respect; or greater convenience and scope* (larghezza) *for availing himself of the revenues of the realm than he has had hitherto; or matters of a similar sort, which sovereigns are not in the habit of communicating save to persons in their confidence, and least of all when they fancy themselves questioned and catechized. And in case of the necessity for coming to any adjustment* (compositione), *should a medium be required, Lord Paget, both now and ever, will always be the mediator and regulator* (compositore) *between the most*

* William Lord Paget was appointed Lord Privy Seal on the 29th January 1556. (*See* Preface to Machyn's Diary, p. xvi.)

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Serene Queen and the King; he thus establishing himself in the closest confidence of both one and the other, and increasing his repute to an unlimited extent, warranting his hopes of every possible reward from their Majesties. Thus, as told me on good authority, the wish and aim cherished for a long while by this shrewd and clever (accorto et valente) *statesman, for this legation, will have its full effect* (la sua piena satisfattione).

From what I hear, Lord Clinton* is destined to perform a similar office of congratulation on the truce in France; but his appointment has not yet been published.

It seems that here they have again resumed a certain negotiation for the peace, by means of the Abbot of San Saluto and the French ambassador at this court; on which account, the one has delayed his intended departure for Italy, and the other has despatched his secretary to the ministry in France. Will endeavour to ascertain particulars, and if successful, will transmit them from day to day.

London, 7th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

449. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Spain returned yesterday from the monastery where he passed Passion week, attending divine service, washing the feet of the 12 poor men, and listening to the discourse of his confessor [Francisco Alfonso de Castro] concerning the conscientious bestowal of offices, especially with regard to the restitution of Piombino. He also hunted several times in the forest where the monastery is situate.

Yesterday I sent my secretary to secretary Vargas, reminding him to take to the King, for his signature, the letter addressed to the Viceroy of Sicily [Don Juan de Vega]. He replied that he would do so, but, being well aware how important delay is, on account of the merchandise, I sent my secretary to Don Ruy Gomez to request he would give a fresh order for the despatch of this letter. Don Ruy Gomez expressed surprise that Vargas had not taken the letter to his Majesty, and told him that he must present it to his Majesty this day; and he replied in the affirmative, but said that he had not yet drawn it up (*di non haverla anchor spiegata*), which is contrary to what he told my secretary; so it is evident that the public report of his favouring the interests of the Viceroy in various ways is true.

Of this secretary Vargas I hear great complaints from the agents of Genoa, Malta, and Monaco, and from all the Sicilians.

Brussels, 8th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Clinton, Edward, 12th Lord, 11th Earl of Lincoln. His mission to France is recorded in Foreign Calendar, date 8 April 1556, p. 221.

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April 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

450. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

A gentleman of these provinces who was sent by the King of Spain to purchase hunters and hacks (*cavalli da caccia et da viaggio*), brings back word that the French have taken away all the war-horses, and well nigh all the others of every description; so some of the chief personages of these courts say openly that the King has great cause to fear the proceedings of these Frenchmen, as through the opportunity afforded by this truce, they go about inspecting the fortresses in these provinces and elsewhere, forming many sorts of designs, for the purpose of finding an opportunity, on his departure for Spain, to break the truce to their advantage; and they say that the Admiral of France went away dissatisfied, because he was unable to obtain the release of his cousin the son of the Lord High Constable; and although the King allowed him to treat for the release of his brother, M. d'Andelot, with the persons whose prisoner he is, they nevertheless will insist on so heavy a ransom, and devise such means to protract the negotiation, as to prolong the truce likewise; these two prisoners, and the Duke de Bouillon, the son-in-law of Madame de Valentinois [Diane de Poitiers], being of such great importance, that they will be the cause of its continuance. A suit of tapestry worth eight thousand crowns has been purchased by the Queen of France [Eleanor of Austria], widow of King Francis; and she is said to be sending it to the present King, in order more easily to obtain the revenues of her dowry, and her pecuniary arrears.

The King's confessor has been heard to say that in the privy council there has been a long debate about finding means thoroughly to secure the affairs of Italy; so that should the French break the truce before the expiration of the five years, or subsequently, they may find such precautions taken, as to disable them from giving such trouble as they have done hitherto; and amongst other things, it was proposed to elect as Duke of Milan a private nobleman the dependant of his Majesty, that they may thus induce all the potentates of Italy to support him against the French, and secure their other Italian states.

Lord Paget is expected here, being sent by the Queen from England to visit the Emperor, and congratulate him and the King on the conclusion of the truce, and also to give her consort account of several events chanced in that kingdom since his departure, and of things necessary to be done there, for which his Majesty's presence would be both profitable and necessary; but from what I hear on good authority, the chief cause (*la principalissima causa*) of his coming, is to elicit the true reason why he does not return, and whether he really wishes to go, and when; it being heard here through several "advices" (*diversi avisi*) that the said Queen is beyond measure exasperated (*sdegnada*) by what she considers this well nigh contemptuous treatment received from her consort; so it is supposed that by means of this Lord Paget, she chose to be quite assured of his Majesty's going, that she may put her mind at more ease than she enjoys at present; and it is said that in like manner

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as for this purpose she could not send any person of more subtle intellect, or more dear to the King, so will he exert himself more willingly than anybody else, from the hope, by doing good service, of getting into greater favour with the Queen than he is, by reason of his favouring the Lutheran opinions.

The Regent of Milan has told me that should the reply of the King of Bohemia be such as to confirm his coming, according to the hopes given by him to their Majesties, King Philip will not go to England until September; but should the decision prove contrary, he will proceed thither much sooner than is believed, it not being for his advantage (*non tornandoli bene*) that the Queen's angry remonstrances should be converted into hatred.

Count Filippo Doria departs this day postwise on his way back to Genoa, nor has he been able to obtain Castellamare, which he demanded, the place having been given heretofore to his father, nor any other recompense, nor authority to fit out two gallies, to be paid and included amongst his Majesty's other vessels.

Brussels, 8th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

451. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On Easter Tuesday the Count de Lalain arrived here at the Court, having been met in the King's name by the Duke d'Enghien, brother of the King of Navarre, by the Prince of Salerno, by the Duke de Longueville, and by the Prince of Mantua, with a numerous company, and went to his Majesty; he presented the King with two letters of credence, one from the Emperor, the other from his most serene son, and then visited the most Christian Queen and the other ladies (*dame*). On the morrow he went to mass with the King, and on its termination a tabernacle with holy relics was brought to him, and the treaty of truce having been read summarily, his Majesty swore to its observance on the aforesaid relics, and then made the said Count dine at his own table; he being subsequently banqueted by the Constable and the Cardinal de Chastillon [Odet de Coligny], the Admiral's brother. I visited his Excellency, and congratulated him both on the conclusion of the truce, and on his having been its chief minister. His Excellency thanked me cordially for my visit, and stated his good hope to make a lasting peace between the two powers. I hear from several quarters that in long conversations held by him with the King and the Constable, he exhorted them to prepare for this negotiation, giving assurance that the Emperor and his son would be no less well inclined, as stated also by M. de Sipier,* who has been sent hither to the King by the Admiral, with the ratification confirmed under oath by the Emperor and King Philip, and he brings word that the Emperor told the Admiral to exhort the King of France in his name to incline towards the peace (*che l'essortasse alla dispositione della pace*), as he would not fail to perform every office of the same kind with the King his son;

* Cipierre, Marcilly, S. Philibert de. (*See* Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, Index.)

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and in reply his most Christian Majesty made exuberant professions to the Count of his desire for the quiet of Christendom, though as yet I do not hear that any precise proposal has been made, nor any arrangement about the mode of negotiating; but on the arrival of the Imperial Ambassador, the Lieutenant d'Amont, who has been detained on the road by a fit of the gout, something more may perhaps be elicited.

The aforesaid Count de Lalain departed this morning, the King having presented him with two chests containing wrought silver (*due credenze d'argenti lavorati*), each of them being valued at 4,000 crowns.

Yesterday a courier arrived in six days from Rome to acquaint the King with the dispute between the Pope and the Imperial Ambassador, who forced one of the gates of Rome in order to go out hunting; but here apparently they do not attach much importance to this; and Cardinal Caraffa, by a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, confirms his coming to this court.

Amboise, 10th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Letter Book, penes me, Letter No. 69.

452. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Imperial Ambassador wishing to mitigate the Pope's anger, about which I wrote in my last, and considering Cardinal Caraffa the best mediator, had a long conversation with him, the result of which was that the Cardinal said there was no other remedy than to ask pardon of his Holiness, which the ambassador does not refuse to do, but would fain not utter such submissive words and in public as those which the Cardinal says are necessary. The matter is still turbid, but with hopes of the possibility of an adjustment; most especially as the ambassador's servants (who as written by me were arrested at the commencement) have been released, with the exception of one, who, when he may be said to have forced the gate (*quando in certo modo sforzò la porta*), went out of Rome.

A few days ago, certain prelates being present at the Pope's dinner, he sent for them into his chamber, and speaking pure elegant Latin fluently, as is his wont, he reproved them for not going to their sees, said they left their spouse a widow, and the flock without its shepherd, and that at least until the enactment of the reform, which would compel them with greater force, they were to go to their residences, and not waste their time in visits and banquets, and perhaps also at the gambling table, as it was a very great shame that in the chapels where so many bishops sat, they should select friars, and even laymen, to teach their flocks, as for the most part they are the persons who preach the sermons which ought to be delivered by the bishops themselves; which discourse made by the Pope was well nigh half a pledge for what he purposes doing (*una meza cappara di quel che dissegna fare*).

The Pope has lately busied himself much in having "Agnus Dei's" made with the wax of the Paschal torches, and on Thursday he hallowed them with much devotion, after having made them remain a night beneath the bodies of the apostles Peter and Paul, under the

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custody of his own chaplains, and of those of the cardinals.* It was a ceremony which caused a display of great piety on the part of those who witnessed it, but the only persons admitted by the Pope were the cardinals and bishops. His Holiness said the mass, hallowed the water, incorporated the chrismatic oil, and washed the "Agnus Dei's," being, indeed, assisted by the cardinals, though they officiated alternately, whereas the Pope never desisted until the end, the ceremony lasting from the 13th to the 19th hour (half-past 10 to half-past 1); and he said he performed the ceremony so minutely, and gave the blessing with so much mental satisfaction, because heretofore when *in minoribus* he had proof of the efficacy (*della virtù*) of these "Agnus Dei's," for that a house adjoining his own being on fire, he threw into the flames an "Agnus Dei" of this sort, and they were quenched, the Agnus Dei remaining intact; and he still preserved and held it dear, as a sign of the goodness of our Lord God, and of the authority given to the High Pontiffs. To-day in [the Sistine] chapel these "Agnus Deis" were distributed as usual, there being a very great concourse of persons to see the sight. It is customary to perform this ceremony in the first year of every new pontificate, and subsequently every seven years.

There preached here this Lent, in the church of the Holy Apostles (*in Sto. Apostolo*), the Franciscan of the order of Friars Minors, who is I believe well known to many of your Excellencies, from his having preached in various places at Venice. This father, having adroitly induced many of the prostitutes of Rome to go to the sermon on the day when the gospel is read about the sinner supposed to be Mary Magdalen,† he persuaded them to change their mode of life, availing himself also of a circumstance which occurred on the preceding day, when a scelerat, a Veronese, for the purpose of robbing her, murdered a woman of this sort, her housewife, and a little girl, in her own house, inflicting many wounds on their breasts. He promised the prostitutes that they should be married, received into convents, and assisted in various manners, so many of them betook themselves, for the purpose of conversion, to the houses of divers Roman gentlewomen, and although they were several hundred in number, I delayed until now my account of this proceeding to your Serenity, suspecting that a variety of circumstances might make them change their minds after the holidays, as came to pass, for of 257 that they were, only 20 now remain; and these last also are uncertain, as the hopes given them proved vain, and the effects were at variance with the words.

When visiting the Cardinal of Augsburg, he said that the Diet of Germany had been prolonged, and the King of the Romans will not attend it again without a fresh intimation, and that the renunciation of the empire will soon be treated. He has also had letters from Munich, informing him that the subjects of the Duke of Bavaria have made four anti-Catholic demands of their sovereign—to eat

* Sir Edward Carne wrote to Queen Mary that he had sent her a box of these Agnus Dei's, "and a little book in Italian declaring the ceremonies used in making them, and at the end of it their virtue, which is great." (*See* Foreign Calendar, 5th May 1556, p. 225.)

† St. Mark xiv., verses 3, 4, gospel read on the Monday before Easter.

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meat every day, to communicate *sub utráque specie*, that churchmen (*chierici*) be allowed to marry, and that the gospel be preached freely (*et la libera predicatione dell' Evangelio*), the petitioners declaring that they would neither pay taxes nor give assistance against the Turks unless these demands were granted.

The affair of the peace between their Majesties and the most Christian King draws to a close. Don Juan Manrique, writing to Don Garcilasso de Vega, gives great hope of a good settlement. The Pope has determined to send legates, Cardinal Caraffa to the King of France, and Cardinal Motula* to the King of England, and yesterday unexpectedly summoned congregation of the cardinals for this purpose, saying that hitherto, those sovereigns being irritated, he had not chosen to send anyone, but the truce being made, and as they gave ear to discourse about peace, he would send legates, to which the cardinals assented; but when the persons were proposed, Cardinal de la Cueva opposed the nomination of Cardinal Caraffa, because it would have been well to send some other individual more in the Emperor's confidence; to which the Pope replied that Cardinal Caraffa was very good for this purpose, and that although he had served the King of France lately, he had previously been in the service of the Emperor, and quitted it from cause, and he was now serving this Holy See and his Holiness himself, who was the universal master, and the friend of all of them; whereupon the cardinals acquiesced and confirmed the appointments. On Monday, in consistory, the legates will receive the cross, as the Pope chooses them to depart shortly. Caraffa assumes this mission very joyfully. From what he this day told me himself, all business will be in the hands of the Count of Montorio.

Rome, 11th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Letter Book, penes me, 2nd Letter, No. 70.

453. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day, although the Pope was very tired, owing to the distribution of the "Agnus Dei's," I went to him, when he said to me, "Yesterday we elected two legates; our nephew the cardinal to the King of France, and to the King of England our old and most affectionate servant the Cardinal di Motula. In truth we can no longer trust any but these two, who we know for certain will infallibly do as we shall order and write to them from time to time. Cardinal Caraffa will be very well received in France, both for his own sake and ours, and he is also adapted (*atto*) to any great undertaking, as he is good and courageous (*perchè ha bontà ed animo*). Then of the other, even the Spaniards here seem to place confidence in him. The legates will depart speedily, and amongst their other commissions they will be charged to have as much regard in this treaty for the State of Venice as for our own. Had there been time we should have wished our nephew to pass through Venice, and to

* Scipione Rebiba, Bishop of Motula in Puglia, made Cardinal by Paul IV., 25th December 1555. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 147.)

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offer his services in our name to the Signory, and this not being possible, it will suffice for you to do so." On my answering, "Your Holiness will have received some intelligence to the effect that peace may ensue?" the Pope rejoined, "There are, in fact, some advices," but speaking with you, who are the mind and mouth-piece of the Signory, even should there be hope of peace, it rests on the same grounds as the truce, which (as we told you heretofore) they stipulated, not voluntarily but of necessity, and by reason of the fear they had of us, whereas we hear from some of them that they now curse it. Unless this fear of us and of the Signory induce them to make peace, we know not what can be hoped. The King of France is a good man; he would do anything for us, and would send the Queen and his sons as hostages. We have had experience of him in many matters. The Emperor no longer exists, and the Lord has chosen to punish him for his so many sins by depriving him of his intellects, as manifest to the world. We believe that he will have left a son like unto himself. I knew this Emperor in 1513, when by order of Leo X., in the first year of his pontificate, I was sent ambassador to England,* and as the nature of the times required it, I went to my legation by way of Germany. I then found him a lad 13 years of age; and on my return from England, also by order of the same pontiff, I accompanied him to Spain. So long back as at that time, magnifico ambassador, one discovered in him certain flowers of those fruits which have since been savoured" (and here, exciting himself by extraordinary gestures, he continued), "a thirst for domination, an insufferable pride, a contempt for religion, for we will ask you what other emperor but Charles would have held councils and so many diets with the intervention of heretics and Lutherans? Who would have dissembled so much as he has done for the purpose of reigning? Who refused to acknowledge pontiffs, nay, kept them prisoners? Who but he sacked this city, and perpetrated that horrible impiety? for, although absent, he ordained and was gratified by those misfortunes of this Holy See, and of all Italy. Magnifico ambassador, we could not refrain from telling you everything. He believes that your territory, that of this Holy See, and of the world, must be his, and we have occasionally said to some of his adherents, *if this lust* (libidine) *of dominion and of mastery over all men, which you cannot conceal, proceeded from a wish to render cities and empires abounding in all things wealthy and fertile, it might perhaps be tolerated; but what province, what noble, well-stored, and wealthy city ever fell into your hands that did not remain miserable, impoverished, and starving and in such a state that worse could not be imagined. Do you wish to do so by the rest of the world?* By us they shall not act thus, nor should they do so by you, for they do not love you, and if they do not entirely declare themselves, it is because they have not seen a good opportunity, though so far as they could they have shown their will. You must remember about the export—permits of Puglia, with

* *See* Mr. Brewer's Calendar, 16th November 1513, vol. i., No. 4,563, p. 702; also Venetian Calendar, 6th February 1514, vol. ii., No. 372, p. 158.

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how much difficulty they gave them to you, and with how many fresh imposts. Of this Prevesa may bear you good witness. We tell you everything with such affection, as you perceive, because we have no less care for that blessed city, and the State of Venice, than for our own. *Væ vobis* (as the poet, full of spirit, says) *qui adjungitis domum ad domum et conservatis agros usque ad terminum loci!*

"As you perceive, we speak freely. We wish for counsel from those lords. They are sage; they know very well, through their experiences of the government of the world, what can be hoped for from barbarian Princes (*principi barbari*), the natural enemies both of the Italian name and of the Venetian Republic, and from those Princes of whom they have witnessed proofs. We, in short, have no hope of peace, save such as we have told you, and the legates will serve to give us true account of those who shall impede it, and for what cause; but the point is for there to be a good understanding between us and you. On our part it will exist always, and what I have now told you is firm in this head."

Rome, 11th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

454. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning, after having communicated to the King of Spain the news-letters from Constantinople, and thanked him for the loving offices performed by his ambassador with your Serenity, and also for the despatch of the matter relating to the ships detained in Sicily,—touching the truce and peace, the King said that he on his part would not fail to observe the one and to make the other, provided the King of France was equally well disposed; and with regard to the orders for the release of the ships, he said he had given them willingly before I spoke to him, but had forgotten to tell me so when I gave him the memorial. In my rejoinder I mentioned the many excesses committed to the detriment of the Republic's subjects by the captain of the galliot which was captured, and this I did designedly, that he may know of himself that the ministers who favour Don Juan de Vega are impassioned.

Don Ruy Gomez dined with me to-day, staying a long while afterwards, conversing very familiarly on various subjects; and when I thanked him for the goodwill shown me in the affair of the ships detained in Sicily, he replied that what he had done was in conformity with the King's mind, and that if the other ministers had not done the like, it was owing to their private passions, and that your Serenity should hold in account the sole words and deeds of his Majesty himself, assuring me earnestly that the King's mind was always to live on good terms with your Serenity.

From his conversation I elicited that he had very little hope that this truce could last long, by reason of the King of France evincing surprise at so much delay in despatching M. de Lalain, who went in the name of the Emperor and King Philip to swear to the truce; and that the French ministers, before confirming it, according to the

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articles of agreement, endeavoured first to obtain restitution of prisoners and places, here and in Italy.

Brussels, 12th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

455. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

A gentleman accredited to the Emperor has arrived from the Count Palatine to perform the due offices on his taking possession of the Electorate. This mission has pleased both courts, as a proof of the Count no longer being ill-intentioned towards the Emperor, who has sent three German noblemen to all the princes and states of the Empire to give them notice of his having sworn to the truce, and with a commission to offer them all the forces of his son for the benefit and honour of the Empire. The French ambassador says he knows that they are also commissioned to request them to make a defensive league, and to authorise King Philip to levy in Germany, for service in Italy, or in any other country where he may require them, such troops as may be needed by him, but the ambassador believes that the design will not succeed.

The two "Commendators" resident with their Majesties here in the name of the Grand Master of Rhodes have lately shown newsletters to the King and his ministers, about the fleet now in course of preparation by Sultan Soliman, with the intention, they suspect, of attacking Malta, for the preservation of which island they request supplies, especially grain from Sicily, and a certain amount of Spanish veterans; and they received a favourable answer to both requests.

Yesterday the Papal Nuncio complained of what had been done by the King's ambassador and the Emperor's [Marquis de Sarria] resident with the Pope, to certain officials at one of the gates of Rome, for which proceeding some persons tax the ambassador with imprudence, *whilst others say that by reason of the Pope's aversion to the Emperor and King Philip he resents the acts of their representative, as he would not do were they committed by others.*

The Bishop of Arras when talking to-day with the Mantuan Ambassador asked whether, on the departure of the King of England, he purposed following him. He replied that he should act according to the commands of the Emperor, to whom he had been appointed. The Bishop rejoined it would be well for him to ask his lord for leave, as it seemed to him, the Bishop, both fitting and advantageous for the Duke that as he kept an ambassador with the King of France, so he should do the like by the King of Spain, wherefore it would be well for the Duke to order him to follow the King; and that he, the Bishop, would write an autograph letter to the Cardinal of Mantua, offering himself if necessary in any business relating to the Empire to take charge of it, as if he were the ambassador in person.

Brussels, 12th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
April 13.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

456. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Cornaro.

Has to thank him much for his affectionate courtesy in depriving himself during so long a period of the services of their [friend] Messer Andrea. It is needless for him to say how much this has gratified him, as Cornaro can comprehend it, from his knowledge and experience of Andrea's sufficiency, goodness, and other qualities rendering him worthy to be loved by everybody; and as Pole kept him about his person hitherto as the intimate of Cornaro, so does he wish him henceforth to hold the same place with his Lordship, as the intimate of Pole. Did not think it expedient for him to depart until now, when Pole, being appointed to the see of Canterbury knows that he must remain in England to take care of it, and prays God that this may prove to his service.

Greenwich, 13th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

457. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the King spoke to me about the Count de Lalain, saying that he had comported himself so frankly and with such candour as thoroughly to prove himself the great gentleman he is (*per gran gentilhomo come l'era*), and he then told me in detail how the Admiral had transacted his business at the Imperial Court, saying that first King Philip swore to the treaty of truce and to the agreement about the prisoners, the like being also done a few days later by the Emperor, whom the Admiral found so debilitated and in such a bad state that it was almost impossible for him to be worse, and that his Majesty himself narrated to him at very great length the state of suffering in which he was, saying that his incessant pains were such as at times to make him gnaw his hand and long for death, wherefore it was superfluous for him to swear to the truce, as he had no longer either States or the wish to undertake any enterprise, but that he would nevertheless take the oath as he did, swearing simultaneously to the agreement about the prisoners; the Admiral writing, however, that although the Emperor's frame was so enfeebled, and well-nigh wasted, yet he recognized in him the same prudence and judgment as ever.

His most Christian Majesty then told me besides that on the morrow the Bishop of Arras went to visit the said Admiral, and having commenced talking about the prisoners and their release, the Bishop said that many of the French had not fairly stated what they ought to pay for their revenues and pensions (*che molti delli Francesi non havevano giustamente dato in nota quello che dovevano pagare per le loro entrate et pensioni*), and that therefore a fuller declaration would be required for their release. To this the Admiral replied that if there were any of whom they had doubt they might give a list to the ambassador who was coming hither that he might verify the fact, as they would meet with no difficulty whatever; to which the Bishop not assenting he told the Admiral that it would be well for the Duke de Bouillon and the Constable's son to remain as hostages

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for all, and that thus all the others might be released; whereupon the Admiral replied very angrily that this proposal was contrary to the agreement, and that it would be quite sufficient for the two personages aforesaid to answer for themselves. The Bishop and the Admiral parted in great anger, but on the morrow Don Ruy Gomez having gone to visit the Admiral, the latter complained greatly of what the Bishop had said to him, and in reply Don Ruy Gomez evinced great surprise at the office performed by his right reverend Lordship, who had no commission whatever to that effect, and filled the Admiral (*et empì esso Sig^r. Armiraglio*) with fair words and hopes; "but," said the King, continuing his discourse, "as yet no result whatever is visible, and I spoke on the subject with M. de Lalain at great length, without being able to elicit anything but fair words, and at length I told him that should they not choose to release them they must not suppose that France would be therefore annihilated, as each of the prisoners has either sons or brothers, and their families will still exist, though as the Emperor and the King took the oath I cannot bring myself to believe that they will fail me (*che mi manchino*)."

Having thanked his Majesty for these particulars, I said that thus was it to be hoped, and by so much the more as it was also heard that the Imperialists seemed desirous of negotiating a good peace with his Majesty, who rejoined, "The Emperor spoke about it with the Admiral, and the Count de Lalain with me, but both sides limited themselves to general expressions, demonstrating goodwill without coming to anything in particular." After having answered some inquiries I spoke to him about affairs on the borders of Piedmont, which he said would he hoped be adjusted.

The King added that he supposed I had heard of the disturbances in England, and when I replied that they were known to me in part, he continued, "They wanted to rob the Queen's treasury, and plotted to put her to death, so that kingdom is more upside down than ever (*è più sotto sopra che mai*), and the Queen wishes for her husband, who cares but little about it (*et la Regina desidera il marito, et lei se ne cura poco*), but through the coming of these ambassadors whom the Queen is sending the future will be made manifest;" and with this the King closing the discourse I thanked him again in your Serenity's name, and took leave. When speaking about English affairs with the Constable, he said, "Ambassador! I will tell you a thing privately, and do not forget it, as for my own part I believe it will certainly come true. I am of opinion that ere long the King of England will endeavour to dissolve (*rompere*) his marriage with the Queen, and should this come to pass remember then this prophecy." General dissatisfaction is visible here, and great doubt of what may happen, though most persons believe that the release of the prisoners will be delayed until this year's season for warfare is over, the Imperialists perhaps suspecting that if they were set at liberty they might turn their thoughts to fresh undertakings.

Amboise, 14th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556. April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

458. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The suspicion induced apparently by the conspirators on the Isle of Wight has caused the government, in order to secure itself entirely, and discover on the spot whether any of the inhabitants were implicated, and at the same time to provide for its safety (the site being considered of importance, wherefore a certain castle there* is provided in ordinary with a garrison, guns, and ammunition,) to send thither the Marquis of Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral. The latter by reason of his office is bound to make the requisite military provision, both offensive and defensive, for the places on the coast, and to execute the commands of the crown, for which purpose I understand that he has had a large amount of guns and ammunition conveyed thither; whilst the Marquis of Winchester, being a personage in great esteem and authority, not merely in all the neighbouring country where his marquisate and estates are situate, but also on the island itself, will consequently be better able than anyone to ascertain whether clandestine designs in favour of the conspirators were on foot there, and by his presence and counsel easily provide for whatever shall be necessary.

Besides the precautions taken in the Isle of Wight, they cleverly (*destramente*) wrote all over the kingdom to have registers made of all able-bodied men in case of a necessity for arming; and it is told me that all the nobility and gentry of the country (*signori et nobili del paese*) have been desired to keep on the watch, and ready to present themselves on the first summons; many persons adding that an order has been issued for the recall of all English absentees, both those who have permission to reside abroad, and those who have not, without any exception, and that the proclamation will soon be printed. *And a certain rumour purporting that the conspirators had a special understanding with the King of France has been more rife than usual, and that he had promised them every sort of favour and assistance, perhaps in order to anticipate and to rid himself of the doubt and suspicion which grows upon him daily more and more* (che ogni dì li crescie maggiore), *that the Emperor and the King his son will by force endeavour not only to render themselves stronger and more secure than they are at present, but to make themselves absolute masters of this kingdom; nor for some time have these sentiments been merely written publicly from France, but are moreover confirmed* (cosi venendo già alcuni giorni di là publicamente non solo scritto, ma replicato); *a friend of mine, a person of authority, having lately seen a letter from M. de James* (sic), *French resident at Luxemburg, addressed to the French ambassador here, telling him that in that neighbourhood, by order of the Emperor and the King, ten companies of infantry have lately been raised, some others already on foot being filled up, all which are to serve in England, the King intending to bring them with him, having to return hither,*

* According to some notes made by Pietro Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in England in 1618, it seems that at that time the captain of the Isle of Wight received an annual salary of 20*l.*, and his garrison of nine soldiers 12*d. per diem* each.

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for the guard and security of his person, and he gives a preference to German and Flemish troops, because they are less hateful to the English than the Spaniards, or any other nation.

In conformity with these advices, although received after the truce, the merchants wrote recently from Flanders that some soldiery were being raised, but as no subsequent confirmation of the fact arrived it was not credited. It now seems that these last advices have revived the suspicion; and I know that when they were shown to Cardinal Pole from time to time as they came to hand, whereas previously he evinced disbelief of those received from the Court of France (although, to say the truth, they came from the Nuncio, resident there, a person considered acute and judicious), he remained in suspense about these from Luxemburg; the person who showed them to him not having chosen to say that they came through France, lest if they were true, and not artfully disseminated by the French, he might appear their partisan and apologist for the King's understanding with the conspirators (in modo che se fussero veri et non studiosamente seminati da Francesi, per mostrar il confidente di coloro et ricuoprir con questo et discolpar la intelligentia che havesse havuto dare (sic) [il Re ?] con li congiurati). *If, as premised by me, the advices be true, there would be cause for anxiety in every respect.*

In the meanwhile here, not only does there not seem to be any expectation of the arrival of King Philip with these fresh troops, but on the other hand an irritation and anger is manifested against the most Christian King, to whose court, two days ago, Lord Clinton was sent in haste, and so suddenly and in such confusion that neither he nor his attendants had time to provide themselves with many necessary articles of apparel, which for the sake of dispatch were supplied them from the Queen's wardrobe. According to report, besides offering congratulations on the truce, in conformity with the office performed at Brussels by Lord Paget, he will complain to his most Christian Majesty of the harbour which it is understood he gives to English rebels, contrary to the agreements and express treaty between the two crowns.

I am told that Lord Paget will settle the mode to be observed in the heading of Patents and Public Acts, which all commence with "Philip and Mary," enumerating first of all the titles of their realms, according to their order (*per l'ordine che tra essi tengono*), it not seeming by any means proper to the English ministry (*alli signori Inglesi*) that amongst these titles the kingdoms of Spain should take precedence of those of England and of France.

London, 14th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 18. Original Letter Book, penes me. Letter No. 71.

459. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday the Pope ordered consistory for the following Monday to give the cross to the legates, which he, however, did not do, the supposed reason being that the pecuniary supply for their departure

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was not yet made, on which account his Holiness did not choose to keep them so long confined to the house, as after receiving the cross they are accompanied by the cardinals beyond the gate of Rome, and thenceforth do not again show themselves in public.

It is said that Caraffa purposes making a very grand display, both as being cardinal—nephew of a pope, and also because he is an Italian, wishing to demonstrate in France the magnificence and dignity of this most noble province; so besides the Archbishops of Cosenza and Santa Severina, the Bishop of Pola, Giulio Orandino, *auditor di Ruota*, and other theologians, he will be accompanied by some sixty Roman, Neapolitan, and Bolognese noblemen, including many captains, and Marshal Strozzi, all with their attendants in livery, but at their masters' cost. It is also said that the Archbishop Orsino [Archbishop of Sta. Severina], son of the late Lord Valerio, and whom I knew at Padua, a very genteel personage, may with this opportunity remain Nuncio in France, whilst Commendone, Bishop of Zante, who accompanies Cardinal Motula, will remain with the King of England; and although he (Commendone) has received money for his outfit, he told me he could not stir without the aid of 300 crowns, and a certain monthly assignment on account of his salary, he being very poor. The defrayment of these costs will require a good sum of money, on the provision of which they are very intent.

On the day of the consistory, the Cardinal of Augsburg [Otho Trusches] departed very dissatisfied, although on that day he dined with the Pope, not in public, but at his little table (*tavolino*), where he rarely has a guest. His Holiness, after promising 10,000 crowns, gave him only 1,000, which the Cardinal said he would not have accepted had he not feared putting him into a passion; but when at Venice he purposes buying trifles to that amount, and sending them to his Holiness.

By letters from Naples dated the 11th it is heard that the donative of that kingdom has been fixed at a million of gold, and 25,000 crowns for the Viceroy, the Duke of Alva, as usual, the news of which donative will be conveyed to the King of England by the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna.

On Wednesday last, at the hour of the Pope's dinner, the Emperor's ambassador sent his brother, Don Rodrigo, to ask for audience, as he had some business of his Prince's to negotiate; and he also had a memorial presented to his Holiness, who, putting on his spectacles and beginning to read it, got into such a rage that, laying both memorial and spectacles on the table, he said in a loud voice in Spanish, "*God's life! let him not come.* (*Non vegni, vivit Dominus.*) We will give him the punishment he deserves; we will have his head cut off;" repeating the words "*head cut off*" several times, and saying, "We have already ordered that should he come there will be a short halter for him" (*Già havemo ordinato che venendo, li sia corta la capezza*); adding, "We have had too much patience; the processes have been drawn up; we shall send them to the Princes that the world may know that if we have not punished him, it was to prove how anxious we are for peace, as to avoid thwarting it we have put up with so much insolence from this man, whom we no longer hold to be ambas-

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sador." Having expelled Don Rodrigo from his presence, the Pope said to a number of persons who were present to see him dine, "Do not suppose that we failed to have him beheaded from lack of heart, as would to God we had not too much of that; but we acted thus in order not to impede the negotiation for peace, as the truce made by them is neither good, true, nor durable. It is necessary to make a good, true, and durable peace, or to declare open war, and to wage it more briskly than ever." Then, perceiving the Count of Montorio, he said, "If one of you our nephews had done what that man did, we would have had you beheaded;" and the Count replied, "We should have deserved it."

D. Garcilasso [de la Vega] having subsequently gone daily to the Pope for audience in vain, being kept waiting in the antechamber from three to five hours, departed yesterday morning for Naples to see some of his relations, and will then return hither, hoping in the meanwhile to receive some order from his Princes as to what he is to do.

The ambassador [Marquis de Sarria], who until now had not written anything to the Imperial Court about the affair of the gate, and of the altercation with the Pope, nor yet of the maltreatment constantly received from his Holiness, on the evening before last sent a very minute account of the whole to the Emperor and the King of England, and was heard to say, "The Pontiff bears me ill-will, and is right, as thus does he repay the good offices performed by me in his favour with my Princes, which pains me more than the injuries received here, as they will suppose that I deceived them when representing him as a good and holy Pontiff, and anxious for the welfare of Christendom."

On the night of the day when the Pope uttered the aforesaid words, the guns of the castle and of the palace were shotted, and the Pope's guard was doubled, their harquebusses being loaded, and the men keeping with their fires (*ad ordine con li suoi fuoghi*); it having been also said that there was a talk of seizing all the ambassador's attendants.

Concerning the "Reform," I hear from persons who say they had it from the Pope's own lips, that his Holiness, perceiving the diversity of the votes given by the few first-class members of the commission,* and considering that the matter involved both much time and great variety of opinion, has well nigh determined to issue an edict according to his own opinion, which is that in no case, not even from such as give spontaneously, should it be allowable to accept any present, whether demanded or offered voluntarily, for spiritual advantages (*per uso delle cose spirituali*); and that his Holiness dwelt particularly on the dispensation of marriages, as prohibited by law, saying that not only did he choose similar dispensations no longer to be conceded, but also wished that such as had been granted hitherto should (so far as possible) be remedied; but I do not know how it can come to pass that those who are married should become single.

Rome, 18th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* *See* before, March 28.

1556.
April 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

460. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 13th instant Lord Paget arrived here, who had audience of the King of Spain immediately, and has returned to his Majesty every day, holding long conversations with him, and I understand that the chief object of his discourse was to inspire the King with that hope, on his return to England, of his being crowned, which has never yet been given him by the Queen his consort; and besides performing this office in her name, he of himself, as it were, proposed various means for adoption whereby to obtain the desired result, with the consent of those who can be induced to give it, and without risk from those who might choose to oppose the measure. He also communicated to him several things which it is necessary to do in that kingdom at present, and to provide for there, hereafter; representing to him in detail what has been extorted (*ritratto*) from the confessions of a part of the prisoners, and what had been said [spontaneously?] by some, that the insurrection (*motto*) which they purposed raising had for object to make Lord Courtenay their king, and that amongst these conspirators are ten persons of quality, against whom there are not sufficient proofs to warrant capital punishment, nor yet so few as to justify acquittal, especially by reason of what they might do subsequently, using most earnest language to induce his Majesty to go to England as soon as possible, both for his own benefit and to comfort the Queen, adding moreover that in like manner as he should not despair of her giving him heirs, so may he rest assured that there is no time to lose for his going thither, as she is not of an age to be able to delay any longer.

Lord Paget himself, whom I visited, told me the King had answered him, that ten or twelve days after the coming hither of the King of Bohemia he would certainly go to England postwise, and without proceeding to Spain return to the Emperor after having remained some weeks with the Queen. Subsequently Lord Paget had audience of the Emperor, to whom he presented letters of credence as ambassador, and after performing the office of congratulation on the establishment of the truce, repeated what he had said to the King about the causes which ought to induce his Majesty to return to his consort. He then asked counsel of the Emperor, in the Queen's name, concerning the mode in which the affairs of the religion in England could be regulated, as of one who might be able to know, by reason of the many troubles sustained by him on this account in Germany, it being seen that the numerous executions failed to bring back those sectarians (*quelle genti*) to Catholic opinions, as had been hoped. The Emperor received him very kindly, reciprocating the courteous offices performed in the Queen's name, but I have been unable to learn what he said to the demand about the religion; but with regard to his most serene son's departure for England, he said it could not take place so immediately, because, as he had heard, there was necessary cause for the coming of the King of Bohemia, who he thought would be here in the course of the month of May.

It is very evident from the language of the chief Spaniards of these two courts that neither the arguments adduced by Paget, nor the adroit means employed by him to make the King go to England

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will take effect, unless he has a certain promise from the Queen that she will crown him, in virtue of such authority as it is said she might legally exercise, and with the support of those who may be dependent on their Majesties by reason of offices and benefits received from them. (*Si conosce dal parlar assai chiaro dei principali Spagnuoli di queste corti, che S. M. R., nè per le ragioni dette da Paget, nè per gli accorti modi ch' egli usa per farla andare in Inghilterra, ella non si moverà se dalla Regina non li viene data certezza che Lei sia per incoronarla con quella auttorità che da se stessa, dicono, poter usar per le leggi, et col favore di quelli che dalle loro Maestà possono dipendere per officij, et beneficij havuti.*) The French ambassador uses all diligence to ascertain whether his Majesty will go to England or not; and according to news-letters which he says he has received from thence, he shows that the coronation may take place, and that Queen Maria of Hungary is the person who well nigh daily writes autograph letters on this subject to the Queen of England, exhorting her to put aside every consideration and her timidity, and to crown her husband, and assuring her that otherwise she will fail in what is due to herself and to right, and that consequently she will not have him (the King) with her.

It is said that Queen Maria acts thus by reason of the extreme desire she has to resume the Regency of Flanders, in which she cannot succeed unless the King depart hence. The said French ambassador negotiates every day about the release of the prisoners, and says he always finds fresh difficulties about the decision.

Their Majesties have despatched the Lieutenant d'Amont, appointed ambassador in ordinary to the most Christian King, with whom the chief personages of these courts are [now] as much satisfied for the honour done to M. de Lalain, who went for the establishment of the truce, as they were at first malcontent, owing to the delay in expediting him.

During the last few days the King has practised tilting with other noblemen in the park, with the intention subsequently of jousting in public, which was lately appointed for to-day, and his Majesty having said that it should be deferred until the arrival of the King of Bohemia, the lady at whose suit it was proclaimed informed Benavides, the challenger, that by allowing it to be deferred for so long a while, and also for a doubtful event, he will either prejudice his own honour or the love which he seems to bear her; so King Philip, moved by the prayers of the said challenger and of other gentlemen, has allowed them to hold it when they please, and all are ready for next Sunday.

The deputies of these States have not yet answered the King's demand for one per cent. on moveables, and two per cent. on immoveables, on which he insists, they considering it beyond their means; *so everybody murmurs greatly, the blame being laid on their governor the Duke of Savoy, who, at the suggestion of a Florentine, persuaded his Majesty to make so novel and injurious a demand.*

Brussels, 19th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
April 21.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

461. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

In addition to the precautions announced in my last of the 14th, which were taken for the Queen's security, by reason of the suspicion that the conspirators, besides plundering the Exchequer, had plotted against her royal person, and that she therefore still continued to have greater guard kept, and to live more secluded than usual, it has moreover been determined, lest during these summer months (which are considered more perilous than the others) any sudden rising should take place, to fit out a certain number of ships, which, although destined, as is said by Cardinal Pole, for Ireland, to quell the late disturbances there, lest they spread hither likewise, are nevertheless, as I hear, first of all to put into Portsmouth Harbour, near Hampton, and to anchor in other harbours towards the south-west (*Ponente Garbino*). This implies that they are for the purpose of yet more curbing and intimidating the population by these prompt and speedy precautionary measures in every direction against all ill-disposed persons.

Sir Anthony Kingston died last week of "stone," which seized him whilst on his way to prison here under escort, a more fortunate catastrophe for him than to have died a violent death, as would have been the case, for it seems that on examination he confessed to having been an accomplice in the conspiracy, which, as it is said clearly, had for object to kill not only the Queen, but all foreigners indiscriminately, so as for the future entirely to rid all aliens of any wish ever again to come to England. Sir Anthony Kingston's estates, however, will not be confiscated, he not having been, according to the statutes of the realm, "*indicted*" (such is the term in use here) publicly, it being the common custom to serve an "*indictment*" on any accused person.

The Lord Treasurer has returned from the Isle of Wight, after issuing there, and throughout the adjoining territory, such orders that at the slightest signal the entire population will be quick and ready to do the Queen good service; and his attendants say that neither on the island, nor still less in Hampshire, did they find anyone implicated in the plot or even suspected of having had a hand in it, everybody remaining in office and in trust. The Treasurer also made sure of Portsmouth, so that there is no fear of any commotion in those parts.

During the last three months a Spanish courier, by name Gamboa, has often gone to and fro between this and Brussels, he having also been sent off last evening by the president here, Figueroa, not without suspicion of some secret negotiation between him and the most Serene Queen; which doubt having induced me to investigate the matter, I have at length heard from a good quarter that they talk (che si tratta) *of removing hence "Miladi" Elizabeth and taking her to Spain; nor was it chosen to tell me anything further* (non mi essendo stato o voluto dir più oltra). *Whether the project take effect or not, it will be solely for the sake of securing themselves against any disturbance which might arise on her account, the danger being more at hand and more certain in this quarter than in any*

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other, the affections and wishes of the majority already inclining towards her, owing to the small hope of descent from the most Serene Queen. As the negotiation, supposing it to be true, is kept very secret, it will be well for your Serenity to do the like, by enjoining, should it seem fit to you, such silence as the matter deserves.

The Queen of Scotland has sent to congratulate her Majesty on the conclusion of the truce, the King of France also having through his ambassador here given her account of the loving offices passed in the name of the Emperor and of her consort by the Count de Lalain with his most Christian Majesty.

The last summaries of your Serenity's letters, dated the 29th ult., have been communicated as usual to Cardinal Pole and the Lords of the Council.

London, 21st April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

462. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Clinton arrived here to-day with 36 posters, having been sent by the Queen of England as ambassador for the purpose, so far as is heard hitherto, of presenting congratulations on the conclusion of the truce, and again offering her Majesty as mediatrix for the peace between these Princes, but he has not yet had audience of his Majesty.

Blois, 22nd April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Original Letter Book, penes me. Letter No. 74, pp. 245, 246, 247.

463. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear from a person, who says he knows it for certain, that the Pope's familiars (*questi del Papa*) have some idea of causing the Imperial ambassador's servant, who accompanied his master outside the gate, to be hanged, and also that yesterday in the Treasury congregation the attorney-general (*il Fiscale*) proposed that as the Pope no longer acknowledged the Marquis of Sarria for ambassador, he should be made to pay the ordinary gabels, but the Treasury (*La Camera*) determined not to do so without the Pope's order. The legates are intent on getting themselves ready, most especially Cardinal Caraffa, who is incurring very great expense for himself and his retinue, for I hear that to each of the gentlemen who accompany him he has sent 21 yards of damask and 12 of velvet, having also provided himself with some of the finest in Rome as a present for the most Christian King. I understand that he has hitherto received 15,000 ducats, which have all been expended on the household and attendants he takes with him. Cardinal Motula has not yet received any money, neither has Commendone, who is to remain nuncio with the King of England, although he begins to make preparations, and in order to do so has sold one of the offices held by him.

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Yesterday consistory was held, but the Pope did not give the cross to the legates because he says he chooses them to depart immediately on receiving it, according to the ancient rite.

Twelve renegades (*marani*) were burned lately at Ancona, and the others, 42 in number, have offered, should their lives be spared, besides their property, which amounts to 50,000 ducats, to give an additional 40,000, and are content to be sent to the galleys; so I understand that letters have been written to stay the executions until further orders; it being said that the report of the Turkish fleet's putting to sea in great force has caused this countermand, lest with thispretext it come to Ancona, and they regret having gone so far.

Rome, 25th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

464. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

In the renunciations of the States made heretofore by the Emperor to his son, he reserved for himself Burgundy, which he has now renounced to his Majesty, which at that time he did not choose to do, chiefly because being at war with the King of France, and the agreements between their Majesties stipulating the neutrality of the Burgundians (*et stando tra l'una et l'altra Maestà li capitoli che quei communi sudditi dovessero esser neutrali*), he could not treat the confirmation of the neutrality had the renunciation been made then.

Since this act, he says daily to all his familiars and to those who negotiate with him, that he shall leave for Spain this summer, and that he has given orders to Don Luis de Caravajal to prepare the fleet for this voyage; and six days ago he read with King Philip the rolls of the persons of his court whom he purposes leaving in the King's service, and of those to be dismissed, and whom he takes with him; and the Queens [Eleanor and Maria of Austria] again show signs of accompanying his Imperial Majesty as they did the last time. Finzino, the secretary for the German tongue, has said that before his departure we shall hear of the renunciation of the Empire, though few persons expect him to put this resolve into execution; but several are of opinion that he speaks thus for convenient respects of his own, *amongst which the principal one is because should King Philip have to go for his coronation to England, and meet with any impediment, the Emperor through his authority and by fitting out the armada* (l'armata), *may facilitate this design.*

The day before yesterday Lord Paget went to visit the French ambassador [Basse Fontaine], and in the course of conversation Paget told him he had been sent to congratulate the Emperor on the truce, his Queen having done the like by his most Christian Majesty. The Frenchman replied somewhat angrily that he knew him to have come nominally for that purpose, though the true cause was for the sake of inducing King Philip to go to England, by giving him sure hope that he should be crowned; and that he (Basse Fontaine) informed him (Paget) that should they purpose

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doing this without the consent of the people of England, his most Christian Majesty, having named that kingdom in the capitulation [of the truce], would be compelled to favour it, in order that it should not be forced to do anything against its will (*et che li faceva sapere, che trattandosi di far ciò senza la volontà di quelli del Regno, saria costretta S. M. Christ^ma^, per esser da lei denominato esso Regno nella capitolatione, favorirlo, perchè egli non fosse astretto a far cosa contraria al voler suo*); and to this the English ambassador merely replied that he was come to perform the aforesaid office of congratulation.

Lord Paget, when visiting me yesterday, said King Philip had assured him that after the coming of King Maximilian, he would go to England at the beginning of June; and when Paget inquired what his Majesty would do in case the King of Bohemia did not come, he answered him that even in that case he would keep his promise, and depart postwise with a few attendants. Lord Paget, in the meanwhile, will go to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle and inspect several towns in these provinces, returning hither in due time to accompany his Majesty.

The French ambassador has complained to the King of Spain of being unable to obtain any favourable decision from the Bishop of Arras about getting back his prisoners, and said that this being done contrary to the promises given heretofore by his Majesty's commissioners, he demanded justice from him; and that his most Christian Majesty had this matter so much at heart, because it was principally on account of these prisoners that he made the truce, in order to prove to those who risked their lives, and to as many other gentlemen as may do so, that his Majesty has the same care of them as for his own welfare; praying King Philip most earnestly to have this carried into effect, saying that otherwise he did not know how the truce could last, and that his King would stand acquitted before the world. The King replied that this matter being one between private individuals, the resolve must necessarily proceed from them, and that for the sake of justice, and for the maintenance of the truce, he would not fail doing the best he could; and told him kindly that after the arrival of M. de Lalain it would be more easy to despatch this business.

The Pope has taken it amiss that they should not have sent him a special envoy to announce the oath taken to the truce, but nevertheless, in order not to fail performing such offices as appertain to the head of Christendom, he had chosen to appoint legates to their Majesties and to the most Christian King to negotiate the peace, *but the chief ministers of these courts say openly that the appointment of Cardinal Caraffa to France makes them suspect that it may be for the purpose of negotiating matters to break the truce rather than to make the peace.*

The son of the Count di Populi [de Pepoli?] has departed, after kissing the Emperor's and the King's hands, without having been able to obtain either the title of duke or the 5,000 crowns annual revenue, nor the other things demanded by him for his services, he having deserted the Pope. He was answered courteously, that when the opportunity offered the King would not fail him. The

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ambassadors from Nuremberg have also departed, having been much honoured by their Majesties, with whom they performed most humble offices, making loving offers in case of need.

The deputies of these provinces arrived last evening to answer the King's demand for the one per cent. on immoveables and two per cent. on moveables; and it is understood they are commissioned not to consent to it, but to promise him as much as a million of crowns, and even half as much more, rather than ever condescend to such a demand.

Three days ago Don Ruy Gomez went to Antwerp to contract an exchange (*un cambio*) of 400,000 crowns, to pay the officials of the two courts, those of the Emperor being creditors for 22 arrears of salary (22 *paghe*), and the King's for 12; well-nigh the whole of which sum will be expended for this purpose; and he will endeavour to raise another of 200,000 (both to be paid in Spain), to satisfy the cavalry and infantry on these frontiers.

Before his departure a joust was held in the park, the chief on one side being the King, and on the other the said Don Ruy Gomez. The jousters were seven on each side, making their appearance with very handsome liveries, and the King chose those on his side to be of various nations, having selected the Spaniards Don Antonio de Toledo, Don Rodrigo de Benavides, and Don Luis de Caravajal, the Flemish Count d'Egmont, the German Count Schwartzburg, and the Italian Marquis d'Hirazzi (*sic*). Those on the side of Don Ruy Gomez were all Spaniards, and the judges were the Duke of Medina Celi, the Prince of Orange, and Don Juan Manrique. The King's side was the most commended, principally for the fine strokes made by Count d'Egmont, and they will also joust this evening and to-morrow.

Brussels, 26th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

465. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Ruy Gomez returned from Antwerp, having contracted for the exchanges of the 600,000 crowns to be disbursed in Spain at the rate of 23 per cent. interest, and in four or six days the officials of the courts of the Emperor and the King will receive their salaries.

The Bishop of Arras announces that the Emperor this day commissioned M. de la Chaux to send cogent orders to Holland for preparation of the ships required for his voyage to Spain, having declared that in the course of May he will quit Brussels and go to Ghent, remaining there until all he requires is ready; and to-day the Queens have left for Tournai, where they say they shall arrange all their affairs and then return, in order to depart with the Emperor. The Emperor's chief butler, M. de la Chaux, says he has been desired to go to Burgundy to take possession of that county (*contea*) in the name of King Philip, and will depart speedily; and having asked the Emperor's leave to remain a month with his relations after performance of this office, his Majesty allowed him but

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eight days. But when he was asked by a friend (as he is a very free-spoken nobleman) whether the Emperor's departure would take place so immediately, he answered yes, adding coldly, that some accident, as on a former occasion, might make him change his mind. Concerning this resolve, and with regard to his going so immediately as his Majesty says, discourse varies; some say he will go thither (to Ghent) to carry into effect this his firm design, and especially now as by letters from M. de Lalain, and from other signs, he strongly suspects the King of France of not observing the truce and of favouring the affairs [of the Moors?] in Africa; and he is supposed to circulate this report for other personal respects, especially to enable him by keeping an armada in readiness to facilitate the coronation in England of his son, whose journey to England continues also to be reported, as there is but little hope of the coming of the King of Bohemia.

Should the Emperor depart and not choose to be followed by the ambassadors, I shall remain with the King until the arrival of the ambassador Surian; and on the King's subsequent departure for England, after accompanying him as far as Calais, I will return home, as I am most anxious to do, that I may more conveniently remedy my disease of the "stone" than I can do here.

Brussels, 28th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

466. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Of the prisoners brought to the bar only two of the ringleaders were convicted,* there not having been then time for the others, who will be despatched in due course (*di mano in mano*), it having been told me that they are all to be judged this week.

Of the two above mentioned, one is of the Throckmorton family, a gentleman (*nobile*), and a person who, although suspected with regard to religion, yet nevertheless, considering his age, which does not amount to 28 years, has the reputation of being a man of spirit and ability, and was a long while in Italy and at Venice. He most stoutly persisted in denying all the charges brought against him, although he was convicted on the evidence of the conspirators themselves† in his own presence, they being brought face to face with each other. He defended himself with great boldness and eloquence, hoping that the twelve jurymen would not so easily agree to convict him as they did, but after being sentenced he became of another mind, humbly imploring pardon, and beginning freely to confess his crimes.

The other is a man called Wdal (*sic*), keeper of one of the fortresses in the Isle of Wight, where he was to receive the conspirators.

They were sentenced and declared traitors, being consequently

* John Throgmorton and Thomas Uvedale, *alias* Wodall, were arraigned at the Sessions House in Southwark, on the 21st April 1556. (*See* Machyn's Diary, p. 104, and Verney Papers, p. 70.)

† "The accusars" [were] "Master Bedyll and Master Dethyke." (*See* Machyn, as above.)

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condemned to die, according to the letter of the law, in conformity with which they were both executed this morning, having been first drawn at the horse's tail (*tirati a coda di cavallo*) through the city to the public place of execution, and then hanged, but not let die entirely, for the rope being cut and the bodies taken down from the gibbet instantaneously, they being thus alive, their middles were cut open and their entrails taken out and thrown on the fire prepared at the foot of the gallows, after which they were quartered in four quarters (*da poi squartati in quattro quarti*), which will be placed with their heads on the city gates.

They died a Christian death, having confessed and communicated.

The execution was put off for four more days, because Throckmorton gave signs of discovering other particulars and other persons, but this is believed to have been rather for the sake of gaining time than from his having made any communication of importance.

I am told that the business and understanding which the conspirators had with the most Christian King were by means of one Bertoville, who, having been outlawed from France a long while ago, withdrew to this country, where he was pensioned, and lately, perhaps for this purpose, returned into favour with the King and crossed over to France, and being very well acquainted with English affairs, and known for a turbulent soldier, all men of his profession here considered him admirably adapted (attissimo) *not only to take part as mediator in such a matter, but to conduct it. It is also told me that Throckmorton had an understanding with him, and moreover spoke with the French ambassador here, which he had at first denied, and that they had been conceded a castle in Normandy as a retreat in which to coin false money, in order perhaps thus to increase the sum to be robbed from the Exchequer, so as more largely to provide for their projects.*

The courier Gamboa returned from beyond sea immediately, having performed the journey to and fro in six days, and scarcely had he arrived here ere the Queen despatched Francesco Piamontese, an indication of business and negotiations extraordinary; so it is no wonder that here they should not be understood, as they are transacted solely through the medium of one or two of the Queen's chief confidants, her Majesty not unbosoming herself (non allargandosi) *to the others. From Brussels* (di là) *you may perhaps receive some hint about what was told me lately with regard to the removal hence of Miladi Elizabeth, although there has been vigorous* (gagliardo) *debate and opposition, by reason of the stir it might create. It has nevertheless been told me that the matter is urged* (sollicitata) *and earnestly canvassed* (procurata) *by the Queen in person, who conceives that by removing her* (*Elizabeth*) *bodily from hence* (che levandosi la persona di costei di quà), *there will be a riddance of all the causes for scandal and disturbances, she* (*I understand*) *having said plainly that she will not marry, even were they to give her the King's son,* or find any other greater Prince. I again respectfully remind your Serenity to enjoin secrecy about this.*

* Don Carlos, then in his eleventh year.

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I have heard, according to intelligence received by the Queen, that the Earl of Devonshire was invited and called to Ferrara by the Duke solely for the purpose of tempting and persuading him to withdraw to France and adhere to his most Christian Majesty (et appoggiarsi al servitio del Re), *promising him honourable provision, and he has been considered sage, for not having inclined or given ear to any of the offers made him.**

The King's letters confirm the assurance that his coming hither will be delayed by the visit to Brussels of the King of Bohemia, solely during the first days of the interview, his Majesty evincing greater wish to return than usual, and for the need of the Queen, please God it may be so.

London, 28th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

467. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Lord Clinton has had audience of the King, whom he congratulated in the name of the Queen of England on the truce, and then offered all her power as mediatrix for the peace between the Emperor and his son, and his most Christian Majesty, who replied in gracious and becoming language, and with regard to treating about peace, said that as hitherto he had not failed to draw nigh to it (*accostarsi*), so would he do for the future, and should always be glad of her Majesty's mediation, for whose sake he would not fail to do much more than for any other mediator. I will not omit to mention the assurance given me on good authority, that, although his most Christian Majesty will not refuse such fair terms of peace as shall be proposed to him, yet will he not enter upon any negotiation until the release of the prisoners be settled, about whom, as the Imperial ambassador appointed to this court is expected here to-morrow, some further decision will be formed than has been made hitherto.

At a subsequent audience, Lord Clinton told the King that his Queen knew that the security enjoyed in this kingdom by her rebels encouraged others to meditate fresh disturbances, wherefore it would be well for him to make some demonstration against them, and by so much the more as in the agreement between these two kingdoms the rebels of the one were not to be secure in the other. To this the King answered him that his kingdom was so large and free to every one, that he could not know so particularly either who entered it, nor who went out of it, but that he heard with regret of the commotions in England; *notwithstanding* which since several *days, there are several Englishmen here at the court, who were subsequently outlawed from England* (li qual poi sono

* In the Domestic Calendar, pp. 76, 77, it is seen that Edward Courtenay left Venice for Ferrara on the 21st March 1556, and remained there four or five days. The words of the deciphered paragraph are: "Ha saputo (come intendo) la Serenissima Regina che non per altro fu invitato il Conte di Danzier, et chiamato a Ferrara, che per haver tentato quel Duca di persuaderlo a retirarsi in Franza et appoggiarsi al servitio del Re, promettendoli honorato intrattenimento; et è stato riputato savio, non havendo inclinato, nè dato orecchia ad alcuna offerta che li fusse fatta."

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stati banditi d' Inghilterra), *and are said to have come to ask favour from his most Christian Majesty.** The said Lord Clinton departed on the day before yesterday, the King having given him a chain worth a thousand crowns; nor did I omit to visit him in your Serenity's name, I myself having also known him very well, and I performed such office with him as the occasion required.

Advices from Rome announce the Pope's resolve to send Legates to the Emperor and to his most serene son, and also to his most Christian Majesty, to negotiate the peace, and that Cardinal Caraffa will come hither.

Blois, 1st May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1 May. Original Letter Book penes me. Letter No. 75, pp. 251, 252.

468. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome. to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, after he had dined, the Pope came into the audience chamber, where I was with the Count of Montorio; his Holiness said, "We have commissioned our Legates to negotiate our cause, no less than that of the most serene Republic, and even more, for we require nothing whatever from those Princes and the others, whom we choose to have as our subjects and not for equals.† We choose the legates to go, although the negotiation for peace is not so far advanced as was thought, that they may ascertain what the Powers think of doing, and we shall know how to regulate ourselves. You have seen how, with God's assistance, we have placed these Imperialists at a distance, and humbled their pride. We have the heart to punish both of them should they give us cause. The King of France is an obedient son, and when we have occasionally denied his requests he took it quietly and obeyed us. The Emperor on the other hand chose to stand upon his grandeur, so we were compelled to show our teeth, for the honour of this Holy See and of Italy; we will never fail to do our duty, even at the cost of our life; because this charge having been given us by the goodness of God, it is necessary that there be done by us what we heretofore urged our predecessors to do, nor do we fear any lack of men or money. You have seen our fine infantry and cavalry, and you must know that we can very easily muster 20,000 foot, by means of our good regulations, and those of our nephews." And here he dilated in praise of them, saying he was sorry to deprive himself of the Cardinal, to which I replied that the Cardinal was able, prudent, and good, but that the Count remained with him, so that he might say, "*uno evulso non deficit alter aureus.*" The Pope rejoined, "We consider them such, and were they of another sort, even if our sons and not our nephews, we would kick them out of doors," to use his Holiness' own words, as I endeavour to do always.‡

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* *See also* Foreign Calendar, 1555–1558, entry No. 496, April 12, 1556, p. 222.

† Volendo loro et gli altri per sudditi et non per compagni.

‡ Et se fussero d'altra sorte, quando ne fussero figlioli non che nipoti li scacciaressimo da noi con li calzi; per dir le proprie parole di sua Santità come mi sforzo di fare sempre.

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The Count seemed very much pleased with this conversation, to which the Pope added, "To return to the affair of the peace, we have not much hope, unless the necessity which led them to make the truce lead them to make peace, for they made the truce under compulsion, we by our rigour inducing them to do so; wherefore it is not to be wondered at, should they continue it, for according to physicians *quæ approssimata juvant continuata sanant.* We think they wish for peace, but neither of them will be the first to ask it. A mediator is required, and who could be a more fitting one than us, who are their father and lord? We will tell you the causes which move us to send the Legates, in order that if those most sage lords should not think it well to do so, they may give us counsel, as we will listen to it willingly, and if good (as we choose to believe) we will accept it, as in truth we have always allowed ourselves to be moved by reason, and on hearing an opinion better than our own we have followed it joyfully, nor did we act like some persons, who, when they have lost their opinion, go to supper with a bad appetite."

Rome, 1st May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Letter Book, penes me. Letter No. 78, pp. 256–259.

469. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal of Tournon has received letters from France dated the 12th ulto. that the truce continued with marks of great good will on the part of the kings, so it may be expected to last the whole of the time, and that at this commencement it was undesirable to make any alteration by means of peace. He also says that the French noblemen who kissed the Emperor's hand found his frame very wasted and in a bad way; but that his mind was in a very good state, and that the inquiries which he made of them and his replies were most discreet. These letters, and others from the Imperial court dated the 12th and 19th, which do not speak of the peace, have caused the Pope to delay the despatch of the Legates; and a great personage writes in cipher from France that the Constable took it amiss that the Admiral did not greatly resent the Emperor's reply to him when he said that then it was not the time to release the prisoners, the intention being to assign their ransom at the end of three months, but not to release them; and that the Constable exclaimed that this might cause the rupture of the truce. The Duke of Ferrara has been angry by reason of the non-performance of the promise made him, but the matter was subsequently adjusted; the Imperialists consider that the Duke has an understanding with the King of France, stipulated by the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The Imperial ambassador, perceiving the Pope's firm resolve no longer to negotiate with him, has determined to send to the court [at Brussels] his brother Don Rodrigo, who departed at a late hour yesterday; and by reason of the favour which, as a Portuguese, he (the ambassador) enjoys with Don Ruy Gomez, he will do whatever he pleases at that court, and if removed hence he will be given some honorable appointment; nor will they, perhaps, give him any successor of rank.

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The court here doubts greatly whether either of the Legates will go on their legation; but I refer myself to what the Pope told me with his own lips; the Count of Montorio having also told me that his brother would depart on the 11th instant. Some persons moreover say that Cardinal Caraffa will go alone, first to France, and then to the Emperor, to avoid sending another person so much his inferior in every respect, with the suspicion of his not being admitted. What I can say is, that Cardinal Caraffa is quite ready, in very pompous array; and that Motula (I do not yet call him Pisa) has not received so much as one single ducat, although he has provided what is required for his journey on his own account, to the value of about 3000 crowns.

To-day, an accident occurred which may increase the Pope's anger against the Imperial ambassador. The catch-poles arrested a poor man in front of his house, whereupon some of Marquis Sarria's attendants released him. The catch-poles reinforced themselves, and, laying in wait for some of his household, seized five of them when they came forth, although none of them had been present at the rescue, which has greatly troubled the ambassador and his friends.

Rome, 2nd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 3. **470.** Cardinal Pole to Pope Paul IV.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The Abbot of San Saluto, of whom Pole has availed himself during many years much to his satisfaction, for the public service, and lately in the affair of the peace, is returning now to Rome, and Pole thinks it fitting to give this testimonial of him to the Pope, kissing his Holiness' feet. The Abbot will give the Pope, should he please, more particular account of that matter, and Pole has charged him also, should he meet Cardinal Caraffa on the road, to do the like by his lordship. It remains for him to beseech the Pope to be gracious to Parpaglia and to favour him in whatever he may require, shewing that he has valued the services rendered by him in Pole's company to his Holiness and the Apostolic See.

London, 3rd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 3? * **471.** Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Has thought it opportune to send the decrees passed here [in the synod] to the Pope by their [confidant] Messer Marianno Vittorio, who will be able to give detailed account of them, and of whatever else may be necessary, to his Holiness, communicating everything in the first place to Morone, that he may be guided by his loving and prudent advice in everything. Of Vittorio himself Pole will say nothing farther, being aware that Morone knows him very well, and by reason of his goodness and virtue loves and esteems him, as Pole has done always.

[London, 3rd May 1556?]

[*Italian.*]

* No date of time or place in MS.

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MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

472. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa.

By his attendant Messer Marianno Vittorio, the bearer of this letter, is sending to the Pope the decrees passed in the synod, and particular information about what relates to the affairs of the religion in England, with which he is well acquainted, and as Pole is writing to the Pope on the subject, it is unnecessary for him to say more about it to Caraffa.

[From London, 3rd May 1556?]

[*Italian.*]

May 3.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. pp. 168–174.

473. Marco Antonio Faitta† to Ippolito Chizzola Doctor in Divinity.‡

Through the return to Italy of "our" Messer Michiel§ I give detailed account of events here, and of the well being of his most illustrious and right reverend Lordship [Pole], our common master, who was ordained a presbyter on the 20th of last [March] and consecrated on the 22nd, with the intention of making his entry into Canterbury, and receiving the *pallium* in the cathedral there, on the feast of the Annunciation; but for certain reasons this proposed intention not seeming fit to the most serene Queen, his right reverend Lordship determined to take it in London in one of the principal churches of his diocese; so on Lady-day (*il di della Annunciata*) [25th March], being accompanied by many lords and barons, and by some members of the Council, he went to a church called St. Mary of the Arches, where shortly after his entry its parishioners presented him with a paper praying that his right reverend Lordship would deign to commence (*si contentasse di cominciar*) by giving some spiritual food to those souls which God had committed to his charge; wherefore on the conclusion of the ceremonies, and after receiving the *pallium*, thus unprepared, his right reverend Lordship determined to salute his congregation briefly, as follows:—

"On my present coming into this church for the purpose which I had given orders to have explained to you, by means of a sermon to be delivered by a person learned and from long experience very suited to his office, its parishioners presented me with a paper praying me with great earnestness and affection to perform this act in person, and to commence by tendering spiritual food to those souls committed to my care. I have not only resolved not to deny a demand so just, but have even derived the greatest consolation thence, remembering that in the whole course of my life none of my actions have ever yielded me greater satisfaction than such as

* No date of time or place in MS.

† Marco Antonio Faitta was the secretary of Cardinal Pole, as appears by his signature to his master's will, which he witnessed and sealed at Lambeth on the 4th of October 1558.

‡ Ippolito Chizzola, a native of Brescia, although he confuted Vergerio, and wrote treatises in defence of the Roman Catholic Church, was accused at Rome of preaching sermons in Venice tainted with Lutheranism; a fact worthy of record, as his correspondence with Cardinal Pole's secretary affords indirect proof of the liberal sentiments prevalent in the household of the last Roman Catholic Primate of England.

§ Probably some kinsman of the Ambassador Giovanni Michiel.

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tended to the honour and glory of God, to which His Divine Majesty vouchsafed to call me, in like manner as on this present occasion, by feeding the souls of those committed to my charge ; amongst whom there may perhaps be some who will listen to me rather from curiosity, or to comment on what I say, and to such I shall observe that any other learned and elegant scholar might satisfy them vastly better than I can (*qualunque altro dotto et elegante homo potrà di gran longo meglio de me sadisfar*). But there may also be some who will listen to me for the mere fame (*per mera fama*) of the Word of God, and these I am ready to satisfy, nor will I ever suffer that from any defect of mine there be applied to me those words of holy writ concerning the people of Israel—

'Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui eis frangeret.'*

Neither will I imitate those masters who, eating white bread, give black and unsifted to their servants. I shall give to you the same that I myself am used to eat, and this bread is nothing but the Word of God, which, received in the form and sense wherein it is offered, produces miraculous effects, and bears the fruit of life for him who embraces it, and, as it is written—

'Tamquam imber qui descendet de cœlo, et illuc ultra non revertitur, sed inebriat terram et infundit eam, et germinare eam facit.'" †

Alluding then to the cause of his coming he said,—

"You must know that the cause of my coming to England was induced by my having been appointed Legate many months since, by the holiness of the Pope, who is Christ's vicar, and the supreme head of His church upon earth, for the sake of reconciling this kingdom to God, from whom it had so miserably severed itself, like a limb from its head, and to bring it back to the unity of the church and to the obedience of the Apostolic See (*et ridurlo alla unità della chiesa et obedientia della Sede Apostolica*). At present I am again sent as Legate to this church of Canterbury in particular, and to all those dependent on its diocese. As this is the first time of my entering any church subject to my care, I imagine that you will not expect of me any other sermon or discourse, since I merely came to take the archiepiscopal *pallium*, which I purposed receiving in the principal church of my diocese, and gave orders accordingly, but being prevented on several accounts I was compelled to receive the investiture here, and as on the first entry of anyone into any place it is usual to salute the bystanders, so also shall I do, saluting you in the manner taught by Jesus Christ to his apostles, to whom he said—

'In quamcumque domum intraveritis, dicite, Pax huic domui.'

And thus saluting you with all affection and charity I say to you peace be unto you, peace to ye men and women, peace to ye old and young, and to every description of person here present be there

* "The young children ask bread and no man breaketh it unto them." (Lamentations iv.)

† "And I will cause the shower to come down in his season; there shall be showers of blessing." (Ezekiel xxxiv., 26. Oxford edition, 1859.)

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peace. Christ taught this form of salutation to his apostles, in order that into whatever house they entered they might give it that peace (*acciò che in ciascuna casa che entrassero li dessero deta pace*), and finding therein the children of peace, peace might rest thereon. And so likewise here, should there be the children of peace, the peace of God, in which consists all the happiness that man can desire or imagine, will remain with them, and this is that peace which not only gives quiet to man on earth, but, moreover, ineffable joy to the angels in heaven, who, manifesting to the world the counsel of God and the approach of peace (*essi manifestandosi il consiglio di Dio et approssimandosi la pace al mondo*), that is to say, Jesus Christ the blessed, commenced singing with so much joy and rejoicing (*con tanta gioia e giubilo*)—

'Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.'"

Proceeding then to explain the ceremony and signification of the *pallium*, he said that—

"So long ago as in the time of the primitive church, when anyone was consecrated as archbishop, by which consecration a power was conferred of such a nature as to be supreme after that of Christ's vicar on earth, yet it was not lawful to exercise such power until after having received this *pallium*, which being taken from the body of St. Peter and placed on the archbishop elect, merely signified that as his power and authority proceeded from that body, so likewise in all his actions he was bound to render a corresponding obedience, like that of members to their head. Thus our holy mother church, ever guided by the Holy Spirit, ordained this ceremony, lest the archbishops, having such great authority and detaching themselves from their head, might cause much turmoil and disorder in the church, instead of acknowledging this power as held neither of themselves nor of others, but solely of Christ's vicar, who is the Roman Pontiff, so that by this regulation (*questo ordine*) the unity of the church might be preserved for ever. And though in byegone times it was greatly disturbed by certain archbishops and patriarchs, it has nevertheless been seen for a notable example that those who acted thus, together with the countries committed to their government, have been by God most severely punished, as were the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria, who, having strayed and separated themselves from this unity, passed by the just judgment of God under the cruel tyranny and insupportable yoke of the Turks, under which they exist so miserably for so long a while, as is notorious to everybody. The Archbishop of Ravenna in like manner of yore greatly opposed this unity, but at length perceiving his error was reconciled to and rejoined this head. Thus then an archbishop cannot exercise the power given him by the act of consecration until he receive authority to do so by means of this *pallium*, taken as I have said from the body of St. Peter, and transmitted to him by Christ's vicar.

"They are now-a-days made of lambs' wool, the *pallia* being consecrated by placing them near the body of St. Peter, and they are afterwards forwarded to such as have been consecrated as arch-

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bishops. They are made of this lowly material as a contrast to the rich ornaments of gold and jewels usually worn by archbishops, and in the form of a cross, to let them understand that all the power and authority given them by Christ's vicar proceeds and is derived from the source of that immaculate Lamb (*dal fonte di quell' immaculato Agnello*), of which is written in the Apocalypse—

'Dignus est Agnus qui occisus est accipere virtutem et honorem et gloriam.'

"The archbishops then, being invested with this *pallium* made of the wool of lambs and in the form of a cross, ought at the same time to array themselves in humility, in charity, and in patience, and take up the cross, and be ever ready in need, to peril their own lives for the salvation of their flocks, and by all their actions pray that immaculate Lamb,

'In quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ Dei absconditi,'

for the gift of prudence and of good government, both of themselves and of those committed to their care."

And here his right reverend Lordship returned again to his comments on peace, which he said it was impossible for anyone ever utterly to explain or understand, comparing it to the hidden manna,

"Quod nemo scit, nisi qui accipit,"

and in which alone he said consisted true human felicity; and he added—

"Think not either that the science of philosophers, or the wealth of the rich, or the honours and pleasures of the great, form this their peace and true felicity, as was clearly seen by the example of Solomon, he being so favoured of God, of whom he asked, to enable him to rule his people rightly (*per poter ben governar il suo popolo*), the gift of wisdom and the power to discern the truth when giving his judgments, all which was conceded to him by God, who moreover in addition gave him greater riches than had ever been possessed by any other king. Besides this, Solomon tasted all the greatest pleasures that man can enjoy in this world, and yet at the end he said openly that all was but vanity and vexation of spirit."

His right reverend Lordship then continued, that so far were philosophers from obtaining peace of any sort from human science, that he qualified their occupations as the worst possible, adding that true peace and felicity consisted in the fear of God and in the execution of His holy commandments, and that this peace therefore resembled neither that of science nor of any other sort of ability (*o altra sorte di virtu*), or that of honour, or of riches, or of pleasure, of which poor men and those of low estate cannot partake. This peace is common as well to the ignorant and unlearned as to the sage and skilful, to the poor as to the rich, to the ignoble as to the noble, to man as to woman, to youth as to age, and to every condition of person, provided it be received with simplicity when offered. Neither is any labour required for its search, peace itself having spontaneously descended from Heaven (*essendo da se stessa venuta la pace*), namely Jesus Christ the blessed, to die and sacrifice himself for our sins and to free us from eternal war, giving us

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true peace, which is Himself; wherefore we ought spontaneously and heartily (*da se et con tutto il cuore*) to embrace Christ our Saviour, and who is our true peace, and not show ourselves slow (*et non ci rendiamo difficili*) to receive so great a benefit offered by the divine mercy, lest there be said of us those words uttered by Christ concerning Jerusalem when drawing nigh to and weeping over the city, he said—

'Si cognovisses quæ tibi ad pacem sunt, nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis tuis.'

And thus (exclaimed he) say I to you, would ye but know the great grace God grants you by the mission of this peace." On uttering which words his right reverend Lordship could not restrain his tears; and after using that expression, "would ye but know," he staid himself for a moment, and then adding, "what God grants you," remained silent for a short while, his eyes being suffused with tears. Then after a little he continued in a low tone, "You know what has passed, I pray you guard against the future;" and those words "si cognovisses" he pronounced with such effect and tenderness that not one of his congregation remained unmoved.

His right reverend Lordship after a few moments then resumed, "This peace then, which I am come to offer you on the part of God, must be received by those who wish for its enjoyment with great humility, as did on this day the glorious Virgin, who, when the angel announced peace to her in these words—

'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum,'

although she was afraid and quite astounded (*così smarisse tutta*), did not fail to receive the said message with all humility; and not at all doubting thereof, but merely wishing to be well informed of God's will for its better execution, she inquired—

'Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco?'

as if she would fain know whether she were to do that naturally or supernaturally (*se dovesse far ciò naturalmente o sopra naturalmente*), since naturally she could not conceive not having had connexion with man. Whereupon the angel answered her—

'Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi;'

and hence comprehending immediately that the Holy Ghost would be the author of so miraculous a conception, she replied—

'Ecce ancilla Domini! fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.'

And here it must be considered that she did not doubt the fact (*chè non dubitò della cosa*), but being anxious to obey the will of God inquired concerning the mode, neither would she be curious and say, "How can the Holy Ghost effect this?" nor in fine would she constitute herself the judge of the word of God as did the first woman, who, being invited by the serpent to contemplate the beauty of the apple, commenced judging God's commandment, causing thus her own fall from so great happiness into such an abyss of misery. For the reparation of such presumptuous pride no less an antidote was required than this simple humility of the glorious Virgin, who did not like Eve make herself the judge of the

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word of God, but, meekly venerating it, believed in the omnipotence of the Holy Ghost, and thus through the great humility of her *quam Deus respexit*, the world obtained that grace and peace which the first woman lost through her pride and temerity."

His right reverend Lordship then continued that the holy writ afforded examples of three persons to whom God had spoken through His angel announcing to them great joy. The first was that of Gideon, to whom the angel said, "Dominus tecum, virorum fortissime,"* whereupon he was all dismayed (*si smarrì tutto*) and greatly feared to die, because after the sin of the first man, to whom the angel of God spoke as commanded by the Lord, forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil under pain of death, so Adam, having disobeyed and hearing the approach of God from a distance, thought to flee and hide himself lest he should give him death, wherefore from that time forth all to whom the Lord spoke feared death, as did Gideon likewise, to whom although the angel said afterwards, "Fear not, Gideon, thou shalt not die, but wilt free the people of Irael from the hands of their enemies" ("*Non dubitar, Gideone, tu non morirai, ma libererai il popolo de Isdrael* (*sic*) *dalle mani de suoi nemici, parve non dimeno che dovesse esser impossibile per esser egli di decrepita età et la moglie sua sterile et vecchissima finchè non hebbe un segno, in pena della quale sua incredulità non potè parlar mai, fin chè il figliolo fosse portato al tempio*"), yet did this seem impossible to him on account of his decrepid age, and because his wife was barren and very old indeed, nor could he believe until he received a sign, and as the penalty of this his incredulity he remained speechless until his son was carried to the temple.

"The third instance was that of the most glorious Virgin, who without any doubt at all and with the utmost humility received the peace offered to her, and by imitating her you also, to whom as to her the first sound of the word of God may appear strange as proposing matters (*che propone cose*) repugnant to the flesh and to the human understanding, yet by receiving it in simplicity and humility, as did on this day the blessed Virgin, it will lead you to a peace truly blessed, and which will render you the children of God; and as Christ said to his apostles—

'Beati pacifici, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur;'

the which peace will quiet your hearts, illumine (*rischiarare*) your minds, and cause you to despise the vain and transitory affairs of this world, making you journey in the way of the Lord, possessing in yourselves the light of life eternal; and when listening to the word of God should you perchance ever doubt of any point you should ask its explanation with all humility, as did the glorious Virgin, and not with a disposition to judge the word of God as it was judged by Eve, interpreting it according to your own sense, but rather that by knowing the will of God you may be better enabled to execute it; and to whom will you apply for this information? surely to none others than to those whom God has appointed

* "The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valour." (Judges vi. 12.)

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through his spouse the church, with which will ever remain till the end of time, namely, to your curates and ordinaries* (*curati et ordinarij*), and immediately on hearing in what sense you ought to take it conformably to the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church, then ought you to be ready to execute what you know to be the will of God in like manner as did the glorious Virgin, who said—

'Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum;'

and do you thus make a sacrifice of your hearts to God and be ready to keep His holy commandments, and then He will come to you, and dwell with you, bringing you the true internal peace, together with the treasure of His wisdom, giving you in this world extreme happiness, and in the other, life and peace eternal, which may God grant to all, for ever and ever. Amen."

But I confess to you honestly, and in all truth, that the greater the grace with which his right reverend Lordship delivered this brief sermon thus unprepared, by so much the less is that with which I have described it, omitting moreover many things which I did not write down at the moment, because I was unable to follow so rapidly as he preached.

On the conclusion of the sermon his right reverend Lordship went to dine with the Earl of Pembroke, this being the first time he has eaten abroad, and the said Earl treated him very honourably.

The sermon, although simple and made on a sudden, gave much pleasure notwithstanding, and we have heard since, that it bore good fruit during the holy week. We then returned to the court, where during all this Lent six or eight priests have preached so well and learnedly, and with such piety, that I can say with truth that I never heard better in all my life; and on Holy Thursday,† at three o'clock in the afternoon, the most Serene Queen performed the ceremony of the feet-washing, thus:—

Her Majesty being accompanied by the right reverend Legate and by the Council, entered a large hall, at the head of which was my Lord Bishop of Ely as Dean (*come Decano*) of the Queen's chaplains, with the choristers of her Majesty's chapel. Around this hall on either side there were seated on certain benches, with their feet on stools, many poor women, to the number of forty and one, such being the number of the years of the most Serene Queen. Then one of the menials of the Court having washed the right foot of each of these poor persons, and this function being also next performed by the Under Almoner, and also by the Grand Almoner, who is the Bishop of Chichester, her Majesty next commenced the ceremony in the following manner:—At the entrance of the hall there was a great number of the chief dames and noble ladies of the court, and they prepared themselves by putting on a long linen apron which reached the ground, and round their necks they placed a towel, the two ends of which remained pendant at full length‡ on either side, each of them carrying a silver ewer, and

* "Ordinary, n. s., established judge of ecclesiastical causes." (*See* Johnson's Dictionary.)

† Videlicet on the 3rd of April, as in 1556 Easter Sunday was on the 6th April.

‡ Et si missero intorno al collo uno ascingatoio che pendeva giù dalle due parti quant' era lungo.

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they had flowers in their hands, the Queen also being arrayed in like manner. Her Majesty knelt down on both her knees before the first of the poor women, and taking in the left hand the woman's right foot, she washed it with her own right hand, drying it very thoroughly with the towel which hung at her neck, and having signed it with the cross she kissed the foot so fervently that it seemed as if she were embracing something very precious. She did the like by all and each of the other poor women, one by one, each of the ladies her attendants giving her in turn their basin and ewer and towel; and I vow to you that in all her movements and gestures, and by her manner, she seemed to act thus not merely out of ceremony, but from great feeling and devotion. Amongst these demonstrations there was this one remarkable, that in washing the feet she went the whole length of that long hall, from one end to the other, ever on her knees. Having finished and risen on her feet, she went back to the head of the hall, and commenced giving in turn to each of the poor women a large wooden platter, with enough food for four persons, filled with great pieces of salted fish, and two large loaves, and thus she went a second time distributing these alms. She next returned a third time, to begin again, giving to each of the women a wooden bowl filled with wine, or rather, I think, hippocras; after which, for the fourth time, she returned and gave to each of these poor people a piece of cloth of royal mixture for clothing (*un pezzo di panno mischio di reale per vestire*). Then returning for the fifth time she gave to each a pair of shoes and stockings; for the sixth time she gave to each a leathern purse, containing forty-one pennies, according to the number of her own years, and which in value may amount to rather more than half an Italian golden crown;* finally, going back for the seventh time, she distributed all the aprons and towels which had been carried by those dames and noble ladies, in number forty-one, giving each with her own hand.

Her Majesty then quitted the hall to take off the gown which she had worn, and half an hour afterwards she returned, being preceded by an attendant carrying the said gown, and thus she went twice round the hall, examining very closely all the poor women one by one, and then returning for the third time she gave the said gown to the one who was in fact the poorest and most aged of them all; and this gown was of the finest purple cloth, lined with martens' fur, and with sleeves so long and wide that they reached the ground. During this ceremony the choristers chaunted the miserere, with certain other psalms, reciting at each verse the words—

"In diebus illis mulier quæ erat in civitate peccatrix."

After this, on Friday morning [4th April] the offertory was performed according to custom in the church of the Franciscan Friars,

* The golden crown and the Venetian sequin were of equal value, so it is thus seen that in the course of two centuries and a half the standard of the English silver coinage had been so debased, that the sequin, which in 1410 could be purchased in London for 30½*d.*, was worth 82 pence in the year 1556. The value of the sequin in English money in 1410 is ascertained by a document registered in the Venetian Calendar, vol. 4, p. 451.

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which is contiguous to the palace. After the Passion the Queen came down from her oratory for the adoration of the cross, accompanied by my lord the right reverend Legate, and kneeling at a short distance from the cross moved towards it on her knees, praying before it thrice, and then she drew nigh and kissed it, performing this act with such devotion as greatly to edify all those who were present. Her Majesty next gave her benediction to the rings,* the mode of doing so being as follows: An inclosure (*un riparo*) was formed for her Majesty to the right of the high altar by means of four benches placed so as to form a square, into the centre of which she again came down from her oratory, and placing herself on her knees within this inclosure, two large covered basins were brought to her, filled with rings of gold and silver, one of these basins containing rings of her own, whilst the other held those of private individuals (*particolari*), labelled with their owners' names. On their being uncovered she commenced reciting a certain prayer and psalms, and then taking them in her two hands (*pigliandoli a mano per mano*), she passed them again and again from one hand to the other, saying another prayer, which commenced thus:—

"Sanctifica, Domine, annulos istos."

This being terminated, her Majesty went to bless the scrofulous, but she chose to perform this act privately in a gallery, where there were not above 20 persons; and an altar being raised there she knelt and recited the confession, on the conclusion of which her Majesty turned towards my right reverend Lord the Legate, who gave her absolution; whereupon a priest read from the Gospel according to St. Mark, and on his coming to the words—

"Super ægros manus imponet et bene habebunt,"

she caused one of those infirm women to be brought to her, and kneeling the whole time she commenced pressing, with her hands in the form of a cross, on the spot where the sore was, with such compassion and devotion as to be a marvel, and whilst she continued doing this to a man and to three women, the priest kept ever repeating these words:

"Super ægros manus imponet, et bene habebunt."

Then on terminating the Gospel, after the words—

"In principio erat verbum,"

and on coming to the following, namely,—

"Erat lux vera quæ illuminat omnem hominem in hunc mundum,"

then the Queen made the sick people again approach her, and taking a golden coin called an angel, she touched the place where the evil showed itself, and signed it with this coin in the form of the cross; and having done this, she passed a ribbon through a hole which had been pierced in the coin, and placed one of these round the neck of each of the patients, making them promise never to part

* "Cramp-rings," concerning which see Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, pp. 164, 165, 167.

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with that coin, which was hallowed, save in case of extreme need; and then, having washed her hands, the towel being presented to her by my Lord the right reverend the Legate, she returned to her oratory.

Having been present myself in person at all these ceremonies, her Majesty struck me as affording a great and rare example of goodness, performing all those acts with such humility and love of religion, offering up her prayers to God with so great devotion and affection, and enduring for so long a while and so patiently so much fatigue; and seeing thus, that the more her Majesty advances in the rule of this kingdom, so does she daily afford fresh and greater opportunities for commending her extreme piety, I dare assert that there never was a queen in Christendom of greater goodness than this one, whom I pray God long to save and prosper, for the glory of His divine honour, and for the edification and exaltation of His holy church, not less than for the consolation and salvation of the people of this island.

I will not omit telling you that on Holy Thursday alms were distributed here in the Court to a great amount, to upwards of 3,000 persons; and this reminds me that my right reverend Lord the Legate, having sent in advance to Canterbury to make great provision for his entry, which subsequently, for certain reasons, the Queen refused on any account to permit, his right reverend Lordship then caused all his provisions to be distributed amongst the poor, 2,000 of whom were reckoned, and these alms were taken to their houses; nor do I include herein the alms given to many other poor people, who had flocked to Canterbury from the neighbourhood; all which causes the indigent population there (*quel povero popolo*) now to await his right reverend Lordship with greater anxiety than ever.

London, 3rd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

474. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de la Chaux departs this day to go and take possession of Burgundy for King Philip, and as said by him again in public, the Emperor has not given him leave to remain more than a week, that he may return to him immediately to follow him to Spain; his Majesty intending to remove to Ghent, at the beginning of next month, and commanding the utmost haste to be made for the arrangement of his personal affairs. He has also sent to Zealand to hasten Don Luis de Caravajal, who writes that he has 20 ships in readiness, besides the seven fitted out by Bazan, which came from Spain well manned (*con molte genti*). Caravajal has also been ordered to keep some "*urche*," and including the 15, with which the Queen wrote that she would accommodate his Majesty, they will be upwards of 60 sail. During the last six days the Emperor has been taking the water of the baths of Liège, and says that although it is not so efficacious as at the place itself, it nevertheless does him great good, and that he feels in better bodily health than he has been since a long while.

Brussels, 4th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6. B.

475. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The reverend Governor of Rome continuing to arrest as many of the household of the Imperial ambassador as can be found abroad, on account of the man they rescued from the catchpoles, Don Antonio Caraffa told him the other day publicly on St. Peter's Square, that he ought to carry water to extinguish the fire, and not feed it with fuel, it being now time for him to cease arresting the ambassador's attendants. He said that having been charged with the police of this city he could not fail in his duty; that he chose the papal officials to be respected, and would obey no one but his Holiness. One of the Caraffas, the Pope's kinsman, went in the name of the Count of Montorio to the ambassador's house, to tell him he would do well to place in the Governor's hands those of his attendants who rescued that man, as otherwise he could not assure the ambassador that the Pope would not confine him in the castle. The ambassador apologises by saying that what took place was against his will, and that he neither knows who the delinquents were, nor their present abode.

Then to-day, the Pope being on his way to the public consistory for the reception of the Polish ambassador,* said to the Cardinals Farnese and Santafiore (who were accompanying him as assistants), when speaking about ambassadors, that he no longer considered the Marquis of Sarria ambassador, that he had degraded him, but spared his life, in order not to disturb the negotiation for peace, as otherwise he would have sent his head flying far away from his shoulders, and that to his great regret did he abstain from doing so, solely to enable him to send the Legates (*che gli haveria fatto buttar la testa lontana dal busto; e ch' è restata con suo gran dispiacere, solamente per poter mandare li Legati*).

Rome, 5th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

476. Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal of Burgos [Francesco Mendoza].

Will not conceal from Mendoza his very great surprise and dissatisfaction, not only at the non-payment of the arrears of his pension [on the see of Burgos], but also that during so long a while Mendoza should have abstained from answering the letters which Pole wrote to him on this subject, requesting him with all earnestness to give such orders as would enable Pole to avail himself of what is due to him from Mendoza on account of this pension, of which he has great need, without writing to him again about his astonishment and regret. On receiving Mendoza's letter of the 28th March, (which to speak freely, did not altogether satisfy him, as he was thereby requested to wait yet longer, under promise of future payment, having already waited but too long, as on next St. John's day two years' pension will be due to him,) he learnt what he also heard, in date 8th April, from his agent at Rome,

* The departure of the Polish ambassador, and the reply given to his demands, are recorded in Foreign Calendar, date 9th June 1556, p. 228.

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who had it from Mendoza's agent, that the management of the revenues of the see of Burgos had lately been assigned by Mendoza to certain merchants, with orders to pay Pole all his arrears immediately and in full, and to make the future payments in due season. Pole therefore desired the merchants his correspondents at Burgos to receive his entire credit, of which he already availed himself a long while ago, pledging it in England at considerable loss, and having relied on this announcement, he hopes in this matter likewise to be convinced by facts of Mendoza's goodwill towards him, of which, however, he has never doubted, and is persuaded that this difficulty, and the long delay in paying him, proceeded from any other cause than a deficiency of regard, knowing how much he himself entertains for Mendoza, and how very desirous he is of doing him any service he can. Again requests him to reply, and to give imperative orders for Pole's correspondents to be paid in full and without any delay, in which case Mendoza will very greatly oblige him.

London, 5th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

477. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day of the execution of the two conspirators, on the sudden and unexpectedly, the Government sent to Fleet prison five leading cavaliers,* from amongst those most in the habit of frequenting the Court, personages of note and in general repute by reason of their rank and fortune. One of them is an individual of the family of the Earl of Devonshire, now resident at Venice, to whom he is related, by name Sir William Courtenay, who resides here, and is one of the young followers of the Court (*giovane di seguito*), yet does he begin to be talked about, and he is the son-in-law of the Lord Treasurer's son.† Courtenay and his companions were present at the execution of the conspirators, when they spoke with Throckmorton, seeming not only remote from all blame, but even from the suspicion of it. Many persons are of opinion that they were suspected, because whilst present at that spectacle they like youths perhaps expressed themselves more licentiously than becoming. Others suppose them to have been indicated by the said Throckmorton, who shortly before his death had a long private conversation with the Dean of Westminster [John Feckenham], who subsequently made his report to the Court, although in public Throckmorton said he had neither named nor injured anyone, because it was not in his power to do so, nor could he, nor would he. To me it has been told that the suspicion concerning these and other persons proceeds from an individual who during the first days of the discovery of the plot was arrested on account of certain intercepted letters from Henry

* Sir William Courtenay, Sir John Paratt, Sir John Pallard, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and Sir John Chichester. (*See* Machyn, p. 104.)

† Sir William Courtenay had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Powlet. He was killed at the storming of St. Quentin, or died shortly afterwards. (*See* Collins, vol. 6, p. 264.)

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Dudley, who is now a declared rebel. The person above mentioned would not at first confess anything, but subsequently either from love or fear demanded a conference with Sir Edward Hastings, the Queen's Master of the Horse (*cavalerizzo*), who having gone to him by order of the Royal Council, brought back such information that the ministry immediately determined to arrest those five gentlemen, much to the surprise and regret of everybody by reason of their quality. Be this as it may I understand that some of them have already been removed from the "Fleet" to the Tower, their houses, moveables, and effects having been sequestered, and an inventory taken of them for account of the Exchequer.

On the same day another gentleman of repute (*tenuto di stima*), who commanded companies in the time of Wyatt,* was taken publicly to the Tower, together with a servant of Lord Clinton, and they have sent into the country to seize Sir Giles Strangeways,† a wealthy knight and a person of account, together with some others; and two days ago Lord Bray,‡ an attendant who enjoyed such great favour in the time of King Edward and of the Duke of Northumberland, was placed under close custody in the Tower; so that from day to day they verify the suspicion that the conspiracy included a greater number of persons and of higher grade and quality than those first arrested, it being already reported that the whole of the West is suspected, and that all the nobility and gentry resident there will be sent for, of whom the Earl of Worcester§ has already arrived, he having been summoned by an order from the Queen, and all his retainers expecting him to be sent to prison, notwithstanding which he is as yet at large, and goes everywhere.

They are still constantly intent on the examination of the prisoners, those "indicted" according to the custom here, which signifies accused, being in number 20, nor can it be reasonably supposed that too lenient a sentence will be passed on them.

Lord Clinton returned from France two days ago, reporting himself as having been, according to custom, much honoured and favoured by the King, who also made him a present, and with regard to the rebels said frankly that not knowing them to be such they were therefore received as unreservedly as became the present peace and friendship between the two kingdoms, harbour being given to all sorts of Englishmen, in like manner as here they receive all sorts of Frenchmen; but if they are rebels, not knowing whither they have withdrawn themselves, whenever aware of their being in his territories, he will not fail, as is due, in having them placed in her Majesty's hands, it being his wish to maintain himself in such love and friendship with her as becoming. Should this be true your Serenity will have had more authentic notice of it from the French court; *for on the contrary it is also heard that not only did the King not offer to surrender these individuals* (a

* Captain William Staunton. (*See* Machyn, pp. 105, 106, 348, and the Verney Papers, pp. 61, 70, 71.)

† *See* Machyn (pp. 281, 389), who, however, makes no mention of this arrest, neither is it recorded in "the Verney Papers."

‡ John, Lord Bray. (*See* Machyn, p. 361, and Verney Papers, pp. 66, 67, 73–76.)

§ William Herbert, fourth Earl.

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voler dar questi), *but said openly that he would rather suffer in his own person than fail to receive and treat kindly any Englishman, of however low degree* (qual si vogli minimo Anglese), *who might take refuge in his realm. To-day the French ambassador was a long while at the palace, I believe about this business, concerning which should I hear that anything has passed worthy of your Serenity's notice, I will not omit to give you notice of it by the first opportunity.*

After Francesco Piamontese, Gamboa was despatched with the same speed. The transactions between Queen Mary and her consort are carried on with greater secrecy than ever, and with difficulty can they be ascertained save through the result, everything else being mere conjecture.

The negotiation for the peace has commenced here between the Abbot of San Saluto and the French ambassador; although it took a good turn, it seems to have been postponed by all the parties until the arrival of the Apostolic Legates; so the Abbot expecting to have to remain a long while idle here, has determined to wait no longer, but to follow up his determination of proceeding to Italy, and departed this day, going by way of France, where having to remain at the court for affairs of his own, he will, perhaps, moreover, stay for these (*per questi*), being considered an excellent instrument, by reason of the trust and authority he has gained for himself with both sides, and he will perhaps be able to do more good abroad than by remaining here.

London, 5th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

478. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lieutenant d'Amont, the Imperial Ambassador, has arrived, and conferred with the Constable. The release of the prisoners is reduced to two principal points; first, the Emperor and his son persevere in their intention (*continuano in proposito*) of releasing the prisoners for the ransom already stipulated, and as they have not given a just account of their revenues and pensions, their Majesties are content that the King do especially charge them to make just returns under pain of his displeasure; but what gives offence is that they will not release them until the expiration of the three months, which was the term assigned by their Majesties for the release of the Duke de Bouillon and the Constable's son, although at the first and second concordats (*nelli concordati primo et secondo*) this was not declared. The other point is, that the Imperialists say that in the promise made by the Emperor and King Philip to release the two aforesaid personages within three months, they declared that within that period they would put a fair pecuniary ransom on them, but it was not expressed that within that same term they should be released; which statement when made by the ambassador to the Constable, he answered him that these are questions of law (*ponti da homeni*

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di legge), and not for discussion between Princes, and that although these words were now uttered he could not bring himself to believe that such was the mind (*animo*) of the Emperor and King Philip; whereupon the ambassador rejoined that by means of a good peace all these difficulties would be settled in a week. These words are much pondered, *and it is supposed that these delays about the release of the prisoners are not only for the purpose of having security in hand that the most Christian King may not think of innovation* (non pensi a cose nove), *but also to facilitate a certain negotiation for peace, which by advices from England and other quarters receives confirmation of being much desired by the Imperialists.*

Blois, 9th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

479. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor's orders for departure to Spain are being executed daily, and the ships in Zealand are so prepared that they await nothing but his arrival, as even the cabins (*appartamenti*) are made not only in the one destined for his Majesty, which is one of the seven Biscainers, but also on board all the others; and the troops are being raised in Friesland by the Count of Nassau.

The Emperor is having his household paid, giving 12 arrears (*paghe*) to each of its members, and the remaining 10 will be given at the time of his departure for Ghent, whither he will depart within a month; and the Queens, who went to Tournai, are attending to such matters as are necessary to enable them to accompany his Majesty. The report also of King Philip's going to England still continues, but neither the ministers nor his Majesty himself any longer assert that it will take place at the beginning of next month, as he told Lord Paget, who went about assuring everybody of this, and that he should go back with his Majesty; but by taking leave of the Emperor yesterday, to depart in three days, he has surprised everybody. Some persons believe that the King has rather cooled about going so immediately as was promised by him, owing to the confession made to the Queen by one of the prisoners that he had determined to kill her consort; and some are of opinion that King Philip has sent Lord Paget back, in order that he may return subsequently with the Earl of Pembroke and other English noblemen, to conduct him, with more positive arrangements (*con ordini più stabili*), *Don Juan Manrique, a member of the privy council, having said that although the Queen professes here to resign herself thus to the King's will, it is nevertheless evident that she either allows herself to be biased by her ministers, or that Paget has promised more than he was commissioned to do.* Others say that his Majesty's departure for England is delayed by the hope of the coming hither of the King of Bohemia.

The Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Arras, with the council of these States, departed yesterday for Tournai (*per Fornaut—sic*) in

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order (it is said) to consult with Queen Maria about pecuniary supply, owing to the difficulties about the demand made by the King from the lords and deputies; and some say to discuss the necessary arrangements for the departure of both their Majesties, giving orders for a great number of ships, troops, and artillery; whilst others are of opinion that this has been done *for the purpose of thus quieting the anger of Queen Maria, who before her departure was heard to say that neither the King nor the others any longer held her suggestions in such account as was due by reason of her long experience in the government of these provinces.*

Brussels, 10th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

480. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Lalain has returned from France, and although in public he congratulates himself greatly on the honours and acts of courtesy received from the most Christian King, *I have nevertheless heard, that from various signs remarked by him during his stay at the French court, he has reported that no certainty can be entertained of the duration of the truce;* and this morning the French ambassador accredited to their Majesties here went to King Philip to remind him of his promise, that on the return of M. de Lalain he would decide about the prisoners, urging his Majesty to release the four principal ones. The King replied that the day before yesterday he sent an express to his ambassador in France telling him he thought his most Christian Majesty should seek the ransom of all his prisoners, and not merely of four, and that he should release the six hundred slaves of the gallies of the Prince and of Signor Antonio Doria, who were detained in Corsica, one day after the stipulation of this truce, by Giordano Orsini. The Frenchman replied that neither his King nor any private individual should be bound to ransom one [prisoner] rather than another; and that he did not think it just that those who were able to pay should remain in prison on account of those who had not the means of providing for their ransoms. King Philip rejoined, that if they could not pay neither was it just that his subjects should have to pay their expenses for so long a while without hope of being ever reimbursed; and although the King's words were gentle (*dolce*), those which the ambassador utters on the subject are nevertheless bitter (*amare*), for he says that the promise made to his King by the commissioners at Cambrai is not observed.

Advices have been received to-day from these frontiers giving notice that not only are the French troops not disbanding, as has been done by those of the Emperor and the King, but that they are adding to their numbers; *which some persons attribute to the intention of France to break the truce, and others to the purpose of creating suspicion, and also of taking some step to interrupt the coronation in England, by reason of the troops which are being raised in Friesland for embarkation on board the fleet which is now*

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being prepared for the Emperor's departure (et chi al dissegno di metter sospetto et anco di far alcun effetto per interomper la incoronatione in Anglia per le genti che si fanno in Frisia da condur sull' armata che si prepara per la partita di Sua Cesarea Maestà).

The deputies of these provinces have answered the King that for just causes they cannot grant his Majesty's demand for one per cent. on immoveables and two per cent on moveables, but that they are willing, by other means, to raise a million of gold, as notified by some of them heretofore, for the succour of his need; but from what I have heard from the author of the proposal, the King has modified the demand, and said in writing that he is satisfied with one per cent. alone; assuring them positively of two things, the one, that he is content not to send any of the officials of his court to register the property and take an estimate of it, but that this be done by the parish priests and the chief burghers (*li piovani et i principali delli luoghi*); the other, that he will not receive this money himself, but that it be employed for the payment of his debt to Antwerp and other towns which pledged their revenues to serve his Majesty; as also to give to divers lords who served in this war without stipend, and mortgaged their castles for expenditure when required; and moreover that it may be spent on the new fortresses in these provinces, and on others which stand in need of repair. The King is also content that for the ordinary service of his table and the court there be put aside 200,000 crowns annually, and that this sum be sent to him from day to day proportionally. Should the demand be accepted, the projector of the tax tells me it will yield his Majesty two millions of gold, though the States have five years time within which to disburse it. The deputies have also requested the King to recall the Spanish troops from these frontiers, and to garrison them with his own [Flemish] subjects, who would be quite sufficient for that purpose during the truce; but the Duke of Savoy, as governor of these provinces, told the King before his departure that he ought not to consent to this, but compel the States to pay in ordinary 3,000 of these Spaniards and 400 cavalry, and 3,000 Germans from Upper Germany, by reason of the suspicions about the rupture of the truce.

Brussels, 10th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

481. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Lord Paget departed this morning on his return to England, and from what he told many persons, the King, in the act of his taking leave, charged him to tell the Queen that if he did not return to her in the course of next month without waiting any longer for the King of Bohemia, or having regard for any other impediment, she was not to consider him a trustworthy King (*ella non lo stimasse Re degno di fede*); and of this he also received assurance from the Emperor, who moreover said that his wish was to embark for Spain before the expiration of that term, and that he should

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endeavour to do so before his son's departure. Lord Paget received from the King a chain worth twelve hundred crowns, which his attendants said was a recompense the precise equivalent of the expenses incurred by him during this brief mission, as he spent 170 crowns weekly for his table alone. At the last banquet given by him to several Spanish cavaliers, I have heard that when discussing the King's departure for England some of them said to him that considering so many conspiracies, and the confession of that individual who had determined to kill him with a carbine (*archibusetto*) on his landing, and knowing their ill-will, they (the Spaniards) cannot commend his return thither; to which Lord Paget replied that they might come cheerfully, as he assured them that for the future the authority they exercised in England would be of a different sort to what they have had there hitherto *ai quali esso rispose, che potevano venir allegramente, perchè accertava loro, che nell' avenire, sariano di altra auttorità in quel Regno, che non sono stati*).

The French ambassador says that the 200,000 crowns which Lord Paget reported as having been taken by him at Antwerp and Bruges for the Queen of England, were disbursed by the merchants to give to the King her consort.

The Spaniard Portiglio has returned from the King of Bohemia with letters for the Emperor and King Philip, giving them sure hope of his coming, and I understand that the Emperor wrote him back immediately a most loving letter, praying him to speed his coming, as next month his Imperial Majesty purposed departing hence, telling him besides that he was quite disposed to gratify the said Maximilian and the King his father by sending the act of renunciation of the Empire to the Diet at Ratisbon, a proceeding which the Spaniards say is solicited (*procurata*) by the King of the Romans,* *lest in case the Emperor make the renunciation during absence, the electors take a fancy to elect a King of Bohemia, and such a one as perchance might not be of the House of Austria, and thus cause much mischief.*

A courier arrived yesterday from Spain with a very long letter from the Council of Castille to the King, who is ill pleased with it, as it exceeded the bounds of discretion, not only by reminding his Majesty of the things he ought to do, but also of those which he should leave undone; nor is it heard that the preparations for the war in Africa proceed in the manner reported here some time ago. This same courier gave news of their having great hope of a good harvest this year, and he has brought the Emperor a specimen of the new vein of silver, which his Majesty choose to have assayed, to compare it with that of the Indies and of the Tyrol, which it exceeds by about 15 per cent. (*et dicesi esser avantaggiata da quelle di quindici per cento in circa*). The King has lately farmed a duty in that province [Castille], which yielded him 26,000 crowns revenue, and for which he will now obtain 300,000 crowns.

* According to a letter quoted by M. Mignet in his "Abdication de Charles Quint," p. 117 (ed. Paris, 1868), the King of the Romans in October 1555 did his utmost to *prevent* Charles V. from renouncing the Imperial crown, and prayed him at any rate not to publish the act of renunciation until the next Diet.

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Don Diego de Azevedo, the King's maggiordomo, has been destined by him to go to Spain to receive the oath from the kingdoms of Aragon, Valentia, and Catalonia; and in the other kingdoms, according to their laws and customs, the standards were raised, as a sign that his Majesty had succeeded to them; and it is said that Don Diego will negotiate certain matters with the Queen in England.

From the letters of the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Arras, who went with the Council of State to Queen Maria at Tournai (*Fornaut—sic*) it seems that she is beyond measure enraged because the King has refused to give her the town of Mechlin, it appearing to his Majesty and the Emperor that she does not intend going to Spain, although she has hitherto made a contrary demonstration; and Don Ruy Gomez has said that possibly the King will go to see her.

The Marquis of Renti (*d'Arrenti*) departed hence postwise this day for Cambrai, whither he is informed that his brother, the Duke d'Arschot, who was prisoner in France, has made his escape. Count Broccardo, who was accredited to the Queen of Poland, has also been commissioned to go to the Pope, to inform him that the Emperor and King Philip will soon send him an ambassador, as they understand he is dissatisfied with the Marquis of Sarria; *but the chief ministers here believe his Holiness to bear their Majesties the utmost ill-will that could be entertained towards them by an open enemy, and they suspect him of harassing them in the kingdom of Naples, through some combination which they expect him to effect with the King of France by means of Cardinal Caraffa.*

Brussels, 12th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

482. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Since the arrest of those gentlemen mentioned in my last nothing further has happened save that of those who were imprisoned first of all, three others have been tried, two of whom were condemned, there not being then time* to despatch the third, who was taken back [to the Guildhall] to-day and convicted.

Of these three one had been the servant and the son of a great servant† of the Queen, both one and the other being very well deserving of her Majesty, the father having succoured her, in the time of the Duke of Northumberland, with a considerable sum of money

* Henry Peckham and John Daniel were tried on the 7th May 1556; William Staunton on the 12th May. (*See* Verney Papers, Camden Society publication, p. 71.)

† Sir Edmund Peckham, knight, of Denham, in the county of Bucks, "distinguished himself by his loyal zeal in opposition to Lady Jane Grey. He was among the first to proclaim Queen Mary in his own county of Buckingham, and united with Sir Francis Hastings in raising men to act on the rear of the forces which Northumberland was leading against Mary. Sir Edmund Peckham's rewards were found in a grant of lands, and in the constant favour of his grateful mistress. During the reign of Edward VI. he had been appointed to the office of Treasurer of the Mint, and throughout her reign he was also one of her privy council. On Elizabeth's accession he was laid aside as a privy councillor, but continued undisturbed in his office of the Mint." (*See* notices of the "loyal Sir Edmund Peckham," by Mr. John Bruce, in Verney Papers, pp. 57, 58.)

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belonging to the Crown and to himself individually, which he chanced to have in cash, whilst his son [Henry] was the man who with a few companions succeeded in closing and keeping the gate of the city of London (which until a short while before his appearance had remained open), whereby Wyatt intended to make his entry; so it is hoped the Queen will at least spare his life, though he was pardoned heretofore for robberies (*anchor che un' altra volta li fusse perdonato per latrocinij*).

The two are captains, men of birth and valour (*li due sono capitanei, persone nobili, et valorose*), and on the way from the Tower to the Guildhall, and on their return, they were accompanied by the populace in tears, a demonstration rarely or never made in favour of persons condemned for high treason, these signs being an additional proof of the regret and compassion felt for their death; nor is it expected that they, or the others who from time to time may be convicted, will by any means obtain either pardon or remission, it being said that the Queen has thus determined, by reason of the small fruit derived from her past indulgence and clemency.

Of the gentlemen in the Fleet it seems that by reason of a letter of evil nature (*una lettera di mala natura*) which has come to light, Sir William Courtenay has been removed thence, and taken to the Tower; the others are allowed more liberty, having had leave to speak with anybody in the presence of the captain of the prison; and the chief personages who were sent for from the provinces begin to arrive.

This letter of evil nature is said to have come from beyond sea, through Peter Carew, heretofore a rebel and accomplice in Wyatt's conspiracy, it having been addressed to him by some of the [present] conspirators, unbosoming their whole intention and projects, to draw him over to them as a person of ability and who has followers. Carew having revealed the conspiracy to King Philip, his Majesty did not choose that he should go to him in person,* but under another pretence despatched Sir John Masone and Lord Paget to Antwerp, where Carew was, and he there showed and delivered the letter to them, the King sending it hither subsequently, and in it are the names of the chief conspirators.

The fitting out of the ships for the conveyance of the Admiral towards Portsmouth for the security of those parts, and that they may be ready for the return of the King, is being hastened more than usual, the last advices from Lord Paget, dated the 7th, purporting that it will not be long delayed as the coming of the King of Bohemia is at an end.

At the audience given to the French ambassador, first by the Queen and then by the Council, nothing but compliments passed with regard to Lord Clinton's mission, though her Majesty persisted in saying that she could not believe that the most Christian King would break the promise given by him to his Lordship of delivering up to her her rebels; and the ambassador confirmed this, saying in his King's name that his Majesty would do his utmost, though

* In the original letter the word is "*principalmente*," evidently a mistake for "personalmente."

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he did not vouch for the result, saying on the contrary that with so many provisoes and prohibitions it was difficult for his King to deliver up the others, who contrary to his will secrete themselves throughout his dominions (*anzi dicendo esser cosa difficile al suo Re con tutte le provisioni et prohibitioni che egli facci haver delli altri che contra la voglia sua vano, nascondendosi per i suoi Regni*).

Besides the two couriers sent in haste beyond sea one after the other, neither of whom has yet returned, a third has moreover been despatched, this last being the servant of the President Figueroa, and the designs (*pratiche*) are more secret than ever.

The Bishop of Lincoln is sending an express to Rome for the bulls of induction to the see of Winchester (*a far la espeditione della chiesa di Vincestre*), on which the Queen has chosen him to assign 1,000*l.* to Cardinal Pole, for whom she has also ordered the release of certain revenues of his archbishopric held by the Crown to the amount of about 4,000 golden ducats (*scudi*), so that his right reverend Lordship is enabled to exercise with less inconvenience his liberality in favour of some of his Italian servants on their return to Italy, amongst whom and to some few who remain here he has distributed 6,000 crowns (*scudi*) ready money, as remuneration for their services, besides 300 crowns pension conceded by him to the Abbot of Saluto (on his departure) for his nephews, to be derived from his right reverend Lordship's abbacy in the Ferrarese.

London, 12th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

483. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day on my arrival here, when following the court to Fontainebleau, I received news that on the night of the 12th the Duke d'Arschot [Philippe de Cröy], who was prisoner in a palace of the King's, one league from Paris, called the wood of Vincennes, made his escape as arranged by some Flemish gentlemen who had obtained permission to visit him, thus:—Having let himself down by the . . . . . [corroded in MS.] of a privy (*d'un loco immondo*), with the assistance of one of his keepers whom he had bribed, he pushed himself so far forward (*si tirrò tanto avanti*), that having got to a convenient spot the persons who were in waiting for that purpose extricated him, and having mounted on oxen (*et montati sopra bovi*) and . . . . . [corroded in MS.] already prepared, he went off, and is supposed to be already in safety, as although officials were very soon sent from Paris in every direction to seize him, it is nevertheless not heard that he has been found. This intelligence has greatly disturbed the court, because owing to the loss of so great a personage they fear that the release of the prisoners will be more difficult than before, the only other Imperialist of quality being the Count [Albert] de Mansfeldt, who was comprised in the ordinary ransom for the release of the other prisoners, but the Constable in particular will suffer greatly, not only from the aforesaid difficulty,

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but also because even should the release be finally accomplished he remains without the means of exchanging his son for this duke, whose ransom had been already given to him by his most Christian Majesty for that purpose.

Orleans, 15th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6. B.

484. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday there was "congregation" and chapel.

In the congregation the Pope after inveighing against the Colonna family, expatiating on the injuries done by them to the Apostolic See, commended those popes who of yore deprived them of their state, adding that his predecessors had not known how to finish the work as he intended doing, as that state must not be kept in the apostolic chamber, but be given to a person who would hold it in fee from the church, and be able to defend it during an interregnum, and that should his Holiness not have had nephews capable of this charge, he would diligently have sought for a person to whom to give it; but as His Divine Majesty had given him the Count of Montorio, it was on him that he would confer it, preferring his Caraffa family to that of Colonna, and saying that the Count might be compared and preferred to the Ascaniuses, the Marc' Antonios, and the Prosperos, and others (*e che 'l Conte potea esser comparato, et anteposto alli Ascanij, Marcantonij, Prosperi, et altri*), and that he, the Pope, spoke sparingly about him (*ch' era scarso in parlar di lui*) because he was his nephew. His Holiness then told the cardinals that he had not called them for the purpose of receiving either reply or counsel from them, but that if they had anything to add in confirmation of his discourse they might do so, coming to the conclusion that he purposed expelling his enemies from the house, providing against the possibility of their return, and leaving the affairs of the Apostolic See in such security that the cardinals, should they be men of worth and not factious, will not have to fear anyone. To these words nothing whatever was said, but all the cardinals openly evinced dissatisfaction, and on their entering the chapel the Count of Montorio made his appearance in a ducal mantle of cloth of gold, and the Pope created him Duke of Paliano, and of the rest of the state belonging to the late Ascanius Colonna. The ceremony consisted in blessing him, giving him the sword and spurs, striking him thrice on the shoulder with the sword, giving him the ducal bonnet of crimson velvet ornamented with a profusion of pearls and jewels, and the silver-gilt sceptre, and causing him to swear fealty to his Holiness and his successors on the holy gospels, and to present the Pope with a gold cup containing a few crowns as acknowledgment for the fief. The bull of investiture was read by Signor Berengo in so low a voice as to be inaudible. According to report Don Diomede, the new Duke's son, is created Marquis of Cava, a state which in like manner belonged to Ascanius Colonna; in default of the line of the late Count of Montorio, that of his brother the Count of Montorio is to succeed; and on St. Peter's day, when all the other feudatories pay, they are to disburse the annual acknowledgment (*censo*) of a thousand crowns.

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On the conclusion of the mass the Duke went to the Campidoglio accompanied by a great number of horsemen in the service of the courtiers, by the hundred Roman cavaliers, by the light cavalry of the Pope's guard, and by some companies of infantry. He was preceded by three standards, followed by many prelates, and when he passed the castle it saluted him with endless discharges of artillery, and bonfires and illuminations blazed in Rome and in the castle for two consecutive evenings, as usual at public rejoicings. The Count of Matalona (whose arrival from Naples was mentioned in my last) served at the ceremony, girding and ungirding the Count's sword, and he is said to have come by permission of the Duke of Alva, and that he purposes requesting the Pope to make his town a city.

The bull of investiture was signed by the cardinals, and in the act of signing Cardinal Tournon said that in France his signature would be considered null, as he had not been in the council (*non essendo stato nel consiglio*), and the Cardinal San Giacomo* refused to sign as he was not at the congregation, and the act not seeming to him advantageous either for the Apostolic See or for his Holiness' family.

On that day the Pope invited all the cardinals to dinner, the greater part of whom remained, as did the ambassador from Poland and myself, I having been invited in the Pope's name. The tables having been removed three times (3 *volte levate le tavole*),† the Pope withdrew to the audience chamber, whither having called the cardinals and us ambassadors, he said that on that day he had performed an act greatly to his satisfaction, and that God the Blessed had inspired him to do so in the month and perhaps on the very day when these enemies of God, years ago, sacked Rome, nor has the due vengeance prepared by the great justice of God for this crime committed by them and their accomplices as yet been witnessed to the full; and then turning towards the cardinals Pacheco and Cueva he said to them, "Your countrymen (*li vostri*) were the villains who perpetrated that act of impiety." His Holiness then added, "To-morrow we shall perform another important ceremony, viz., that of assembling consistory to give the cross to the legates, that they may go to endeavour to effect a peace. From the King of France, of whose mind we are almost sure, we expect it; from your people (*dalli vostri*)"—again addressing the Cardinals Pacheco and Cueva—"we know not what to hope. We choose to clear up this doubt, nor will we fail in our duty." Everybody remained quiet at this discourse, nor did the Spanish cardinals of the Imperial faction dare raise their eyes. From this topic the Pope passed to a lament about the calamity of the present times, with regard to heresy, complaining that kingdoms and provinces heretofore Christian were in danger, whereupon the Polish ambassador, my neighbour,

* Juan Alvarez of Toledo, of the family of the Dukes of Alva, commonly called Cardinal of Burgos, from which see he was transferred in 1553 to Compostella. He is also styled Cardinal de Santiago. (*See* Cardella, and Foreign Calendar 1553–1558, Index.)

† The dinner seems to have been of three courses; I translate literally, but perhaps the dishes alone and not the tables were removed at each course.

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said to me angrily, "*Quorsum tendit ista oratio?*" and the Pope continuing to speak on this subject, my colleague said to me again in anger, "*Vellem propius adesse; nescio quomodo inciderit in istum sermonem recordari initium, nec video adhuc finem.*" From this same ambassador I heard that at his private audience he told the Pope that the Poles made five demands of the King; first, the marriage of priests; secondly, the communion *sub utrâque specie;* thirdly, the mass in their own tongue; fourthly, a national council; fifthly, suppression of the annats; they being determined on these things at any rate. He said that this seemed to trouble the Pope, who chose to discuss these matters in person with the ambassador, and not through cardinals.

I am told that when the Duchess of Paliano* went to kiss the Pope's foot, he told her she had good cause to rejoice, as he has given her husband a secure state, and which will certainly be his, and pass to his descendants. This new duchy is said to yield an annual rental of 20,000 crowns; and that the Duke will find produce there to the amount of 8,000; and two companies have been sent thither to prevent any disturbance. The Captain Palazzo of Fano has also been sent to make a careful survey of Palliano, and report upon the mode of rendering it a fortress.

The night before last at the fourth hour (midnight), Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke, and Marshal Strozzi and Don Antonio, went with other engineers to inspect Rocca di Papa in order to fortify it. They rode postwise, in order to return, as they did, at an early hour in the evening.

This investiture is considered a very momentous affair, and likely to cause many changes, as will be seen from day to day; and from a person in the confidence of the Imperialists, I understand that the Count di Popoli having sent the Duke of Alva certain advices from Rome about the investiture of the Colonna states in the person of the Count of Montorio, and concerning the intention of fortifying one or two places, the Duke said that he should put up with everything, and not attack without an order from the Emperor and the King of England, but that he would not tolerate fortifications on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, in which matter he should not await instructions; and he desired the bearer of the advices to say this much to the said Count di Popoli.

Rome, 16th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6. B.

485. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Monday consistory assembled, and after audience the crosses were given to the legates, whom all the cardinals accompanied beyond St. Peter's gate.

* Violante Garlonia, who for adultery was strangled by her own brother, the Count of Aliffe, in the presence of her husband and her brother-in-law, Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, on the 30th August 1559, twelve days after the death of Paul IV., who, when he heard that the Duke of Paliano had killed her paramour, enquired, "*E della Duchessa che si è fatto?*" upon which hint the last act of the tragedy was completed at Jallese. (*See* Guerra degli Spagnuoli contra Paolo IV. da Pietro Nores, libro iv., pp. 280, 281; ed. Firenze, 1847.)

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According to the letters from Naples, Marc' Antonio Colonna, who is going to the Imperial court with the Neapolitan donative for the King of England, has set out for Bari, with the intention of embarking on board your Serenity's gallies bound thither with the Queen of Poland.

Rome, 16th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

486. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

On the morrow of Lord Paget's departure for England, the King sent him a courier, and shortly afterwards the Secretary Verzosa; the one announcing the despatch of this last, the other having charge of some jewels for presentation to the Queen in his Majesty's name.

On that same day, by King Philip's order, there were arrested between Mechlin and Antwerp, Sir Peter Carew, and another Englishman, late tutor of King Edward and son-in-law of Sir John Masone, who resides with King Philip as councillor for the Queen (*per consigliero della Regina*).* They were brought hither in the first instance to a place called Vilvert (*sic*), from which they were then taken secretly to Ghent, and it is said they will be conveyed to England. This circumstance has surprised everybody here, and greatly pains the English, as some of the persons aforesaid were presented here to King Philip and obtained his pardon for the things treated against him heretofore when he went to consummate his marriage with the Queen; and from what the King told the Duke of Savoy, who repeated it, he had them arrested from suspicion of fresh plots against himself and his consort; *but the English here, being of opinion that the suspicions are unfounded, say openly that this proceeding will cause his Majesty to lose the adherents already gained by him.* I have also heard that the Secretary Verzosa was sent both to give account of these arrests to the Queen, and to obtain from her letters of credit to the English merchants at Bruges (*Berges*) for a sum of equal amount to that which she sent by Lord Paget.

The Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Orange, the Bishop of Arras, and all the other members of the council of these States, have returned from Tournai, whither they went under pretence (*con nome*) of asking counsel (about the demand for a subsidy made lately from them) of Queen Maria, whose anger continues; and she shows very plainly that she will neither precede the Emperor to Spain, as he had requested her to do, nor accompany him. There is nothing more to tell either about his Majesty's departure, or of that of the King, for England, *save that certain leading ministers give it to be understood that the Emperor might delay the execution of his project, solely in the event of some resolve formed by the Pope and the King of France, to his Imperial Majesty's detriment and that of King*

* In Mr. Turnbull's preface to the Foreign Calendar, 1553–1555, p. ix., there is the following passage, demonstrating the relationship between Sir John Cheke and Sir John Masone, thus:—"Lady Cheke's mother, the good widow Hill, had taken our ambassador for her second husband."

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Philip; and whenever letters arrive here from Rome and Florence, many evil reports are heard from the Imperial ministers there of the ill-will of his Holiness and of the Duke of Ferrara towards their Majesties; so that, from what I have heard, it has been several times discussed in the privy council whether the Emperor and King Philip should show openly that they know the Pope's mind, and adopt measures in accordance with it.

The Spaniard who was sent by the King to his most Christian Majesty is returned from France, and has brought back the decision about certain articles added to those of the truce.

The Duke of Arschot has arrived here, and the French ambassador says it will be proved that he cannot justly be released in the mode adopted by him, without paying his ransom, as when conceded greater liberty he gave his "parole" not to make his escape.*

Brussels, 17th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 17. **487.** CARDINAL POLE to the DUKE of ALVA.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Pole's old and very dear friend the Archbishop of Salerno, by his learning and other rare qualities, deserves the opinion formed of him by the Emperor when he proposed him for that see, the government of which Pole knows must subject him to many difficulties; so although certain that Alva, of his own accord, will be ready to favour all his wishes for the service of God, he nevertheless requests Alva, with all earnestness, to be content, for love of Pole likewise, especially to protect him and his affairs relating to that bishopric, which, from the long absence of his predecessors, has suffered great loss and detriment, both spiritual and temporal, and for this Pole will remain especially obliged to Alva.

London, 17th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 17? **488.** CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of MANTUA.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The ambassador of the Duke of Mantua has delivered to him the Cardinal's affectionate letter giving particular account of his state. Prays God to continue protecting the Cardinal and the duchy, and that he may be daily comforted more and more by seeing his nephew the Duke such as the Cardinal and the Lady Duchess his mother have always endeavoured to render him, to the honour of God and to the benefit of his subjects. With this opportunity for writing to the Cardinal, will not omit to tell him how much he was pleased to hear of the protection so warmly conceded by him to the Captain Ormanetto, the brother of Messer Nicolò, in conformity with the other favours and kindnesses hitherto conceded him. Pole being satisfied to the uttermost with the services of Messer Nicolò, cannot but be bound to love, not only him, but all his family for his sake, and to wish them every happiness and advantage.

London, 17th May 1556 ?†

[*Italian.*]

* Philippe de Crÿ, Duke d'Arschot, Prince de Chimay, had been taken prisoner by the French in August 1553. (*See* Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 4.)

† No date of time in MS.

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May 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

489. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day the sentence passed on one of the three culprits* lately condemned was carried into effect, it being still doubtful whether the other two [John Daniel and Henry Peckham] will obtain pardon, though this respite is in their favour. The one now executed was once before convicted in the time of Wyatt, under whom he served as captain, and was pardoned, which aggravates his offence (*il suo errore*).

To the list of prisoners a widow woman (*una donna vedova*) has been added, the late Sir —— Brocklier's† wife, who, although a gentlewoman, is nevertheless factious, and has a bad name, and lest search should be made for her she determined on flight to avoid imprisonment, and had already set out, but being recognised either at the seaside or on the road she was arrested and brought hither to the Tower, where it is heard that fresh prisoners arrive daily, two more having been taken last night, but not persons of quality, though I am told that in Flanders they have arrested Peter Carew and Dr. Cheke, tutor of the late King Edward, a circumstance which causes universal astonishment, as, according to general report, Carew was the person who in great part revealed the conspiracy; unless these arrests were made on account of religion, with regard to which both one and the other have a very bad name; but the result will verify the fact, as it is supposed they will be sent hither.

Very strict watch is kept round the court and over the city (*per la terra*) by the officials bound by command to perform this service; and the Queen still abstains from appearing in public, not having shown herself even on the very solemn festival of the Ascension. No other facts transpire beyond these arrests, save that the commissioners here continue examining the prisoners with great assiduity.

The fleet has set sail for Portsmouth with the Admiral, but the soldiers on board were few, the rest having been sent on afterwards. The return from Brussels of Lord Paget, which may be called unexpected, has wonderfully comforted the Queen, the King having sent to tell her that at the latest he will be with her by the end of next month, as confirmed by his more recent letters brought to her Majesty subsequently by the courier Francesco Piamontese; so she begins firmly to hope that thus will it be, and they are already providing and preparing somewhat, orders having been given to the persons bound to go and meet his Majesty to put themselves in array, which will now be for the fourth or fifth time. The longer his Majesty delays the greater is the indication that his stay will be the more prolonged, which, to say the truth, is requisite both for the need of this kingdom and its quiet, as likewise for that of the Queen individually.

On the day of Lord Paget's return he had two interviews with the Queen, which lasted upwards of two hours, their business being

* Captain William Staunton; but neither in Machyn (p. 106), nor in the Verney Papers, is any mention made of his having taken part with Wyatt, or of his having been pardoned on a former occasion.

† Query, Sir Walter Bucler, who in October 1552 befriended Elizabeth Tudor. (*See* Domestic Calendar, p. 45.)

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very private, and on the morrow the aforesaid courier Francesco was very unexpectedly sent back in haste. Many persons believe that this frequent despatch of couriers during the last few months relates not only to the affair of the prisoners,—it being credible that the Queen acquaints her consort with what takes place from day to day, and with the discoveries made, and that this last mission of Francesco in great part concerns Carew and Cheke,—but also another more momentous matter, *and perhaps the one communicated to me heretofore* (*as written by me to your Serenity*) *relating to the Lady Elizabeth, which proceeds with very great secrecy.*

They have continued during the present week, few being those in which they omit doing so, to burn male and also female heretics, all of whom, so far from evincing fear of the flames, seek them voluntarily, accusing themselves, and going to make their depositions in person, one of the individuals amongst these last having been a blind man from his birth, and another of his fellow sufferers was 70 years old; proof that the thing (*la cosa*) has taken root, not only with the young, but also with their elders.*

The summaries contained in your Serenity's letters of the 25th and 28th ulto., received at one and the same time, have been communicated, and as usual your Serenity was thanked for them.

London, 19th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

490. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day before yesterday the King of Spain sent the Marquis of Bruges (Berges?) to Queen Maria at Tournai (*Tornaut*), requesting her to be pleased to return hither, both by reason of the Emperor's wish and his own to see her, as also from need of her counsel about several occurrences in these provinces, especially with regard to settling the difficulties respecting the subsidy demanded of them. She replied that being unable in any way to alleviate the Emperor's ordinary indisposition, and the King having many persons to give him counsel, her presence was unnecessary, and even should it be the Emperor's will that she come, she will do so solely for the purpose of making him a visit. According to public report this anger on the part of Queen Maria is great, and arose not only from her having been unable to obtain the town of Mechlin, but because she knows that the King does not choose her by any means to remain in these Provinces. The consequence of these disagreements is that the demand for one per cent. on immoveables and two per cent. on moveables remains undecided, and as many of the King's counsellors urge him not to withdraw it, whilst the States will not consent to it, it seems therefore that the Queen alone is capable of settling so important a matter favourably.

No fresh sign is visible of the departure either of the Emperor for Spain or of King Philip for England, save that the courtiers say it

* The burning at "Stratford-a-Bow" of four men on the 15th May 1556 is recorded by Machyn (p. 105), but he says nothing about the heroic fortitude of the victims here celebrated by the Venetian ambassador.

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will take place next month, that the ships and troops and all things are in readiness, and that the King will be the first to depart, though few persons believe that their Majesties will quit these Provinces at one and the same time, for many essential reasons; so the Emperor will remain, and the preparation of the fleet is for the sole purpose of enabling the King to cross over to England in safety for his coronation (*et che l'apparato dell' armata è solo a fine, che 'l Re sicuramente passi in Inghilterra ad incoronarsi*). The secretary Verzosa, who was sent thither with the despatch and news of the arrest of Carew and Cheke, has returned, as at Calais he found Lord Paget, who took upon himself to execute his entire commission.

The French ambassador presses King Philip to give him a positive reply about the prisoners, and has again received for answer that his Majesty chooses in the first place to hear the intention of the King of France in this matter, which he hopes will be announced to him in the next letters of his ambassador at the French court. *Here they have a firm suspicion that the truce will not last, by reason of the advices received of the proceedings of the French and of the Pope, who seems not only almost to have revoked the mission of Cardinals to the Emperor and King Philip and his most Christian Majesty to treat peace, but also to purpose relieving Sienna, and then to create disturbances in the kingdom of Naples.*

Brussels, 21st May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

491. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday King Philip sent in post to the Pope the Signor Ferrante de Sanguini, his Majesty's agent (*ministro*), and the Pope's nephew, with three commissions, the one to pray him to appease his anger against the Marquis of Sarria, and not revenge himself by causing the Emperor and the King to recall him from his embassy; the other to recommend Marc' Antonio Colonna to him; and the third to tell him openly that his Holiness' proceedings give the King constant cause to suspect that he is not well disposed towards his Majesty and the Emperor, requiring him clearly to declare his intention; and a courier having arrived last night, with the news of the investiture given to the Count of Montorio of the aforesaid Colonna's state, and of his grade, the King despatched another courier to recall Sanguini. *This resolve formed by the Pope, together with other indications received here of his thoughts, cause the Emperor's and the King's couriers to say more freely than ever that their Majesties will be compelled to make a hostile demonstration against him* (scoprirsi con l'armi contra), *lest he choose in his own fashion either to relieve Sienna or to raise disturbances in the kingdom of Naples, and by means of the mission of Cardinal Caraffa demand and obtain from the King of France his protection for the Count of Montorio, and consequently form an alliance with his most Christian Majesty; so it has been treated here to write to the ambassador resident with him accredited by the Emperor and the King to perform an office in this matter in opposition to*

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such negotiation, reminding his Majesty of the observance of the truce. I have also heard that in the same sitting they discussed the propriety of making divers representations to your Serenity and the other Italian potentates, in evidence of the Pope's proceedings, and of the wish on the part of the Emperor and the King to avoid war. A nobleman of these Provinces has been again sent by King Philip to Queen Maria, requesting her to come hither; and this morning his Majesty departed to go and confess and communicate during these Whitsuntide holidays at a monastery two leagues from this town, where he will also amuse himself by hunting, as he did last evening by taking part in a tourney (*torneo*) with many of his most intimate attendants.

Yesterday the Emperor received letters from the King of the Romans and the King of Bohemia, in which they apologize for Maximilian's being unable to come to their Majesties according to the intention announced by him, both from a fresh attack of his illness, and by reason of what they have to treat with the princes of the Empire, owing to the great trouble constantly given by them, and that they anticipate yet greater from the Turks in Hungary. On the day before yesterday there arrived here the Duke of Holstein, brother of the King of Denmark, to pay his respects to the Emperor, having heard of his determination to go to Spain, and to stipulate with King Philip the same obligation that he had with the Emperor to serve him in time of war, and to confirm his stipend; it is also supposed that they will again treat his marriage with the Duchess of Lorraine, as she has no longer hope of having the Duke of Savoy.

Three days ago the Pope's chamberlain, who took the hat to Dr. Groperio at Cologne, came hither to the Nuncio, and told him that although Groperio used fair words to him, giving hope of accepting the dignity sent to him by the Pope, he nevertheless would not do so absolutely, although the Nuncio said lately at their Majesties' courts here that he had already assumed the dignity; and it is supposed that although Groperio says he has written a letter to the Pope assigning the causes which induce him to decline this honour, it is nevertheless possible that, composing as he is certain works on theology and concerning papal authority, he may entertain some opinion contrary to his Holiness.*

Brussels, 23rd May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 23. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6. B.

492. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Signory.

Don Garcilasso [de la Vega] has returned from Naples to avoid the heat. He says the Duke of Alva is confounded by the investiture of Paliano in the person of the Duke, and yet more by

* Cardella (vol. 4, pp. 350, 352) alludes to the contradictory statements of Gropper's biographers, about his acceptance or refusal of the red hat, but gives no hint with regard to the probable cause of its rejection.

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the fortifications which it is intended to erect. He has written to the court about this, and will await a reply before doing anything further. Certain Spaniards of rank now here say that the Duke of Alva does not serve his sovereigns as he ought, as he has a lawsuit here with the Archbishop of Toledo involving a rental of 6,000 crowns.

The Imperial ambassador told a person in his confidence, from whom I had it, that he is certain the King of England will not permit this fortification, and he has asked advice about what he could do to make sure of the safe arrival of the next courier from the Imperial court, as he is afraid his letters may be intercepted.

Rome, 23rd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

493. Cardinal Pole to John III., King of Portugal.

As the King's ambassador Don Diego Lopes is returning to Portugal, Pole will not omit to pay his respects to his Majesty, and as Lopes will give account of what took place about the Guinea affair, concerning which the King was pleased to write to Pole, he has no occasion to allude to it farther, and it merely remains for him to offer his ready assistance in whatever may be for the King's service, as becoming his great observance and devotion towards him, although this is unnecessary, King Philip and Queen Mary being so closely linked with his Majesty by so many ties.

London, 25th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

494. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After the flight of the Duke d'Arschot, the Constable determined to send the Secretary Dardoes (*sic*) to Brussels, to pray the Emperor and King Philip, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to determine about the release of the prisoners, and to put a fair ransom on the two personages who were reserved, before the expiration of the three months' term, which will end in a fortnight, letting their Majesties know that should this matter meet with any further delay or other difficulties, his most Christian Majesty would be compelled to believe that with regard to the execution of the other articles of the truce their Majesties' mind was in like manner insincere, wherefore he would also form fresh projects (*farebbe novi pensieri*) for the benefit of his affairs. After the departure of this secretary, his most Christian Majesty being on his way to supper one evening, allusion was made to the Duke d'Arschot's escape, which the King resents greatly, it seeming to him that his honour is at stake (*parendoli esser stato come punto nell' honore*); and when speaking about what the Secretary Dardoes (*sic*) might effect, his Majesty said aloud, "Unless they give me back the prisoners according to their promise, I in like manner shall seek my own advantage in the observance of the rest of the truce." These words cause great talk of war at the court, as hitherto there is very little hope of the release of the prisoners.

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The last advices from Rome announce the intended departure of Cardinal Caraffa on the 18th, as also the creation of the new Duke of Paliano, and the Count di Bagno, *concerning which, from what I have been enabled to elicit on good authority, the Pope's design is to add to this state of Paliano some territory thereabouts belonging to the Church to strengthen the duchy, and together with the advantage and security thus obtained for his family, and to remove the impediments which might injure the Caraffas* (che gli potessero nocere), *he wishes to put it under the protection of the King of France, who will grant it the more willingly, as at small cost he will have a strong frontier in his hands towards the kingdom of Naples, and the Pope will separate his own acquisitions from the rest of the Church strongholds* (dal suo venirà a separare il resto delle forze della chiesa), *giving his most Christian Majesty also no little addition to his other forces in Italy; and for these reasons chiefly has his Holiness determined to send Cardinal Caraffa, that he may enter into close negotiations. No one at this court believes him to have the slightest thought of peace.*

Melun, 26th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

495. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Francesco Piamontese, who left Brussels on the 23rd, returned to-day, and from the report made by him by word of month, he heard that Carew and Cheke, who were arrested, had been sent on hither; but he did not fall in with them on the way, as might have been expected, he having come postwise, and all three travelling the same road. Notwithstanding this, it is reported at the Court that they will be here to-morrow, in which case the true cause of their arrest, which has hitherto remained secret and doubtful, will be ascertained.

Their arrest has been followed here by that of Lord Thomas Howard,* who on the morning before last, Whit-Sunday, was sent to "the Fleet," being arrested at the palace of the guard, in the presence of the whole Court, there having been released from that same prison a few days previously, and restored to their full liberty, two of those cavaliers who were confined there.† This Lord Thomas was the brother of the late Earl of Surrey [the poet], and the younger son of the late Duke of Norfolk,‡ of a most ancient and noble family, of those best deserving of their sovereigns, and he is

* Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk. In the "Additions" to "Queen Jane and Queen Mary" (Camden Society Publication, p. 187), it is shown that Lord Thomas Howard was on the proposed "*bounty list*" in favour of persons who had espoused the cause of Queen Mary against Wyatt. On the 13th January 1559, Queen Elizabeth created Lord Thomas Howard Viscount Bindon. (*See* Burke's "Extinct Peerages," p. 275.)

† *See* before, date 5 May.

‡ Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, died at Kenning Hall in Norfolk on the 26th August 1554. His son, Henry Earl of Surrey, the poet, was beheaded in January 1547, and his son Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was twenty years of age in 1556. (*See* Collins, vol. i. pp. 96, 98, and Nott's Memoirs of Surrey, p. ciii.)

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supposed to be deeply implicated. It had been generally supposed from the beginning that he would be sent to prison by reason of his intimacy with the conspirators, and because one of the three last executed had been his servant and pupil.*

The French ambassador M. de Noailles took leave of the Queen yesterday, as for many months, subsequent, however, to the discovery of the conspiracy, he has most earnestly requested his King to recall him hence, for the removal simultaneously of the suspicions and accusations to which he will be hourly subjected, through the examinations of the conspirators, and to avoid any dishonour, from which he has indeed had a very narrow escape, for from what I hear there was a debate and decision in the Privy Council as to whether by proceeding against him individually as a plotter (machinatore) *and contriver* (insidiatore) *against the state and person of the sovereign with whom he resides, the "jus gentium" would thus be violated; but to avoid coming to open hostilities at the present moment and under existing circumstances, it seems that the ministry has not chosen to proceed further; dissembling their indignation and consigning the affair to silence, for the present, perhaps in conformity with the will and command of the most Serene King.*

There will remain here in his stead as agent a brother of his, a Councillor [of the Parliament] of Bordeaux, who was sent lately for this purpose from France, until the arrival of the other brother, the Prothonotary, destined a long while ago for the embassy in ordinary.

The Portuguese ambassador resident here also took leave last week; it sufficing his King to make use of the one who resides at Brussels, as by following King Philip hither he will simultaneously serve the Queen, the return of whose consort will (it is confirmed) take place at the time last appointed.

I am told that her Majesty has invited and entreated the Emperor to grant her the favour of an interview when passing the British Channel on his voyage to Spain, it being her intention to go down to the seaside that he may do so with less inconvenience.

London, 26th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

496. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor has sent for his most serene son, who was at Laura (*sic*), whither he went to confess and communicate, and to pass these holydays hunting; and the object of this call is supposed to be that they may discuss together the important advices received from Rome, *about the acts and designs of the Pope, concerning whom the chief ministers here use the most*

* "*Servitor et allievo.*" The three last political executions seem to have been those of Throckmorton and Uvedale on the 28th April, and of Staunton on the 19th May. I am unable to ascertain which of these persons had been the dependant of Lord Thomas Howard.

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abusive language possible, and have twice debated in council whether they should desire the Duke of Alva to march with the greatest number of troops he can muster to prevent the erection of fortresses in the state which until now belonged to Marc' Antonio Colonna, lest they become not only a fresh bulwark and frontier against the kingdom of Naples for the service of the most Christian King, but the chief cause of any reverse to which King Philip might be subjected in that kingdom. Some of the members proposed sending this order, and the majority would have wished the Duke to execute it as of his own accord; but they came to the conclusion that it would be better to send two ambassadors to his Holiness, to see whether by acts of humility (officij di humiltà) *it be possible to deter him from those projects which they understand he is forming to the detriment of the Emperor and the King, and in order better to discover the object of his intention; and should his replies show it to be evil, they will then protest to him that not only in all the states of King Philip will they withdraw the obedience to his Holiness, and create a patriarch in Spain, but attack in all possible ways with an armed force. The ambassadors mentioned for this mission are the Italian Regent of Milan and the Spanish Duke of Medina Celi, or Count Chinchon.*

It is generally believed at these courts, and it has been said to me by some of the chief ministers, that the Pope would never have dared to make his nephew Duke of Paliano, or to speak so violently against the Emperor and King Philip, had he not formed some secret league with his most Christian Majesty and others. Those who suspected your Serenity of some private understanding have been undeceived by me in the most distinct and loving terms that could be desired by you, as I assured everybody that you will always maintain a constant friendship with their Majesties, as has been the case hitherto, and that you honour and respect them to the utmost, as becoming. This, by reason of your Serenity's proceedings, has been fully credited by certain well-affected and prudent persons, including a doctor in the confidence of Don Juan Manrique, a member of the privy council, and he told me he knew I should be spoken to about a very important matter, which according to his belief might be for the mutual benefit of their Majesties and of your Serenity, and that the proposal might be reasonably desired and accepted by the Signory by reason of the manifest advantage which it promises. I replied in general and loving terms, and although he did not come to farther particulars, I think I understood his meaning to be a defensive league, offering terms which he expected your Serenity to accept. In case of my being spoken to on this subject I shall keep to general replies, according to what I believe to be the Signory's intention, always speaking kindly, and giving your Serenity minute account of everything.

Yesterday the Emperor sent the harbingers to prepare his lodgings at Ghent, into which city he purposes making his entry on St. John's day, they being also ordered to provide apartments for the ambassadors. He has also sent Don Luis de Caravajal, who commands certain ships, to make a fresh choice of the one on board

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of which his Majesty is to embark, having heard that the one destined for him is not suited to his purpose.

Subsequently M. de Buren [Maximilian, Count d'Egmont], admiral of these seas, and M. d'Andelot, one of his Majesty's chamberlains, were sent by him to superintend the execution of all his commands, and from what I hear there are some 50 ships in readiness, for which they have sent from Antwerp a quantity of guns, military stores, and provisions. The troops which the Count of Nassau went to raise in Friesland to be put on board these ships are said to be 20 companies (*bandiere*), in addition to which there will be 10 composed of certain soldiery called here Walloons, and 500 Germans to be taken to Spain to work the new silver mines, besides the 1,200 Spaniards who came with the ships from Biscay.

This mode of proceeding on the part of the Pope, and the result to be feared from it, make some persons marvel greatly, considering the detriment which it may cause his most serene son, at the Emperor's choosing to cross to Spain, as he says he will, and thus deprive himself and King Philip of such benefit as might accrue to them by his employing the Imperial authority in Germany to keep the Pope more to his duty (per contener più in officio di Pontifice); *and being unable to imagine that the Emperor really means to depart, they infer that the object of all he says and does is to favour the King's journey to England for the purposes desired by them.**

Brussels, 27th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

497. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday Don Bernardino de Mendoza came to me and commenced discussing the present proceedings and future designs of the Pontiff, which according to his belief would cause great trouble, not only to Italy, but to all Christendom, saying that as I was your Serenity's representative, and his personal acquaintance since many years, he would communicate to me a thing of great moment, known at these courts (as he believed) solely to the Emperor and the King, and to the members of the privy council, namely, that a league had been concluded and signed between his Holiness, the most Christian King, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Switzers, with the obligation to deposit 1,200,000 *crowns either in Venice or Rome,* 400,000 *of which to be contributed by the Pope,* 600,000 *by the King of France, and* 200,000 *by the Duke. Some of their proposals were to the effect that, amongst them all, an army was to take the field and commence the war at such time and in such place as the Pope shall choose, and that should their projects be realized, Sienna was to be under the protection of the Church, the Pope being then empowered to appoint one of his nephews its governor; Florence was to return to its former republican rule, Piombino to be restored to its lord,† and*

* A fine di favorir l'andata del Re in Anglia per gli effetti desiderati.

† Giacomo Appiano. (*See* Sir William Hackett's Index, Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558.)

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Genoa to remain as a free republic, and not dependent on the Emperor, and the King, accepting (accettando) *a French ambassador; that an Italian duke was to be placed in Milan, but before appointing him, certain conveniences and advantages derived from the said state were to be had by the Duke of Ferrara and the Switzers* (ma far innanzi sentir alcuni commodi et utili al Duca di Ferrara et Svizzeri, tratti da esso stato), *the which Switzers to be given* 100,000 *crowns before sending their troops to serve the league; that the kingdom of Naples be given to the second son of his most Christian Majesty, with the obligation to increase the fief of the Church by* 500,000 *crowns rental* (con obligo di accrescer il feudo alla Chiesa di 500 mille scudi di entrata), *and not to interfere in the collation of benefices, freeing the feudatories there from divers exactions* (angarie), *and providing moreover for an annual rental of* 300,000 *crowns in that kingdom for the Count of Montorio, and of* 15,000 *to be derived from church benefices for Cardinal Caraffa.*

In this league place is also reserved enabling your Serenity to join it, with a promise that should Sicily be obtained, it be understood to be yours (che essendo della Sicilia fatto acquisto, ella se intenda esser suo), *his most Christian Majesty binding himself to defend his Holiness, his nephews, and the See Apostolic against any potent prince, be he who he may* (contro qualsivoglia potente principe); *the Pope, however, not being bound to take part in the affairs relating to the Duke of Savoy.*

Don Bernardino then told me that what the Pope did against Marc' Antonio Colonna, and what he intended doing against Paolo Giordano Orsini and other feudatories of the Church, was to rid his mind of them (per levarseli de sui pensieri), *and that should the Imperialists choose to defend them, and forbid the mission of delegates into the kingdom of Naples, and his Holiness demand French assistance there, in that case his most Christian Majesty, both because he had made this league (so long back as the* 17*th of October last, Mendoza said) before concluding the truce, and from having named the Pope therein, and under pretence* (sotto nome) *of aiding the See Apostolic, might effect a rupture with the Emperor and the King, who therefore, were they not to resist, would thus leave his Holiness to put all Italy in confusion, and expel Spain for the purpose of introducing France; so it seemed desirable to him for me to write to your Serenity, that by reason of your extreme prudence you should provide against the great evils which might occur, and that as you had no claims to urge against the King of Spain nor his Majesty against your Serenity, it would be well to make a defensive league in all of the common States, or in part of them, according to your pleasure; and at this part of his discourse, rising from the place where he was seated, he stood up and uttered with earnestness the following precise words:—"Now, lord ambassador, let us unite these princes of ours, as I pledge my faith to you that in taking this resolve the most illustrious Signory will find in King Philip a perpetual good disposition and fidelity in performing whatever he promises and binds himself to, in such wise that his Serenity would have cause to remain satisfied;" adding that he*

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left to you to consider what friendly neighbours the French usually prove themselves (et che a lei lasciava il considerare che amici sogliono esser Francesi quando sono vicini), *and that although the Pope appears to be your Serenity's friend, he, Mendoza, nevertheless knows that since a long while his Holiness is not well disposed towards you, and, putting his hand to his forehead, he said that one of the chief things which weighed upon the papal brow was to see you in possession of certain places on the mainland* (et mettendosi una mano sopra gli occhi, disse, che una delle principali cose che le pesava era il veder che ella possedesse alcuni luoghi in terra ferma che possiede).

I thanked his lordship extremely for his courteous visit, and for the great praise bestowed by him in the course of his conversation on your Serenity, as also for the confidential communication made by him to me about everything, which loving mode of proceeding was, I said, in conformity with the goodness of his nature, and with the good opinion which your Serenity had always entertained of his great ability (*molto valore*) and regard for your interests, as demonstrated by him everywhere, and lately by the loving offers made to your secretary at Milan. I then said that I knew your Serenity's bias towards the Emperor and King Philip to be as good as it could be towards the best of friends, and that when you said you loved, your love was eternal (*et che quando ella dice di amare ama per sempre*), because you love wisely, like their Majesties here, by reason of their many great virtues, and the multitude of their other truly royal parts (*conditioni*), as also from having known that they amply reciprocated your sentiments; *and that I hoped that this reciprocal friendship, and the reverence and respect on the part of your Serenity, would continue to be of such a sort as to prove by facts that you would never fill up that void which he told me had been left for you as a party to the league; telling him, in short, that I considered it certain, not only that you would not join it, but that no thought of doing so had ever entered your mind, as I knew, on the contrary, that in like manner as all their Majesties' successes had caused you satisfaction, so had their reverses distressed you; and I added divers other assurances, calculated to rid him of the slightest suspicion in case his lordship should have come purposely to tell me the contents of the treaty, in order to elicit what I knew about your Serenity's intention in the matter of this league, as in fact, since the Pope's undisguised abuse of their Majesties, when conversing with any of the members of the Privy Council, I perceived a sort of suspicion that unless the Pope had your Serenity's support he would not act as he does against the Emperor and his son.*

I am very glad to have, as it were, convinced him by my assurances, for the ministers here do by me what they are not wont to do with regard to other foreign ambassadors, coming familiarly to dine with me, as was the case with Don Ruy Gomez, the King's confessor [Francesco Alfonso de Castro], and other chief personages; Don Ruy Gomez, when I spoke to him lately (as enjoined me by your Serenity) about favouring the Dr. Torniello and Antonio Brutti of Dulcigno, having promised to despatch their business in

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the best possible manner, assuring me that for the future the demands made by me in your Serenity's name would be expedited more favourably and honourably than hitherto, owing to the carelessness of the ministry, and that he would always be the instrument for establishing a true and permanent union between his King and your Serenity, and from his knowledge of my sincere mode of proceeding, he considered it certain that I should do the like; telling me in conclusion that his Majesty would send a new ambassador to Venice, the one now there having demanded his recall, and that a gentleman of great condition would be sent, as your Serenity deserves; and when I commended the gravity of Don [Francisco] de Vargas,* and said how acceptable he was to the Signory, by reason of his great discretion, Don Ruy Gomez replied that he knew the King of his goodness would reward him.

Brussels, 29th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

498. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In conformity with what was written by me about the Duke of Paliano, I receive assurance from several quarters that in the treaty of truce between these Majesties, there being a clause which authorises either of the parties, within three months from the time of its signature, to include, besides the adherents already specified, such others as the said Princes shall think fit; his most Christian Majesty, before the expiration of that term, nominated the Count of Montorio and the Pope's whole family; *in addition to this it seems to be likewise confirmed that his most Christian Majesty had previously conceded him his protection; the which two facts are said to have been accomplished* (li qual doi effetti si dice esser stati fatti), *because the Pope, having to create the Count, Duke of Paliano as he did, and the Duke choosing to fortify Paliano and Rocca di Papa, the Imperialists may be incapacitated from preventing him without breaking the truce, and that should they disturb his operations, the King of France must defend him.*

The Abbot of San Saluto arrived here lately to transact some business of his own, with the intention also of waiting for Cardinal Caraffa and then proceeding to Rome. He paid his respects to his most Christian Majesty and to the Constable, both of whom did him much honour; *and being persuaded by the Constable to say something to the Imperial ambassador, who is much his friend, about this release of prisoners, and to do his utmost to discover his mind, he did so, having spoken to him and rejoined several times* (havendo più fiate parlato et risposto); *and from what he told me he found the Imperialists well inclined, adding that their need is such that provided this side do not trouble them, there is no doubt whatever of their observing the truce; and in a long conversation with me the Abbot evinced a suspicion that this side will very soon wage*

* For the christian name of this ambassador, see Sir William Hackett's Index to Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558.

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war; for he said to me that should these French be able to obtain the release of the prisoners it would not please them, as wishing for a rupture, they are content that the world should believe the non-restitution of the prisoners to be the cause of their breaking the truce; and he put before me the discovery of the attempt on Vercelli, adding, "Had it succeeded would it not have been a fine excuse to make to everybody that as the Imperialists did not restore the prisoners, the King also should attend to his own advantage." In short it seemed to me to comprehend that he believes everything to have proceeded from the Pope's constant intrigues to thwart these adjustments (finalmente mi parve di comprendere che tutto vi si esistimasse da lui, per li officij che continuamente ha fatto far il Pontefice per disturbare questi appontamenti); *and above all, that having hitherto merely given the King hope of doing great things, and having come to this fact of Paliano, he by positive deeds has proved his will* (animo) *by giving into the hands of his most Christian Majesty a strong frontier against the kingdom of Naples* (una gagliarda frontiera al Regno di Napoli).

The Imperial ambassador came subsequently to visit me, and discussing these same matters, I discovered that he also was much troubled by this doubt lest the truce be broken, and it seemed to me to comprehend that it all proceeded from the coming hither of Cardinal Caraffa (et mi parve di comprendere che tutto procedesse dalla venuta qui del Cardinale Caraffa); *and from one word to another he went so far as to say, "Rest assured, ambassador, that if the French wish for peace it is in their hands, nor will I deny that my King has perhaps the greater need of it; but considering the interests of both sides, I find that the advantage to be derived from peace will perhaps prove equal; and to produce this effect nothing is wanting but a good mediator, for it does not seem either fair or hardly possible that the Princes in person should declare themselves; nor for this would there be any better instrument than the Pontiff, provided he choose to act with the fear of God before his eyes; and should this ambassador* [*the Legate Caraffa*] *be the bearer in fact of what is said to be the cause of his coming, I think I can affirm that he will have the honour of accomplishing it; though on the other hand, should personal affections* (proprij affetti) *prove a more powerful motive than the benefit of Christendom, we shall certainly have war.*" For my own part the slight knowledge I have of this court does not make me view things in so hopeless a light, and indeed I am of opinion that should the prisoners be released, there will be no danger of disagreement (*disparere*) at present, everybody evincing a great wish for quiet, and they are disarming in all quarters, both galleys, cavalry, and infantry.

Morette, 30th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 30.
Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6. B.

499. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Tuesday chapel was held for the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, to which all the cardinals and ambassadors were invited,

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as also to dine with his Holiness afterwards.* Amongst the rest there came the English and Portuguese ambassadors, who have a dispute about precedence, so when the Pope came down to array himself in the pontifical habits, the master of the ceremonies, to prevent any disturbance, said to him "Holy Father, it would be well to put an end to the competition between England and Portugal before going into chapel, lest in the presence of such a crowd they do something unbecoming." The Pope got into a rage instantly, and having called the Duke of Paliano,† said to him, "Make those ambassadors go away, or have them put in the castle, for we will not put up with these indignities. We are not Paul the Third, who tolerated Don Diego, whom we would forthwith have imprisoned in the castle." The Duke announced the Pope's will to the ambassadors, and they departed.

After the mass and dinner, the Pope withdrew with the cardinals and us ambassadors into the audience chamber, and amongst various topics of conversation said that of his courtesy, and not indeed from any obligation, he was giving notice to the Powers, of the Council, which he purposes holding here in Rome; and that should no other prelates come, he will hold it with those on the spot, as they well know the authority he has. Then at about 4 p.m., the aldermen (*caporioni*) having got together all the ordnance of this city at the Campidoglio, commenced their march and went over Ponte St. Angelo to Borgo, to St. Peter's Square, making a very fine show, and remaining there until the harquebusiers had given the Pope two salutes. According to report, they are in number 7,000, including 1,000 cuirassiers (*corsaletti*), but the Duke told me they were 5,000, and moreover the "*Collateral General*" said that were the bad troops cashiered there would remain but 5,000 (*che quando bisognasse cassare i tristi non resteriano 5 mille*).

The Bishop of Agram (*Zagabria*) who came hither from the King of the Romans, to ask assistance for Hungary, is departing very dissatisfied, having had for reply from the Pope that he is sending the Legates to stipulate the peace between the Kings of France and England, and when it is concluded, an attack will be made on the Turk, and thus Hungary and other provinces be released from slavery; and a person who had it from the lips of Don Diego la Chaux? (*Lasso*) (*sic*) (the agent of the King of the Romans) told me that before arriving at this reply the Pope narrated to him the birth, education, and all the virtues and valour of Cardinal Caraffa, with every particular, even down to his nurse, and then gave a similar biography of the Cardinal of Pisa,‡ the discourse being so long, that Don Diego, who is a feeble diminutive hunchback (*un gobbetto debole*), being unable any longer to keep on his legs, well nigh fell to the ground, and was forced to go out of the room to rest. I have chosen

* Compare what follows with Carne's account of the same circumstance in Foreign Calendar, 9th June 1556, p. 228.

† Giovanni Caraffa, Count of Montorio, was made Duke of Paliano on the Sunday preceding the 16th May, as stated in a despatch from Navagero, which I did not think it necessary to calendar.

‡ Scipione Rebiba, translated from Motula to Pisa, and who was on his way as legate to King Philip.

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to mention these details, that your Serenity may see how the Pope, when unwilling to reply to any proposal, goes wandering to avoid a positive refusal.

The Rev. Comendone, Bishop of Zante, who accompanies the Cardinal of Pisa, and will remain as Nuncio in England, departed for Padua on the day before yesterday, to see his kinsfolk before quitting Italy.

Rome, 30th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 7. B.

500. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Council of Ten.

Cardinal Cornaro has told me that Cardinal Farnese, talking confidentially with him, said he knew for certain that the intention of Cardinal Caraffa is to place himself entirely in the hands and at the disposal (*et nel voler*) of the most Christian King, to whom he will offer the Pope himself, and his whole family, with all their dependants in the kingdom [of Naples]. He will demonstrate of what importance the investiture of the new duchy in the person of his brother is, reminding the King, that to maintain and defend the Duke is the way to gain the kingdom of Naples ; and moreover that a treaty is on foot to make the Cardinal of Ferrara* successor to the present Pope in case of his death ; as will be proposed to his Majesty by Cardinal Caraffa, in order yet more to obtain his favour ; so that after the demise of this one he may be sure to have an Italian Pope, after his own fashion, of might and authority (*di autorità et di forze*). The Cardinal of Ferrara has written to the King to gratify and oblige Cardinal Caraffa, by giving him all his (Ferrara's) benefices, as he will be very glad of it (*che ne sarà molto contento*). This negociation has been set on foot by Cardinal Sermoneta,† who is under great obligations to the Cardinal of Ferrara, and much the friend of Cardinal Caraffa ; and to facilitate its execution, the Pope promised Caraffa before his departure to have a dozen cardinals (*di haver una dozena de Cardinali*), all of whom were not only to be of the French faction, but dependent on Cardinal Caraffa, so that he might command and turn them to any side he pleased. Cardinal Cornaro told me besides that this was confirmed to him by the Cardinal "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza] ; and that both one and the other of these Cardinals [Farnese and Sforza] evinced great dissatisfaction ; requesting me to write this to a secret quarter (*in loco secreto*).

Rome, 30th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian

501. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the Emperor received two separate couriers, sent by the King of the Romans. The one, as told me by King Philip's

* Ippolito d'Este. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 209, 212.)

† Niccolo Gaetani, of the Ducal family of Sermoneta, made Cardinal by Paul III., 22nd December 1536, at the age of 12 years. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 197.) He was protector of Scotland at the time of Queen Mary's imprisonment, and provided largely for Scottish and other Catholics, who emigrated to Rome on account of religious persecution.

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confessor [Francesco Alfonso de Castro], brings news *that the Pope has said he will hold a Lateran Council* (un Concilio Latterano), *summoning all the Princes of Christendom to his presence, to deprive the Emperor and the said King of the Romans of their dignities, because at the last Diet of Augsburg concerning the matter of religion, the King consented that Germany should live according to the Confession of Augsburg, and to this resolution the Emperor submitted* (havendo sua Maestà nell' ultima Dieta di Augusta acconsentito in materia della religione che la Germania vivi secondo la confessione Augustana, et la Cesarea soportata la deliberatione). The other courier's letters announce that the King of Bohemia and the Queen his consort have quite determined to come to their Majesties, and are expected here in three weeks.

The Emperor immediately on receiving these despatches, *and hearing the Pope's resolve to send commissioners into the kingdom of Naples, gave signs of the most violent rage* (fece segni della maggior alteratione di animo che dar si possa), and forthwith ordered the King and his counsellors to assemble in his Imperial Majesty's own chamber to consult (as they have already done several times) about the expedients to be adopted in these matters. From what Don Bernardino de Mendoza has told me, the first was that the Emperor do suspend his departure for Spain, the King doing the like with regard to England; and to-day several officials who were sent to Ghent and Zealand to make the necessary arrangements have been recalled. I heard subsequently that M. de Lalain and the president Viglius were sent yesterday to the French ambassador to assure him positively in their Majesties' names that the prisoners shall be indubitably released as soon as the commissioners who came hither for the purpose shall fix their ransoms; in addition to which, they requested him to write to his most Christian Majesty that in like manner as the Emperor and King Philip, let happen what may, will not fail in the promise given by them to observe the truce, so may it please his Majesty to be content not to take under his protection those who seek to disturb it, and to give especial trouble to the Emperor and his Son. Yesterday they also sent one of the two couriers to the King of the Romans and of Bohemia, nor is it known for what particular purpose; *but the chief ministers, who a few days ago were heard to say that there was a bad understanding between the King of the Romans and the Emperor, now express hopes that the Pope, thinking to do their Majesties harm, will make them become friends, and their sons also.*

Several letters and messengers-express have also been sent to Germany to know for what purpose certain free towns in Swabia especially are raising horse and foot; Augsburg having sent eight companies and 1,000 horse with Sebastian Sentilin towards Donavert, and being unable to learn from their chiefs on whose account they were mustered, he attacked and routed them, with some loss to himself. The postmaster has received advices, which he took to the Emperor, purporting that a report circulated in those parts that these troops were raised by the King of Spain, some persons saying that it was for the purpose

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of going to have himself crowned in England, and others that by these means he meant secretly to receive the Emperor's renunciation of the Empire (*et chi perchè voleva secretamente con tal modo ricever la rinuntia dall' Imperator dell' Imperio*); notwithstanding which, it is said that at the request of the King of the Romans, made by Baron Poibaler (*sic*),* part of these troops were raised for Hungary; and other neighbouring towns hearing subsequently of the troops raised by Augsburg near Donavert, everybody commenced recruiting. The Emperor has also heard that Herbrot (*sic*), who caused Augsburg to detach itself from the Emperor in the time of Maurice, has gone to reside with the Elector Palatine, *both of them daily circulating reports very prejudicial to the Emperor; and here they are somewhat disturbed by the ill-will which the said Elector bears the whole house of Austria.*

During the last three days a courier has had his foot in the stirrup to go to the Duke of Alva, and this delay proceeds from the great diversity of opinions *as to whether instructions should be given to the Duke not only not to receive but to punish the commissioners whom the Pope says he will send into the kingdom of Naples, and to go and prevent the fortifications which the Duke of Paliano is raising, or whether* the ambassadors already destined for his Holiness should be despatched; and it was debated whether it would be well to send the Bishop of Arras alone to the Pope, *to deter him from these proceedings, and if unable to obtain this, that he should then demand a fresh audience in consistory, and there declare war against him; but they were informed by the Bishop that by reason of his grade he was by law incapacitated from performing such an office against his Holiness, who would not admit him, and that he should indeed receive punishment at his hands; and in the council he suggested sending King Philip's maggiordom Don Diego de Azevedo.*

Signor Ferrante di Sanguini has told me with great sorrow that he was recalled when on his way to the Pope, because the ministers suspected that going through France he might meet Cardinal Caraffa, to whom he is related, and communicate his commission to him, *and that by reason of the wavering and feeble counsel which his Majesty received many inconveniences were seen to arise;* but that he hoped that the Emperor (who knew better how devoted he was), having again turned his attention to public business (*già che tornava ad intender li negotij*), would soon have him sent to his Holiness.

When I went to return the visit of Don Bernardino de Mendoza he repeated all that he had said, again exhorting me to write what was notified by me in my foregoing, saying he expected some reply, and that their Majesties' ambassador at Venice will then be instructed to discuss the details; telling me besides that they had made choice of him to speak to me on this subject, because he professed to know and eulogize the grandeur of the most Serene Republic, and to have the Signory's interests at heart by reason of the many courtesies received from a great number of very illustrious

* Baron Nycolas de Polweyler? (*See* Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V., by Dr. Karl Lanz, vol. 3, p. 627.)

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senators during his residence at Venice, and that henceforth he would acquaint me with all the thoughts and resolves of the Emperor and the King, that your Serenity might be privy to them, and that the Duke of Alva had been charged always to give account to you of everything. I thanked his Lordship in loving and general terms for this kind mode of proceeding, using the same expressions as on the former occasion, adding, however, that as he wished me to do so I would write the whole to your Serenity.

That intimate friend of Don Juan Manrique about whom I wrote heretofore has again spoken to me about the alliance (unione) *which the members of the privy council wish the King to make with your Serenity, telling me in very strong language* (con rissolutissime parole) *that he was come to let me know, but chose me to receive the whole as in the confessional, that should the King know that he could form a perpetual league with your Serenity, you might do precisely whatever you pleased with the affairs of Italy, using the phrase "as a good and discreet son does by a good and sage father."* My informant added, that should it ever be known that he had confided in me it would ruin him completely, and that he intrusted his honour to that faith which he had always placed in me as a true nobleman, not considering himself as addressing the ambassador; so I beseech your Serenity to have such silence enjoined as usual with regard to matters the most secret.

The King is indisposed and has been blooded, but the malady is not considered important.

Brussels, 31st May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 31. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

502. Cardinal Pole to Bishop Vida [Marco Girolamo Vida of Cremona,* Bishop of Alba on the Tanaro].

Has lately received Vida's two printed books, one [copy]† of

* The birthplace of Bishop Vida is alluded to in Pope's Essay on Criticism (verses 205–208), as follows:

"Immortal Vida! on whose honoured brow
The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow;
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name
As next in place to Mantua, next in fame."

† These two books, in one small octavo volume, published at Cremona, "*in civitatis palatio*," were addressed to Cardinal Pole in the year 1556, thus—

M. Hier. Vidæ.
De Dignitate Reipublicæ
seu civilis societatis ad
Reginaldum Polum Cardinalem.

The author advocates a republican form of government, his arguments being confuted by Flaminio, a confidant of Pole, who, together with his fellow cardinals Monte and Marcello Cervini, and Monsignor Luigi Priuli, are represented as being present at the disputation which is supposed to have been held in a villa beyond the Porta Santa Croce at Trent, which had been lent to Vida by the Prince Bishop Madrucci at the time of the Council of Trent in the year 1545. Monte, Pole, Cervini, and Priuli are made to speak occasionally, and the following words are attributed to Pole:—

"Vix exprimere valeam, quanto stomacho audire, aut legere soleo, Christiani hominis poemata, in quibus ubique Joves, Veneres, Saturnos, Castores, Polluces et id genus nugas auribus meis inculcant, præter fabellas, et molliculas plenasque libidinum, et titellationum omnis generis narrationes: tu quoque, Vida, visus es mihi aliquando via communi ingredi," etc.

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which, as ordered, has been given to the Queen, who seemed pleased with it, and availing himself of this opportunity Pole spoke to her Majesty about Vida and his rare qualities. This publication will gratify many persons whose wish was greater than their hope of seeing him soon continue and complete his great work in six books ;* as these [last] two may possibly increase the wish for the others. Prays God to grant him also time and opportunity thus to satisfy the great expectation to which his deserts have with reason given rise. Pole will be the more glad to read them as when doing so he shall fancy himself in his presence conversing with him, which always gave and gives Pole so much delight, both as an acknowledgment of Vida's eminent virtues, and of the benevolent affection always evinced by him towards Pole. Will say nothing farther about his own condition, referring himself to Monsignor Priuli. Recommends himself most lovingly to Vida, offering him his services, and praying God to remove all the impediments which prevent him from returning to tend his flock in person.

London, 31st May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May ? †
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

503. Cardinal Pole to [Pier Francesco Agugliano] Bishop of Pistoia.

Has received his letter dated the 1st of January, requesting information from him about Messer Mariano Vittorio, concerning whom Pole wrote to the Bishop of Pistoia heretofore, requesting him to propose a person capable of bearing the burden of that see, for which Agugliano purposed electing a suffragan.

Pole continues to have the same good opinion of Vittorio as he then expressed, and indeed the more he has associated with him the more is he confirmed in his belief that Vittorio is capable of bearing such a burden, and worthy of it. Prays God to move Agugliano to make such choice either of Vittorio or of others as may prove most to the services of His Divine Majesty, of the Bishop's flock, and of his lordship himself. Is glad to hear that the reverend friar Reginald is with him, being certain, as said by the Bishop, that by his learning and piety he will be of great assistance to him. Recommends himself to his prayers, and rejoices greatly to perceive the maintenance and increase of that piety with which he has always known Agugliano to be endowed.

London, May 1556 ?

[*Italian.*]

June 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

504. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the King told me that Cardinal Caraffa embarked on the 21st ulto., and was bringing with him Paolo Giordano Orsini, the

* "*Christiados libri sex.*" Cremona, 1535. I am unable to find any notice of a sequel to the six books of the "*Christiados.*" Two editions of Vida's poems were printed at Oxford in 1722–1723, and the tribute rendered by Pope at that same period to their author is now seen to have been anticipated by Vida's contemporary Cardinal Pole, in 1556.

† No date of time in MS.

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destined son-in-law of the Duke of Florence, and who has now been persuaded to change his mind, and to become the adherent of his most Christian Majesty; and he said to me laughing, "It would indeed have been a pity that an Orsini, and most especially this one also, who is the head of that family, should not be my friend." He continued that he believed Cardinal Caraffa was already at Marseilles, but that he had so numerous a retinue that, although he was coming postwise, he could not use much speed; and he then said that he understood from Torquato Conte, and secretary Bruchiero, who had arrived from Rome, that the Pope was in such good health, and had become so fat and lusty (*et era fatto così grasso et gagliardo*) as to give promise of his living for many years, and most especially at present from the great joy caused him by the creation of the Duke of Paliano; and he said, "In the treaty of truce I have denominated (*ho denominato*) the Caraffa family, and taken them under my protection, with all their possessions, notwithstanding that at Brussels, in the council of the King of England, it was proposed to prevent the Duke of Paliano from fortifying." I asked his Majesty what news he had of the Emperor. He answered me, "It is rumoured everywhere that he will go to Spain with the queens his sisters, and Queen Eleanor has sent to France to purchase certain things which could not be had in Flanders, and she sent me word that she should go with his Imperial Majesty, apologizing to me for not passing through France on account of the heat of the weather." When I asked the King if the Emperor would live remote from political affairs (*passeria ritirato dalli negotij*), he said "he believed he would no longer transact business, and amongst the other signs which seemed most important was, that it had not been heard that the Bishop of Arras would go with his Imperial Majesty, he being on such bad terms with the King of England that he cannot remain in his service; so if he does not accompany the Emperor, the Emperor will retire from business (*si ritirerà dalli negotij*), and I have desired my ambassador at that court to address himself for all affairs to Don Ruy Gomez, who proves (*riesce*) very gracious and well disposed."

His Majesty then added, "I have heard on good authority that the Emperor on his passage has a mind (*ha animo*) to take with him to Spain Madame Elizabeth, the sister of the Queen of England, giving her to understand that should the Queen not have children, they will marry her to the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos], but this they do to remove her from that kingdom, of which they are endeavouring by all means to make themselves masters, and it continues to be said more than ever that the King will go over with an army (*ch' el Re passerà in quel Regno armato*), to which I perceive many obstacles; for even were he to take with him 10,000 or 12,000 soldiers, they would not suffice to keep all of those devilish souls in order (*a tenere in freno tutti quelli animi indiavolati*); and I verily believe that for his security there would be no other remedy than to expatriate all the inhabitants of that island and plant a colony there, as the Romans did, nor could he ever trust himself otherwise. Then, as you know, there are no fortresses in that kingdom, and should it be chosen to hold it by force, they must raise some, and in great number, which would require time and enormous expenditure,

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but I do not know whether he will have the means to realize these designs. Nor will I omit telling you that the other day, when Lord Clinton was here, he complained to me that I harboured the Queen's rebels and listened to their proposals, and I answered him that the malcontents of that kingdom were in such number that they had already filled not only France, but the whole of Italy, and that it was true that they came to me and proposed the most extravagant things possible, but that I had never given ear to any of them; and to tell you the truth, ambassador, *I know the English well, and that they are not to be trusted by anyone* (Io conosco bene li Inglesi, et so che non c' è persona che si possi fidare di loro). *I have also heard that in England they plotted* (hanno trattato) *to make Courtenay go back, but my ambassador at Venice* writes to me that by no means will he go thither.*"

I then asked him the cause of the King of Bohemia's visit to the Emperor, and he replied, "They say it is for his own private affairs, as they have never given him what was promised for his marriage portion (*la sua dote*), it being also his wish to see his Imperial Majesty before he sets sail; though I think that they will again tempt him to renounce the empire (*ma io non mi posso persuadere che non lo tentino di nuovo dalla rinuntia dell' Imperio*)."† I asked his Majesty in what state the affair of the prisoners was. He said, "Last evening I received letters from my ambassador with the fairest promises in the world. I believe that at any rate they will release them, but nine days have yet to elapse before the expiration of the three months within which the Emperor promised to set them at liberty, and we will wait to see what will take place, but three of them have been already released, and have even arrived here;" and he again repeated, "As I believe at any rate that they will give the others their liberty, should this prove true, I also will effect whatever I am bound to do, and I have already given orders for some ships captured after the conclusion of the truce to be surrendered, as the King of England also has done the like."

Morette, 1st June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

505. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The number of persons imprisoned increases daily, the arrest of Lord Thomas Howard having been followed by that of Lord La Ware† (Milord Alvard), a person who, although a nobleman, is nevertheless factious and scandalous, having been heretofore deprived of his seat in Parliament as baron for an attempt to poison one of his uncles, for the sake of inheriting from him so much the sooner; wherefore no one is surprised at his having been guilty as

* The Venetian Archives contain no document bearing the name of this ambassador; but by Mr. Turnbull's Calendar it is seen that the French ambassador at Venice on the 20th October 1554 was the Bishop of Lodève; and a subsequent despatch, dated Compiegne 8th July 1557, shows that he was still there at that time.

† *See also* letter from Badoer, date Brussels, 12th May 1556.

‡ "Wylliam West, sqwyre, odur-wyse callyd lord La Ware." (*See* Machyn, p. 109.)

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an associate in the plot. Two other gentlemen were arrested with him and sent together to the Tower, one of them having been a very favourite chamber attendant of King Edward. Two days later Mistress [Katharine] Ashley was taken thither, she being the chief governess of *Miladi* Elizabeth, the arrest, together with that of three other domestics, having taken place in the country, 18 [Venetian ?] miles hence, even in the aforesaid *Miladi's* own house [Hatfield], and where she at present resides, which has caused great general vexation.* Amongst the domestics is a certain Battista [Castiglione], an Italian, native of Piedmont, the *Signora's* master for the Italian tongue, and who has been twice before imprisoned on her account,† he being much suspected on the score of religion, as likewise is the governess and all the others. I am told that they have all already confessed to having known about the conspiracy; so not having revealed it, were there nothing else against them, they may probably not quit the Tower alive, this alone subjecting them to capital punishment. This governess was also found in possession of those writings and scandalous books against the religion and against the King and Queen which were scattered about some months ago, and published all over the kingdom; and by reason of her grade with the "*Signora,*" who is held in universal esteem and consideration, it is supposed that on this account chiefly Francesco Piamontese was immediately sent back in haste to Brussels, it being credible that nothing is done, nor does anything take place, without having the King's opinion about it, and hearing his will.

Subsequently, yesterday, the two prisoners Carew and Cheke arrived by sea, having been embarked at Flushing, near Antwerp (so it is no wonder the courier Francesco missed them), and on being taken from shipboard they also were conveyed to the Tower. Not only the cause but likewise the fact of the arrest of these two persons has been kept very secret here, and I understand that the most Serene King has complained, and is angry with the provost (*prevosto*) of Vilvorde, who was charged with the arrest, for not having effected it quietly and without noise, as ordered, that it might not be divulged so immediately. *One of the chief members of the Privy Council, who busied himself with this arrest, and was perhaps the author of it, has said that Carew is arrested because being in the company of Cheke, against whom alone the warrant was given, he, together with his servants, chose to resist the provost, which is but slightly verified, he himself not being subsequently released, as his servants were; and indeed this same lord has repeated that as Carew is taken it would be desirable on several accounts to find him guilty of something, to have an opportunity for putting him out of sight, his presence here being of no benefit.*

Three other persons were seized subsequently; having been found secreted in a vessel for the purpose of escaping, and they have moreover arrested an official of the Court, who has the charge of providing cards and dice for gambling there, and the profit derived thence;‡ so that the business of the Lords of the Council with regard to this

* Che è stato di grave molestia di ciascuno.

† *See* entry No. 80, p. 70, date 13th May 1555.

‡ This person was the groom-porter Lewkner. (*See* Machyn, p. 108.)

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matter increases daily instead of diminishing. To-day the trial took place of three of those who had an understanding with the conspirators to rob the Exchequer, of which they were officials and administrators, they having been arrested at the beginning, and all of them were convicted and condemned.*

The Queen has already commenced her projects for departure hence, taking the road towards the sea, and has given orders for the furnishing and provisioning of a house belonging to the archbishopric of Canterbury, some 20 miles from London,† where she will remain with Cardinal Pole until further intelligence, his most illustrious Lordship purposing in like manner to send his entire establishment to Canterbury, so that after the arrival of King Philip he may remain there as long as shall be conceded him; nor for anything else does he evince a greater wish than that of being able to live in his [archiepiscopal] residence.

London, 2nd June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 4. Original Despatch, [Venetian Archives.

506. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has sent a courier to England to the Queen his consort to give her news of his indisposition, and that he felt somewhat better after being blooded, and hoped soon to rise from his bed. He also sent her letters from the King and Queen of Bohemia confirming their speedy arrival, apologising for his inability to go to her at the time appointed, by reason of such great and unavoidable impediments. Three days ago her Majesty also sent him another courier with news of the eight Englishmen lately arrested by her order, telling him, in short, that from the evidence of certain persons she has understood that this plot against their Majesties was so astutely laid that none of the English ministers ever read or remember to have heard of a similar one being formed in that kingdom.

Brussels, 4th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

507. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Secretary Dardois has returned from Brussels. The Emperor and King Philip purpose releasing the prisoners, but as the French lords have never specified what ransom they will pay, their Majesties consent to reduce the 100,000 crowns required for the Duke de Bouillon to 80,000, and will accept 45,000 instead of 60,000 for the Constable's son. He also brought a list of the sums which their Majesties considered fair ransom for all the other prisoners, saying that if they found it unsatisfactory, they were to avail themselves of their rights by offering what they thought suitable, as their Majesties would do justice. In conformity herewith their Majesties' ambas-

* The individuals arraigned at Westminster Hall on the 2nd of June 1556, were Rossey, Bedyll, and Dethick. (*See* Machyn, p. 107.)

† In Strickland's Mary (p. 562), it is said on the authority of Jane Dormer, that the Queen passed the summer of 1556 in the palace of Croydon, which had been a dower-residence of her mother Katharine of Aragon.

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sador [the Lieutenant d'Amont] went yesterday to the Constable, who stated he desired nothing but observance of the promises; if these were broken, his most Christian Majesty would seek his own advantage; *and he went so far with the Imperial ambassador that he considered it certain he should be dismissed within a few days, whence arose his timidity;* but the mediation of the Abbot of San Saluto has also greatly soothed the Constable, who yesterday, when giving the said ambassador audience, said his proposal in the name of the Emperor and King Philip was a thing to be accepted, and that he was therefore to go to Paris, where his Majesty would be, and there give him a reply. *The coming of Cardinal Caraffa causes the Imperialists such suspicion as to make them now urge the settlement of this matter, which being known to the Constable, he avails himself of it marvellously.*

Cardinal Caraffa arrived at Marseilles on the 27th ultimo, and was to be to-day at Lyons. His right reverend Lordship will then come to the court, but being lame of one leg (*aggravato d'una gamba*) he will not ride more than three posts each day; and to-morrow the Prince of Salerno will depart, M. de Lansac following him with a numerous company, he being sent by the King to meet the Cardinal, whose colleagues will all go to meet him at one day's journey hence; nor will they fail to show him every other mark of extraordinary honour, the King paying his expenses and those of all his attendants, and it is said they will give him an annual income of 12,000 crowns. The King departs to-morrow for Paris, there to remain until the Cardinal gets near Fontainebleau, whither he will return to receive him.

The English ambassador [Dr. Wotton] has again remonstrated very strongly with his most Christian Majesty, complaining, in his Queen's name, that her rebels who had plotted to kill her are entertained (*trattenuti*) and favoured here, staying even in the King's presence; and prayed him that their evil-disposed accomplices may not be encouraged by this example; to which his Majesty, in reply, made it appear that he knew nothing whatever about it, but would have inquiry made whether any such persons were in his kingdom, and make due provision (*et ne farebbe provisione*).

Morette, 6th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 6. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6, B.

508. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters dated the 22nd ulto. from England have been received by Cardinal Morone, vice-protector of that kingdom, with money for the despatch of certain bishoprics, including the important see of Winchester. The courier who passed through France says that Cardinal Caraffa arrived at Marseilles on the 27th ulto.

Count Brocardo, a Cremonese, has arrived here on his way to Naples to visit the Queen of Poland on behalf of the King of England.

Rome, 6th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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June 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

509. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday a courier was sent to the Princess in Spain, desiring her not to allow Spanish subjects to go to Rome to obtain anything whatever from the See Apostolic, nor permit the Nuncio in Spain to exercise his ordinary authority with regard to the personal effects (*spoglie*) of deceased bishops and other ecclesiastics, unless the Pope abstain from what he is now doing against their Majesties. This resolve proceeds from the will of the Emperor, and every day, without awaiting the hour assigned for the meeting of the council, he sends to summons the counsellors to his presence, his whole discourse being about papal matters, always in a very angry tone, and when anyone who in consultation does not tend towards the same end as his Majesty, or would arrive at it by other means than those imagined by him, he, interrupting them all, is accustomed to say, "So and so must be done" (*bisogna far così e così*), always adding an illustration derived from what has happened to himself with former Popes, and how he had conducted himself with them; and whereas previously he would not listen to letters from any place, and no longer received their summaries which Secretary Vargas was in the habit of making for him, he now has them brought to him, and especially those from Italy, and stays listening to them most patiently, and pondering the slightest details.

Yesterday there was a long consultation about sending the Duke of Savoy as Governor of the Milanese, *both to thwart the projects of the Pope and the King of France, according to whose league a son of the Duke of Ferrara is to have Italy*, and also to gratify Queen Maria by reappointing her Regent of Flanders for three years, as she openly shows herself beyond measure enraged both with the Emperor and the King, and moreover because, should the truce be broken, their Majesties could find no more fitting Regent for these states than the said Queen.

The French ambassador here has obtained from their Majesties the release of the ten prisoners of quality, and says that in a few days the Constable's son will also be set at liberty.

A gentleman of the Queen's chamber arrived yesterday from England, sent by her Majesty to visit the King on account of his indisposition. His Majesty sent for him immediately to his bedside, and told him to write to the Queen that he was much better, and hoped to begin getting up in two days. This gentleman then gave account to his Majesty of the whole affair of the prisoners, and especially of the strong evidence she had against Sir Peter Carew, exhorting his Majesty to take care of his health, and to bear in mind the promise made by him heretofore to the Queen in England. The King answered him that after the arrival and departure of the King and Queen of Bohemia, he would perform his promise of going to her.

Colonel Cesare of Naples has told Don Ruy Gomez positively that he will no longer serve King Philip, because the post of captain of the artillery has been given to Aldanna, who was sent last week to the Duke of Alva. He complains that the service rendered by him to the Emperor during so many years has not been acknowledged.

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The King having seen that neither the Marquis of Gierace nor the Signor Andrea Arduino, nor any of the Sicilians of great quality (*di gran conditione*), have chosen to go back to that kingdom from fear of being maltreated by Don Juan de Vega the Viceroy, his Majesty wrote, desiring him to come to the court, and he replied that the King perchance intends to punish him, supposing that he has committed some act of injustice towards certain persons now with his Majesty, and to whom they had appealed; that the King has authority to do this in his own kingdom (*nel proprio luogo*); and should he not choose Vega to serve him any longer, and if he is to go to Spain, it would be much more inconvenient for him to do so than to come to Brussels, but that as the King perhaps requires his presence, in order to reward him, the favour would be greater were he to receive it in Spain, instead of coming hither; and should his Majesty intend to avail himself of his services, by giving him some other post, he says postively that by reason of a variety of diseases he knows himself unfit to be employed in any other. This strange and impudent mode of proceeding, which this Vega also adopted in like manner with the Emperor, has surprised the court.

The Abbot Gevio, who is in the service of Cardinal Morone, departs to-day. I conjecture *he brought their Majesties the copy of the league made between the Pope and the King of France, about which Don Bernardino de Mendoza told me, as I wrote to your Serenity.**

Brussels, 8th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 9. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

510. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The arrest of the governess and of *Miladi* Elizabeth's three domestics having subsequently been added to by that of two other gentlemen resident here, who although her dependents and receiving salaries from her are in less constant attendance on her than the aforesaid, the Queen was induced to send to her in the country [at Hatfield] yesterday, Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse (Grand Escudier), and Sir H. Englefield (*et il Signor Inghilfel*), one of the Lords of the Royal Council, to console and comfort her on behalf of her Majesty, knowing, as may well be supposed, that this circumstance had distressed and dejected her; and to present her, as a token of loving salutation, and of a message of good will, according to the custom here, with a ring worth 400 ducats;† and also to give her minute account of the cause of their arrest, to acquaint her with what they had hitherto deposed and confessed, and to persuade her not to take amiss the removal from about her person of similar folks (*simile giente*), who subjected her to the danger of some evil suspicion; assuring her of the Queen's good will and disposition, provided she continue to live becomingly, to her Ma-

* *See before*, entry No. 490, letter dated Brussels 21st May 1556.

† This confirms a quotation from the MS. Life of the Countess de Feria (Jane Dormer), in Dr. Lingard's History of England, vol. 5, p. 246, ed. London, 1854.

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jesty's liking; together with some other particulars, which cannot now be ascertained; using in short loving and gracious expressions, to show her that she is neither neglected nor hated, but loved and esteemed by her Majesty. This message (*officio*) is considered most gracious by the whole kingdom, everybody in general wishing her all ease and honour, and very greatly regretting any trouble she may incur; the proceeding having been not only necessary but profitable, to warn her of the licentious life led, especially in matters of religion, by her household, independently of the certain knowledge had by those members of it who have been arrested, of these conspiracies; she being thus clandestinely exposed to the manifest risk of infamy and ruin. The Queen has thus moreover an opportunity for remodelling her (Elizabeth's) household in another form, and with a different sort of persons to those now in her service, replacing them by such as are entirely dependent on her Majesty; so that as her own proceedings and those of all such persons as enter or quit her abode will be most narrowly scanned, she may have reason to keep so much the more to her duty, and together with her attendants behave the more cautiously (*di star tanto più in officio et di viver insieme con li suoi con tanto più rispetto*); but on the return of the gentlemen aforesaid the effect produced by them will be still better ascertained.

The three prisoners last condemned were put to death yesterday in the same way as the others. It does not appear that Carew and Cheke have yet been examined; the latter runs some risk of faring badly should he be found really guilty of having compiled one of those books against the King and Queen, and the present state of affairs, which were privily circulated here.*

As yet, not one of the three couriers despatched lately one after the other to Brussels, by the Queen and the Regent Figueroa, has returned; and they were followed by a chamberlain sent in haste by her Majesty the moment she heard of the King's illness, which news greatly increased her own.

London, 9th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6, B.

511. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Chiefs of the Ten.

Has heard from Cardinal Farnese that the Duke of Alva had offered him the restitution of the whole of the Parmesan territory, and of 50,000 ducats revenue in the kingdom of Naples, and the revenue of Monreale in Sicily, provided he would renounce his claims on Piacenza to the King of England, and that the Farnese family would be the friends and servants of Spain as heretofore. He added that these seemed great offers, but that he was determined not to accept them from fear of being deceived, as he always had been, and that he would never do anything without the good grace and consent of the most Christian King.

He then proceeded to tell me that when he took leave of the Pope his Holiness kept him more than four hours, asking him what

* *See before*, date 13th May 1555.

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he thought would take place with regard to the new duchy of his nephew, and that he told him his mind freely. He also ventured to point out to the Pope many abuses (*inconvenienti*) practised both in the courts of justice, by daily arresting many persons and never expediting anyone, and in many other matters, which terrified the court, and would cause Rome to be deserted; and this also, he said, the Pope took very kindly.

Cardinal Farnese then said he thought it probable Cardinal Caraffa was gone to France to make the King determine on some fresh stir, though he was of opinion that the same necessity which induced his most Christian Majesty to make the truce, would cause him to observe it for some time, and the more so as the Constable bears little friendship to the Guise family, which is desirous of novelty, nor will he suffer his counsel to be so speedily annulled.

Rome, 13th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives. No. 6, B. Second Letter.

512. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Chiefs of the Ten.

Count Brocardo, who came from the court of the King of England to visit the Queen of Poland, has left for Naples. After much solicitation he obtained audience of his Holiness, and spoke to him in his King's name about the affairs of the Lord Giulio Cesarino. In his reply the Pope showed that he had a very bad account of the affair; nor did the Count make any rejoinder, being requested by the adherents of the Signor Giuliano thus to do, as they were of opinion that this intercession would not profit him.

On Wednesday the Abbot Nania was beheaded; a certain captain, his companion, being hanged. The abbot is said to have been put to death because he plotted with Don Garcia d'Aron (*sic*) (who absented himself) to poison Cardinal Farnese; the captain, for having sought to kill Cardinal Farnese with an harquebuse. Both one and the other when taken to the place of execution said publicly that they were sinners, and for their sins deserved every misfortune, but that they were utterly innocent of the crime for which they suffered, nor for it did they ask pardon of God's mercy.

The Duke of Paliano sent me letters from Cardinal Caraffa, dated Marseilles, the 29th ultimo, together with letters from the most Christian King, the Constable, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, of which I transmit copies. I understand that besides these letters, there was one from the Cardinal to the Duke his brother, demanding fresh pecuniary supply, but the Duke does not know how to represent this matter to the Pope.

To-day the Imperial ambassador had sent for the baggage-mules into his court-yard to load his effects, and in the evening he was given to understand that an order had been sent to the gates not to let him pass. At his request the Cardinal of Santiago [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] sent his secretary to the Pope requesting that the licence which he had twice given to the Marquis [of Sarria] might take effect. The Pope replied that it is true he gave it him, but that the Marquis is too violent (*è troppo terribile*), alluding to the affair of the gate, and of the gentlemen who were put to death in

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his house, and that he would inform himself about the order given at the gates not to let him depart. The Duke of Paliano, being requested in like manner thus to do, said he would speak about it to the Pope; so it is evident that they do not choose him to go away.

Rome, 13th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

513. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

After the commissions sent by their Majesties to the Duke of Alva desiring him, after praying and persuading, finally to declare war on the Pope should he not desist from his projects and operations, the Duke was subsequently ordered to have the Count of Montorio, and all the nearest kinsfolk of his Holiness, summoned to Naples, or to the court here; and to inform all the Spanish syndics in Rome that they must quit that city and the States of the Church, under pain of being considered rebels.

The Emperor continues to assemble the Council of State once, and sometimes twice, a day in his own chamber, discussing various things necessary to be done in case of war, which here is considered certain, owing to the frequent advices received from their Majesties' ministers, and to manifest signs, indicating the Pope's determination that the Emperor and King Philip shall commence it, as also from what they hear about the King of France, who, as told me by Don Juan Manrique, has sent to give money in Switzerland; in addition to which, the said King's ministers say that he will never allow the Pope to be attacked. The Count Broccardo also writes that when he negotiated with the Duke of Ferrara, he comprehended and heard that his Excellency will be declared captain general in Italy of his Holiness and his most Christian Majesty, and that the Duke of Parma will proceed against the Lord of Colorno, his vassal, and who is the dependent of the Emperor and King Philip, to have a pretext for commencing the war.

Three days ago their Majesties' confessors [Soto and Castro] were again called into the Council of State, and certain letters received lately from Rome were shown them, whereby it is understood that the Pope took occasion to say that if the King of Spain withdrew his obedience, he would excommunicate and deprive him of his title of king, as chanced to a former King of Aragon, and that he would free his vassals from their oath. The confessors suggested that without much trouble the people may be kept to their allegiance, as was done some ninety years ago, when Spain alienated herself from the church, leaving the care of all [spiritual] matters to the two primates, the one of Castille and the kingdoms dependent thereon, namely, the Archbishop of Toledo; the other of Aragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, who is Archbishop of Tarragona.

The Emperor having sent for Count Schwartzburg, held three long conferences with him about the mode and time for raising 3,000 cavalry, and according to his own account he will soon be despatched

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on this service ; but he has not been able to ascertain whether his Imperial Majesty destines them for Flanders or Italy.

Colonel Aldanna tells me he has heard from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, that on the arrival of the King of Bohemia all the decisions which have been formed, both about what is to be done in Italy, and with regard to the expedient to be adopted by his Imperial Majesty concerning the Empire,* will be announced ; and speaking about the Emperor personally, he added that in these great troubles caused him by the Pope, he daily exhibited to certain new counsellors of state his mature prudence ; and but for the courage thus given them he declared that their panic would be too immoderate ; and whilst the King kept his bed the Emperor gave satisfaction, moreover, by conceding audience to such private persons as asked it of him. All the lodgings have been prepared for the King and Queen of Bohemia ; and the Duke of Holstein, before his departure, gave it to be understood that on their arrival he would return ; the King of Spain negotiating two marriages for two daughters of the King of the Romans, one to the said Duke, the other to his nephew, the son of the King of Denmark. The King of Spain has sent to Antwerp to make a bargain with the merchants for 100,000 crowns to be given to the King of Bohemia on his arrival here on account of his credits, their Majesties' promise being to that effect.

The French ambassador resident here sent a spy to Holland, to ascertain what orders have been given about the ships already prepared for the Emperor's voyage to Spain, and he brings back word that he found 55 sail, all in good order with ammunition and provisions, and 1,500 Spaniards quartered at Middelburg, who had received two months' pay (*due paghe*) as earnest money. The troops raised in Friesland and Guelders amount to 2,000 infantry, but they are not near the place of embarkation, nor is it known whether they will disband (*se si dissolveranno*) or remain together ; but the Spaniards are ordered to remain in their present quarters during the whole of July, with a promise that they shall go to England with the King, who sent back the Queen's chamberlain with fresh assurances of returning to her after settling what is necessary with King Maximilian, fully certifying his consort that he has issued such commands as will prevent the Spaniards, when at table, from speaking dishonourably of the English nation for the future, as her Majesty had prayed him to do, complaining of similar insults, on several accounts. A secretary from Cardinal Farnese has been sent to reside here with the French ambassador, for the purpose of demanding, in virtue of the treaty of truce, that the Farnese family be allowed to keep possession of the 50,000 crowns revenue, which it enjoyed heretofore in the States of the King of Spain. The ambassador has spoken about this to their Majesties' ministers, and urged the release of the prisoners [of war] ; he received fair words in reply, and was also requested to write to the King of France to allow the nephew of the Cardinal of Trent, and the son of the Count of Colorno, to be set free on payment of their rate of ransom.

* Et dell' espediente dell' Imperio che prenderà Sua Maestà Cesarea.

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The King's maggiordomo Don Diego de Azevedo has been sent to Spain to provide money, and is commissioned to remain as treasurer-general in the kingdom of Aragon.

Brussels, 14th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

514. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The office performed with *Miladi* Elizabeth by the two personages sent to her in the Queen's name, agreed with what I wrote on the 9th, as heard on their return. According to the chief commission given them, before leaving her, they placed in her house a certain Sir Thomas Pope, a rich and grave gentleman, of good name, both for conduct and religion; the Queen having appointed him *Miladi's* governor, and she having accepted him willingly, although he himself did his utmost to decline such a charge. I am told that besides this person, they also assigned her a widow gentlewoman, as governess, in lieu of her own who is a prisoner, so that at present having none but the Queen's dependents about her person, she herself likewise may be also said to be in ward and custody, though in such decorous and honourable form as becoming.

The despatch of the prisoners continues, though slowly, according to the custom here. Yesterday three others were arraigned, but the only one condemned was the court official [Leukner] who had the care of the cards and dice at the gambling tables. The other two were sent back until another day; one of them being one of those three servants arrested in the house of the Lady Elizabeth; the other, a captain, or of some such profession.

Other affairs here proceed quietly as usual, but with risk of great sickness and yet greater famine than the last, owing to the heat and extraordinary drought of the season, as, contrary to the wont of this climate, and to the need of the soil, four months and upwards have passed without any rain to do good.

The Queen remains more distressed than ever, from hearing that fresh impediments arise daily to prevent the return of the King; but what grieves her most is the not having had news of his malady for several days, neither her chamberlain nor any of the couriers over there (*di là*) having returned; nor does her ambassador write, which yet more increases her sorrow and suspicion; as, although it is heard by advices from others that his Majesty has almost quite recovered, she, nevertheless, receiving no intelligence to this effect from her agents, will not give credit to the others, nor be pacified.

London, 16th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

515. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Cardinal Caraffa came to the court to-day in his official habit, the King, accompanied by the Constable, descending two steps of the stair to meet him. He is lodged at the court with as much honour and convenience as possible. *It is said that he will attend to the con-*

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firmation by his most Christian Majesty of the protection promised to his family, and also a little to the negotiation of peace likewise (et poco a trattatione di pace ancora); *and those who have spoken with his right reverend Lordship, report that by word of mouth he evinces a great wish for it, though it is believed the matter will proceed in appearance rather than in reality* (che passerà più presto con apparentia che con effetti). *As soon as they hear of the arrival at the Imperial Court of the right reverend Motula* [*the Legate Scipione Rebiba, Bishop of Motula*], *couriers will be sent to and fro to make a good display; though it is quite true that the Imperial ambassador gives it amply to be understood, and moreover told me this very day, that should these cardinals choose to mediate even moderately in this negotiation, they will find such largeness* (largezza) *on the part of his Princes as to have it in their power to produce some good effect, provided the King of France choose to reciprocate towards them fairly.*

Morette, 16th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

516. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday I went to visit the Cardinal Legate Caraffa with regard to the matter which he was come to transact with the most Christian King; he said he would not fail to aid the Pope's good intention, and that he entertained fair hope, not only because the Princes on both sides were weary, but also because many years had elapsed since a Pope had acted as mediator in a similar negotiation with such an intention as now instigated his Holiness (*che non era stato già molti anni un Pontefice il quale con quella intentione s' havesse interposto ad una tale trattatione, come faceva al presente sua Santità*), and that he had found his most Christian Majesty so disposed as greatly to increase his (the Cardinal's) hopes. The Cardinal also told me that on the day before yesterday he stated to the King the instruction received by him from the Pope, who sent his Majesty principally his blessing (*la quale principalmente gli mandava la sua benedittione*), and the good announcement of peace; and he added that in virtue of his office the Pope had despatched two Legates, one to the Emperor and his son, the other to his most Christian Majesty, to exhort and pray them to turn their eyes to the common weal of Christendom, which not merely by so many wars, but also by heresy, was already half exterminated and in great straits (*strettissimo termine*). His Holiness, therefore, as universal father had determined to convoke a general Council in Rome, a place convenient for all nations and for the Pope, who could not by reason of his advanced age so easily proceed elsewhere; the which Council he would announce in a few days, by fresh nuncios to all the Christian Princes; but he did not see by what means he could effect so just a wish without the settlement of peace between the Christian powers; so that he prayed his most Christian Majesty, the other Legate doing the like by the Emperor and the King of Spain, to be content with what was fair, and to find a mode of adjustment.

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Here the Legate, becoming very much excited, both in language and countenance, added that he had assured his Majesty that should he see himself fed with words, he would ascertain from which side the omission with regard to pursuing this good result proceeded; and when convinced of the fact, would act against the one with whom he should know the defect to rest, both by excommunications and every other sort of weapon, spiritual and temporal, having recourse also to those of his friends. To this the King, he said, answered most graciously that as to the Council, he commended beyond measure the goodwill and desire of his Holiness, and that as for himself he was always quite ready to send his prelates, at the Pope's pleasure, and that forthwith, without waiting further for a new nuncio, he would give his said prelates to understand that they were to prepare so as to be ready for any command. With regard to the peace, the King lauded the paternal office performed by the Pope, and said that respecting himself he had always been ready to come to an equitable adjustment with the Emperor and his son, but that now he was more so than ever, being moved by his Holiness' persuasions; wherefore whenever the said Princes may choose to restore what they hold belonging to him, he would give back what he ought (*quello che doveva*), and that should any difficulty arise about this, he was content to refer all his differences to the Pope; and he requested his right reverend Lordship to announce this resolve to him, so that he (the Legate) was now despatching a courier to Rome to give his Holiness account of all this, and to-morrow he would send another courier to Brussels with the same information for his colleague the Legate, whose arrival at that court could not be long delayed; and should he find the Emperor and the King of the same mind as his most Christian Majesty, sure hope of peace might be entertained. On the other hand, in case of delay, Cardinal Caraffa said he should take leave of the King to return to Rome, as he could not prolong his absence, both on account of business and also by reason of the Pope's age.

After thanking the Cardinal for this communication, I inquired if he had asked the King what States he claimed from the Emperor, and whether the other Legate would do the like. He said he had not, but that should the Emperor consent to what satisfies the most Christian King, the demands will then be made, and transmitted to the Pope, who, as Prince of Princes, will give judgment. He then discoursed about the life and goodness of his Holiness, praising him beyond measure, and principally for the "reform," and said that in a few days the bull against simony would be issued, and that chamber clerkships (*chieregati di camera*), and other similar offices, will no longer exist, everything being given gratis, as was done with regard to the affairs of the "Dataria," and that in the Pope's palace all his attendants were intent on nothing but fasting, and praying God for the peace of Christendom, all the vices which prevailed in the time of former pontiffs having been banished; and in like manner his Holiness would never be seen to alienate anything belonging to the Church; and indeed if able to recover what it had been deprived of, he would be content to shed his own blood for that purpose.

Then the Cardinal dwelt much on the insults received from the

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Imperial ministers who had compelled the Pope to arm for his defence and dignity, and he greatly vituperated the Imperial ambassador at Rome, *calling him an assassin and a traitor;* and then in a long speech he narrated all the offences committed by him against the Pope and himself; of which things processes having been made, he chose the whole world to hear them, and although a long time had elapsed without expediting them, this was caused by the Pope's wish to render the charges so clear and justifiable that no one could confute them; but that although he (the Cardinal) had been grievously offended, as they even plotted to murder him, yet he had referred all the injuries done him to God, but that the Imperialists would not see him (*non lo volevano vedere*), as the offending party never forgives, and always attributes the same sentiments to the person offended; but that his own conscience amply sufficed him, as it acquitted him before God; vowing that on many occasions he had mitigated the Pope's anger, who would otherwise have gone much further; and that when his Holiness insisted at any rate on imprisoning the said ambassador in Castle St. Angelo, with the intention of beheading him, he appeased his Holiness by telling him that were he to make so great a stir (*che quando facesse questo gran moto*) he would give the world to understand that he thus gave vent to the dissatisfaction caused him by the truce. The Cardinal said he would never desist from these offices, because in like manner as with all faith, and to his honour, he had served the Emperor as a soldier during 18 consecutive years (although he was ill remunerated for it), and subsequently the most Christian King, who had maintained his honour and his life, so at present, having quite contrary to his opinion become the soldier of the Holy Church and of Christ, in like manner would he serve this his new Captain with all faith and sincerity, consigning entirely to oblivion his former profession.

Throughout his discourse the Cardinal has always the name of God on his lips, and evinced so much zeal for religion, that had he lived always in the cloister rather than in the camp he could not express himself in more reformed and Christian terms.

Morette, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 20.
Senato Mar. Vol. 33, p. 74, tergo.

517. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the appointment of a Venetian Consul in London.

In order that the interests of our merchants and subjects dwelling in London may not suffer from lack of a consul or vice-consul, as has been the case for some years, during which, to their serious detriment, their differences have been terminated by a foreign judge, an infringement of our privileges and jurisdictions of no slight importance, as frequently notified to us by former ambassadors, and by our present representative with the King and Queen of England; wherefore, Put to the ballot that—

By authority of this council, be it enacted that our five sages for the Board of Trade (*cinque savij nostri sopra la mercantia*), and our proveditors for all three of the factories (*et i proveditori*

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nostri sopra tutti tre i cotimi)* do assemble immediately; and after pondering what is worthy of consideration, and hearing what the merchants who make the English voyage would wish to say for the benefit of their trade, the said committee (*collegio*) do then decree and decide whatever they shall think necessary, both by ordering what is to be done in London by the council of twelve there, and also by their own appointment here of a consul from amongst our noblemen, or of a vice-consul from amongst our citizens resident in London, as may seem most expedient to them, they moreover appointing such salary as they shall think suitable.† The committee to be also empowered and to exercise the power of limiting all the expenses incurred on account of said factory, both there in London and here, establishing such regulations about its management, as shall seem useful and necessary to them. The committee to be moreover authorised to tax the amount to be levied on the goods imported and exported on this voyage, in conformity with the acts passed in this matter, as much to the benefit and advantage of the merchants as possible. Any resolve formed by the said committee and decreed by two thirds of its ballots to be stable and valid as if carried in this council, by whose authority the consul or vice-consul who shall be elected is to be written to, that the acts passed by it, as stated, are to be, and caused to be executed in every respect and thoroughly (*debba in tutto et per tutto esseguir et far esseguir*); of the which acts copy to be sent; and the committee is not to be considered a "quorum" unless at least nine of the eleven members be present. Each of the five sages of the Board of Trade, and of the proveditors for the London factory, to be allowed to make such motions as shall seem to them profitable and necessary, each member of the committee being put upon oath to ballot conscientiously.

The aforesaid authority to continue both in the present and in the subsequent five sages and factory proveditors until the entire and total despatch and regulation of the said voyage, it being declared that the aforesaid salary of the consul or vice-consul and all the other expenses be defrayed with the moneys of the factory aforesaid.

Ayes, 184. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 2.

Read to the College on the 15th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Dispacci Roma, Venetian, Archives, No. 7, B.

518. BERNARDO NAVAGERO to the COUNCIL of TEN.

Having gone to the Pope to-day for audience, he took me by the hand and led me into the library of Julius III., where after saying that many days had elapsed since he last saw me, to which I replied that I had regard for his occupations and the late excessive heats, he replied, "Never have this fear of troubling us, for we

* The three "*cotimi*" (a term which I have invariably translated "*factories*"), were those of London, Damascus, and Alexandria. (*See* Boerio's Venetian Directory.)

† Until this motion was made, it seems that the Venetian factory in London appointed its own consul or vice-consul, who was paid by fees. By a document in the Venetian Archives, dated 19th May 1648, it appears that in 1646, John Hobson was appointed English consul in Venice by "The Trinity House."

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discourse with you as willingly as with the Duke our nephew, as you will this moment comprehend, for we shall impart to you our whole mind, with the hope, nay with the certainty, that everything communicated by us, through you, to those most illustrious lords will, on several accounts, be kept secret. We are informed that after we deprived these Colonnas (*questi Colonna*) as they deserved, being unable to tolerate them so near our home, and after it was heard that we had given their territory to our nephew, than whom a person more suited to this charge could not be found, that schismatic and heretical Emperor, whom we know to be a heretic, as at their first commencement he always favoured those opinions, to depress this Holy See and make himself master of Rome—as not only does he believe that this city belongs to him, but also the whole of our state, all Italy, and your city itself, which has always been free, and by the grace of God will thus continue as aforesaid—has proposed three things in his council: first, to wage war on us openly; secondly, to withdraw the obedience from us; thirdly, clandestinely to reinstate these Colonnas. Should they wage war on us openly, when thinking to attack us they will be compelled rather to think of self-defence. We will raise the whole world against them should they show the slightest sign of withdrawing the obedience; woe betide him (*væ illi*)! we will deprive him of the Empire, of his realms, and of his existence as a human being and a christian (*dell' essere huomo e christiano*), and let them see what a servant of God can do in virtue of and through the authority given him by Christ. Should they really choose to aid these vermin magots (*questi vermetti*) for the recovery of their State, we have already provided against that, as you will have heard from the Duke. You also know that on account of his insolencies we no longer consider the Marquis of Sarria ambassador here; the Cardinal of Santiago (S. Giacomo) came to us lately requesting very mildly and respectfully that we should take him into favour again, and negotiate with him. We replied that we would think about it during the night, and having thought, we determined to comply with the Cardinal's wish, but on condition of being able to do so without offending God, as the said ambassador, having done what you know, was excommunicated by us; so we desired the Cardinal not to bring him to us until he was absolved and free; and as the Cardinal is our friend, we, to give him yet greater authority, desired him to hear the Marquis, and for his sins to inflict on him a penance, *in pias causas*,* as we understand has been done, and we expect him to-day at 4 p.m. Were we not unwilling to weary you by so long a stay, we should wish you to be present at this spectacle. What we have told you hitherto is nothing; our reason for taking this ambassador again into favour is that having done an act of justice by degrading (*privandolo*) and holding him in such small account as we did, it perhaps became our clemency and graciousness so to do, which you will believe of us. It might also be said that we were thus induced by the prayers of the Cardinal and many others, which also would have been credible, as *homines sumus et humani*; but to you,

* A pecuniary fine, to be expended in charity.

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that is to say, to our heart, we say why it is that we did so, to be enabled (should these Imperialists insist on troubling us) in his presence by sound of trumpet to let them know what we are, and exercise that authority of which we told you just now."

On this the Pope expatiated at great length, repeating what he had said at present and on many other occasions against the Emperor, and about the cause of the death of the Abbot Nania and the captain who suffered with him; and he added, "That heretic [the Emperor] hates us, because he knows that we are better acquainted with his defects and tyrannical designs than anyone else." He then began commending the good-will always evinced by your Serenity towards the quiet and liberty of Italy, and said he was very sure the Signory would never fail in this her natural inclination; to which I replied that your Serenity's aim was quiet and peace; and in conclusion, embracing me closely, he said, "We desire peace, and my Lord God knows it we have sent to seek it, but should they compel us to make war they may regret it; and who knows what Divine Providence may bring to pass;" and then, whispering in my ear, and with his hand on my shoulders, he said, "This will perhaps be the way to free this poor Italy; and this much have we to tell you down to the present time."

The Imperial ambassador having gone to the palace with the Cardinal of Santiago, according to the arrangement mentioned above, I sent to hear something about it by my secretary, who having met the Duke of Paliano, his excellency desired him to tell me that Marquis Sarria had returned into favour with his Holiness, and then showed him a letter from the nuncio at the Imperial Court, dated the 3rd instant, containing a paragraph thus, "The fortifying of Paliano and Nettuno is taken very much amiss at this court and by their Majesties, not so much on account of the Colonna family as for the security of the kingdom of Naples, especially as they say those places will be protected by the French; and it was discussed in council to prohibit this by force, but they subsequently determined to have the Pope requested to cause the suspension of the works. They say they will appoint a successor to the Marquis of Sarria on the arrival here of the Cardinal of Pisa, who will, I hope, quiet these and other things which are constantly disseminated by the malignants." Having finished reading the letter, the Duke said the works would not be discontinued on this account, and that they shall await the demand, in reply to which the Pope will have no lack of very good arguments.*

Rome, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6, B.

519. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Cardinal Tournon told my secretary that he has heard from France that the King of England has released on parole (*sopra*

* This letter and others written by Navagero serve to fill up a blank in the correspondence of Sir Edward Carne, English ambassador at Rome, whose despatch dated 9th June 1556, is the only one of that month preserved in the Foreign Calendar, nor has it any sequel until the 3rd of August 1556.

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la fede) Monsr. de Montmorency and Monsr. de Bouillon, together with some others, treating them with great kindness and distinction; saying besides that in no other quarter than here at Rome is war spoken of, and that with the personages in authority here he (Cardinal Tournon) is unpopular, because he gave it clearly to be understood that he disapproved of the war, and that his sacerdotal robes forbad him to prefer it to peace. Touching this topic I also understand that the Pope sent for the said Cardinal Tournon, and requested pecuniary assistance from him for the cost of the troops now being raised for [the defence of] Paliano. The Cardinal replied that he could not do it without the King's order; and when the Pope rejoined that the King had written that in any need of this Holy See and of his family . . . . . [France would assist him?]* the Cardinal said it was true, but that he, as minister, could not descend from such a general order to details without an express command, which he would apply for and then execute it diligently. Thereupon the Pope replied angrily, "I am then deceived by the King;" and when the Cardinal said that his King never deceived any one, the Pope continued, "In that case I am deceived by you." To this the Cardinal answered, "I have served two kings, and many pontiffs and princes, nor could any of them say that they were ever deceived by me, and if your Holiness has this opinion of me, give me leave and I will depart."

Rome, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives. No. 6, B.

520. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Chiefs of the Ten.

A gentleman in the service of the Duke of Alva, who came from Naples under pretence of bringing the Duke of Urbino the decision about the Duchy of Sora, is ordered to tell the Cardinal San Giacomo, and the Emperor's ambassador, that they would do well to leave Rome.

Rome, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6, B.

521. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Concerning the Duchy of Sora, which the Cardinal of Urbino wishes to resign to the Duke his brother, permission to this effect has been received from the King of England, but it is said that the Duke has not yet determined to accept it.

Rome, 21st June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

522. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Nuncio has been commissioned by the Pope to acquaint the Emperor and King Philip with the departure of the Cardinal Pisa† on his way to their Majesties. He told the King that the Cardinal would prove that all the proceedings of his Holiness had been just, and for the dignity of the See Apostolic, and

* In the original some words have been omitted. † Rebiba, Archbishop of Pisa.

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that the suspicion entertained by their Majesties arose from the advices of malignants, and from the imprudence of the Marquis de Sarria, and his misunderstanding with Cardinal Caraffa. The King gave fair words in reply. *Not one of the chief ministers, however, nor any other person in these two courts, be his quality what it may, believes what the Nuncio tells everybody* (va dicendo a ciascuno in conformità); *they, on the contrary, are convinced that his Holiness pursues this course designedly* (studiosamente) *to deceive their Majesties, saying that such has been the Pope's nature always, and that for many years he has hated the Emperor mortally. Don Ruy Gomez and the Bishop of Arras say they have advices that Cardinal Caraffa has ordered the Legate Pisa to come hither slowly, so that he (Caraffa) may obtain a firm promise from the King of France of the things desired by the Pope, and then give notice to his colleague, so that, according to their tenour, he may elicit the object of their Majesties' negotiations. They consider it a bad sign that in certain briefs sent lately by his Holiness to Spain, to the Princess the Emperor's daughter, he used disrespectful terms, giving her no other title than that of "noble lady"* (nobil donna), *in consequence of which the Spaniards apply the grossest epithets imaginable to the Pope, and repeat them to his own Nuncio, who has written to the Papal ministers that he does not think it fit to transmit them, as they are so coarse* (così brutte) *as to be unworthy of recital.* Owing to the Nuncio's fair words it was debated in council whether to send a new ambassador to the Pope, and they determined to await the arrival of the Cardinal of Pisa. It was also discussed whether they should send back Don Bernardino de Mendoza to Naples, and remove the Duke of Alva, their Majesties being so dissatisfied with his past operations that in the event of war they are afraid of losing that kingdom; nor does his Excellency's brother-in-law, Don Antonio de Toledo, who is a member of the privy council, nor any other relation or friend of his, dare to defend him against his many accusers.

When congratulating the King on his recovery, I used the most loving expressions possible, by reason of several letters from Rome expressing suspicions of your Serenity's having a secret understanding with the Pope, it being said in particular that you had given two galleys to the Duke of Paliano. The King answered me so lovingly that I could not but attribute his words to good will, and I then visited the Bishop of Arras, who, when speaking of the Pope, told me they had intercepted certain letters whereby they had ascertained your Serenity's good will as to peace; and then with a smile on his face he said he had determined to retire, the Emperor his master having renounced all his States and statesmanship (*tutti i Stati et negotij*); and when I replied that the King would not brook the bereavement of his well-tested ability and great worth, he rejoined that I should in fact see that on his Majesty's departure he would not follow him, but remain at his bishopric, and do what good he could in these provinces.

Brussels, 21st June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
June 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

523. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ambassador has complained bitterly to his most Christian Majesty that some of the new rebels of his most Serene Queen, who lately made their escape to France, having joined others who were already here, fitted out two French ships in Normandy, and captured two English vessels laden with merchandise; to which his Majesty replied that he knew nothing whatever about it; and when the ambassador rejoined that by existing treaties between the two kingdoms it having been stipulated that his Majesty was not to allow any armed vessel to go out of his harbours without a licence, and after giving security not to molest the English, he did not comprehend how these ships could have got out without the King's knowing anything about it; whereupon the King repeated that he did not know of it, but would apply such a remedy as would satisfy him. Shortly after this the Admiral sent to show the ambassador a letter giving account of an English corsair who had captured four French ships; and the ambassador told me that the said rebels had also armed the two English ships taken by them, and that they were all four at sea, adding that at this commencement it would be easy to adjust everything, but that if matters went further he apprehended some great disagreement between these two crowns. The French ambassador resident in England [Antoine de Noailles] has obtained leave to return hither, and in his stead one of his brothers [Gilles de Noailles] has been sent, with the title of agent, and it is apparently intended to run on (*di scorrere*) in this fashion. In addition to the 800 French infantry in garrison in Scotland, his most Christian Majesty is sending another 1,200, so that the entire amount will be 2,000.

Morette, 23rd June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

524. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Treaty of peace proposed by Vincenzo Parpaglia, agent of Cardinal Pole (despatch in cipher throughout).*

The Imperial ambassador resident here [Simon Renard, Lieutenant d'Amont] has lately held several conversations with the Abbot of San Saluto, and having demonstrated to him a great wish for these Majesties [Henry II. and Philip II.] to conclude a peace, repeated several times that there could be no more opportune moment than the present. To this the Abbot replied that from his conversations with the Constable he did not find him unwilling, provided the Milanese were given either to one of the sons of his most Christian Majesty or to the Duke of Savoy, but that otherwise he did not see by what means any belief in peace could be entertained. The ambassador

* Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, being the confidential agent of Cardinal Pole, I infer that the negotiations detailed in this letter were sanctioned by the Prime Minister of England, who was always intent on peace between the Imperialists and France, and for this reason, the fact being quite unknown at the present day (having been ascertained solely through Sig. Luigi Pasini's recent decipher), I have thought fit to translate this despatch.

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replied that should this be the only difficulty, his king would doubtless give the said state, but that he did not see how King Philip could rely on the termination of the disputes after this cession, as the French even then would raise their demands, and that three marriages might be made, the one binding the other, and all three together binding this negotiation. The first, that of the eldest daughter of the most Christian King to the Prince of Spain; the second, that of a daughter of the King of Bohemia to the Duke of Orleans; and the third, that of the Emperor's daughter Joanna, widow of the Prince of Portugal, to the Duke of Savoy; on condition that should the French choose to have the Milanese for Orleans, they must restore to the Duke both Savoy and Piedmont, but retaining those states for Orleans. They must then allow the Milanese to be given to the Duke of Savoy. These terms being deemed worthy of consideration by the Abbot, he asked the ambassador whether he had any commission. The Lieutenant d'Amont replied that he spoke of himself, but with confidence (ma che sapeva come). *Parpaglia then asked him whether he might speak about it to the Constable, whereupon, he having replied that he prayed him to do so, the Abbot subsequently suggested* (propose) *to his Excellency whether the King would settle all his differences with the Emperor and his son (without saying anything to him at the moment about marriages) on receiving the Milanese in one of the two aforesaid forms, as he, Parpaglia, had been given to understand by his Excellency. To this the Constable replied that his most Christian Majesty would never desist from his claims without the cession of the Milanese, but that were the Emperor and King Philip to give it, either for one of the King's sons or for the Duke of Savoy, he thought his most Christian Majesty would be content to agree to a fair peace* (di divenire ad una bona pace), *though he did not believe they would give it. When the Abbot rejoined that he would repeat this expression of good will to the ambassador, and write also to Brussels, the Constable told him to do as he pleased. With the ambassador's consent the Abbot wrote to Gio. Battista Schizo, Regent of Milan, that their Majesties were well inclined towards some amicable adjustment, and acquainted the Regent with the discourse held with the Constable, the letter purporting that, should the Emperor and the King of England determine on one of the two aforesaid ways of giving the state of Milan, he, the Abbot, perceived this side to be favourably disposed with regard to the settlement; wherefore he was to speak about it with their Majesties, who, should they assent to it, might give such orders as shall seem fit to them. Yesterday the Abbot showed me the copy of the said letter, and at that moment a packet was delivered to him from Brussels, and amongst his letters was one from the Regent of Milan, dated the 6th instant, stating that although his Majesty held dear the state of Milan, yet were he to know that the most Christian King would be disposed to see an end put* (di veder con questo modo terminar) *to all the difficulties and establish quiet, he, the King of England, would give the said state of Milan, but that the Regent perceived the Emperor and his Majesty to be more inclined to give it to the Duke of Savoy than to others, but on condition that the affairs of Piedmont and Savoy*

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should be so arranged that he could remain satisfied; though this good proposal was much disturbed by a certain Italian potentate, who in like manner as he sought either by a league or by other means to strengthen (ingagliardire) *his most Christian Majesty's adherents* (le parti di sua Maestà Christianissima), *so did he irritate the King of England, and compel him in self-defence to think of arming; the cessation of which hindrance would also increase his most Christian Majesty's good disposition. Having read this letter, I inquired of the Abbot the signification of the words, "but on condition that the affairs of Piedmont and Savoy should be so arranged that he could remain satisfied;" and he told me that the King of England would wish his most Christian Majesty to cede all those states freely to his son the Duke of Orleans, detaching them entirely from the crown of France, and acknowledging their tenure from the Empire, so that they could never again be incorporated with the French crown.*

Morette, 23rd June 1556.

[*In cipher throughout; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini, in the year* 1872.]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

525. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Wrote in my last how distressed the Queen was on account of the King's indisposition, having, through the neglect of her agents in Flanders, remained ten days without news of him; so being extremely anxious (gielosissima), *and suspecting it to be more serious than had been told her, she gave orders for the immediate despatch of another messenger, together with one of his Majesty's chief physicians who had remained here, regardless of his being upwards of seventy years old, and so gouty and infirm as to require great convenience and length of time for such a journey. Finally, at the very hour when these persons were departing, her chamberlain and the courier Francesco Piamontese returned, and being so fully assured of her consort's health, she on the other hand was yet more troubled to hear of his and the Emperor's current disputes with the Pope, being apprehensive lest they be now at open war with each other, and that the like many forthwith follow in every quarter with the French, who, as reported here, have declared themselves the protectors and defenders of the Pope's nephews and of his family, which, besides the other inconveniences it will cause, the one that most affects the Queen, is the further delay of the return of her consort, besides the increase of disturbance in England by reason of the encouragement which these movements, and the opportunity afforded by a fresh war, would give universally. As for many months the Queen has passed from one sorrow to another, your Serenity can imagine what a life she leads, comforting herself as usual with the presence and counsel of Cardinal Pole, to whose assiduous toil and diligence having intrusted the whole government of the kingdom, she is intent on enduring her troubles as patiently as she can.*

Of late the most illustrious Legate aforesaid has been incessantly occupied about despatches which he is sending to Brussels

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and Italy in great haste, he having perhaps remonstrated (fatto officio) *in her Majesty's name, and on his own account as Apostolic Legate and member of the Papal See, not only with the Emperor and King Philip, but with the Pope likewise, to appease both parties, and if possible prevent such a stir, laying before them, in addition to the other disasters, the great detriment and ruin which the strife between them would cause this kingdom, where with great difficulty could the religion and the present state of things be maintained by reason of the many poisonous plants and roots* (male piante et radice) *in being there, these proceedings greatly encouraging the malcontents, to the injury and disservice of the sovereigns aforesaid.*

Cardinal Farnese wrote lately very earnestly to Cardinal Pole, desiring him to use his influence with King Philip to obtain the restitution of his church of Monreale in Sicily, and of his pensions in Spain, as also the territory of his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Parma, in the kingdom of Naples, saying that the most Christian King had commanded him to endeavour to effect this in virtue of the stipulation of the truce. The most illustrious Farnese aforesaid evinces a great wish to recover the favour of King Philip; and he writes that he has now withdrawn from public business solely that he may not have occasion to injure his Majesty and his interests in anything. In order to do him better service, Cardinal Pole awaits the King's return that he may make more efficacious suit by word of mouth than by letter. I do not know whether he will now change his mind owing to these risks of a rupture in every direction.

The trials and sentences of the conspirators continue, the two who were not despatched at the last trial having been condemned, namely, "*Miladi*" Elizabeth's servant, who confessed to having known of the conspiracy, and the captain of the soldiers, by name Turner, their execution being deferred, perhaps for the purpose of adding to the number.

The proposed move of the Court to Dover and the sea has been countermanded, the King having written that he did not wish the Queen to take that road, perhaps to avert suspicion of things utterly at variance with his intentions, so in case of a change of residence her Majesty is expected to go (in the opposite direction) to Richmond.

It is also said that the ships will be ordered back and disarmed.

London, 23rd June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 24. **526.** Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Although he has communicated his opinion concerning the affairs of Rome both to the Regent Figueroa and to the Father Friar Bartolomeo Miranda, in consequence of the reports which had reached him from many quarters, he nevertheless deems it his duty to write to the King also on the same subject, having been unable to do so yesterday by reason of the haste with which the Queen despatched the courier. Will first of all repeat what he has already told the

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King of the great comfort derived by him as usual on hearing through his Majesty's last letters of his constant goodwill towards the Pope and the Apostolic See, as also towards the general peace, for the universal benefit of Christendom, his goodness and piety in this matter being the more praiseworthy, as it is evident that the enemy of the human race labours continually to interrupt the commencement already made by fresh temptations, and to effect a greater rupture than has been ever witnessed in our times, as might easily come to pass, unless God of his infinite goodness deter King Philip from being induced to attempt anything by force of arms, save in accordance with clear and manifest justice, maintaining that sincere obedience to the Church in which he has been most holily educated.

Writes thus not without great cause, having heard from various quarters that his Majesty has been counselled, in case fortresses be raised in the territory lately given by the Pope to the Count of Montorio [Giovanni Caraffa], to prevent their erection by armed force, which would evidently be the commencement of war with the Pope, and as a necessary consequence many other disturbances must follow, to the very great detriment of the religion and of all Christendom. Requests his Majesty therefore, with all earnestness, well to ponder what is fit to do in this matter, he being so just and religious a sovereign as he is, and to bear well in mind, besides the many other favours granted him by God, the magnitude of that one, whereby he was made the chief minister for the restoration of the religion in England, and of her obedience to the Church, a victorious exploit, worthy of a greater triumph than was ever merited by any other prince for many centuries; so that if it is unbecoming for any Christian prince whatever to wage war on the Vicar of Christ, it less befits King Philip than any other; in addition to which, most especially he has a particular obligation towards the Roman Church, holding the kingdom of Naples from it in fee (*per feudo*). Should any person be of opinion that to prevent the raising of these fortresses a recourse to war is justifiable by reason of the danger and disturbance which they might cause to his said kingdom, be his Majesty pleased to consider that no sovereign has just cause to wage war on a neighbour for fortifying any place in his territory, although such fortification may seem detrimental to him, unless, however, there be some express stipulation to the contrary. Does not doubt but that the King of his innate justice and prudence knows this very well, and should anyone say that King Philip has cause to prevent this fortification, not so much on account of the Pope, as on that of other princes, one might allege to the contrary the example of Marc' Antonio Colonna, who being in the service of France, fortified Paliano itself, without being impeded by anybody, and nevertheless no such disturbances as those now apprehended took place; and although the nature of the present times may make these fortifications appear prejudicial to the kingdom of Naples, yet is this no just reason for preventing the Pope from fortifying his territory in such form as may seem best to him. It remains therefore for the King, not choosing to

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exceed the limits of justice, in due and becoming manner to endeavour to persuade the Pope (in conformity with the order which is said to have been already given by him) to desist from raising this fortification, lest it give cause for disturbance and trouble hereafter, if not in the Pope's time; and should his Holiness notwithstanding think fit to continue thus fortifying, the King on the other hand, if such be his pleasure, can fortify in that direction on his own borders, and be thus prepared for defence against any attack. By no means should the King allow himself to be induced to wage war on the Pope, especially on account of the truce which had been made; so, as equity forbad the attack, he might reasonably anticipate not merely great praise before the world, but moreover hope for certain favour and protection from God against any person who at any time may seek to injure him.

Has chosen to write his opinion in this so important a matter freely to the King, as he considers himself bound to do so for several reasons; nor has he failed, nor will he fail, on the other hand, to perform such offices with the Pope as he has deemed suited to the post held by him, and to the obligation he has to represent to his Holiness whatever he believes to be for the service of God, and advantage and quiet of Christendom, and especially of England, whose welfare he is certain the King has duly at heart. Prays God to remove all cause of disturbance and fresh turmoil in Christendom, and to preserve the King pure and undefiled for his service in the administration of the realms committed to his Majesty's keeping.

London, 24th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

527. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Naples are inclined to favour the ideas and projects of the Pope, and when consulting about what is to be done with regard to the affairs of his Holiness, there is always a diversity of opinion between the Emperor and the King, *his Imperial Majesty arguing in favour of proceeding boldly* (che si proceda gagliardamente), *whereas the King is averse to doing anything that may cause war.*

Two persons have died of the plague near the Emperor's villa (*casino*), one of whom is his druggist's shopman; so his Majesty, having become very apprehensive, caused the high road gate to be closed, opening the one through the park, and has desired his son not to give audience to anyone in public. He has also sent to Ghent to know whether that city is infected with this disease, his Majesty thinking of departure hence, and that the King also should go thither. It is feared especially, that owing to the number of persons who are coming hither with the King and Queen of Bohemia and the Duke of Cleves, as also those who have already arrived with the Duke of Brunswick the younger, the plague might spread in consequence of the unavoidable ceremonies. The queens have already left, and intend to remain for some days at a

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place three leagues distant from Brussels, seeing that the regulations enforced do not produce the desired effect.

Brussels, 24th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 27. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6, B.

528. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Imperial Ambassador had audience of the Pope yesterday, and was greatly caressed by his Holiness, who told him not to fear, as even should the war break out he would always be respected and held dear. They spoke at great length about these disturbances, and settled for the ambassador and the Duke of Paliano to meet at the house of Cardinal St. Iago [S. Giacomo], to try and find means for pacifying matters, and the Duke has told his confidants that he will do so, though no one must suppose that the Pope will disarm unless they give him the best possible security.

Letters have been received from Cardinal Caraffa dated the 17th, giving account of his reception at the French court, as by the enclosed copy of one to Aldobrandini from his son, who is with the Cardinal. His negotiations with the King are reported variously. Many persons, and some on the authority of the French ambassador, say the King will never fail the Pope, and that he has already sent orders to give him pecuniary and military assistance.

Rome, 27th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Dispacci Roma, Venetian Archives, No. 6, B.

529. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

As an attack from the Imperialists is expected here, they are reinforcing the infantry and cavalry on the borders, and bringing fresh troops into Rome. The causes of these suspicions, besides what I wrote in former letters, are, that the Duke of Florence is said to have doubled his garrisons at the confines of the papal territory, and to have despatched four captains to make new levies; though the ambassador denies this, saying his Duke is surprised at the malignants about the Pope, who seek to exasperate his Holiness against him. At Naples also there are some galleys in readiness, fourteen of them having gone out of harbour, it is said, to pirate, and (which is considered an important circumstance) the Duke of Alva has had the posts stationed from the Abruzzi to the borders of Paliano.

The Duke of Alva's agent told one of his confidants that he believed the Spaniards would assist Marc' Antonio Colonna to recover his territory. He (Colonna) is said to have left Venice some days ago with the Captain Aldana, the Imperialists (*questi*) declaring that by this time he will be in the Abruzzi, and to-day Don Garcilasso said he had news of his being at Pescara.

Rome, 27th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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June ?.
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. p. 177 recto. No date of time in MS.

530. CARDINAL POLE to [GIOVANNI BERNARDINO SCOTTO], CARDINAL of TRANI.*

Derives no less benefit and comfort from Scotto's letters, than Scotto says he receives from his; they have need of each other's prayers; Scotto is never forgotten in those of Pole, who believes that this good office is reciprocated; and in truth if even private individuals living in quiet, require the aid of their own prayers and of those of others for their defence against the perils and temptations of the world, by so much the more are they needed by those who, holding some public post, must have much to distract and trouble them; but to those who seek to serve Him heartily, God increases His gifts in proportion to their need, and Pole knows by experience that he is never more inclined to ask His assistance than when most impeded. Is certain that Scotto finds himself in the same case, and that although hindered by the present state of affairs he is but the more earnest in his prayers; most especially, considering the current commotions by which the Church is so vexed and harassed.

Of the state of England, Scotto will have heard constantly from Pole's agent. By their familiar, Messer Marianno Vittorio, he sent the Pope the decrees formed by the Synod in London, and together with it another writing on the same subject, and would have wished Scotto to have seen the whole, to hear his opinion about it. The bishops are to meet again next November, to settle what remains for adjustment, according to the necessities discovered by them in the course of the summer when visiting their dioceses; nor can they be few in this vineyard, which during so many years has remained an ill-cultivated desert, in which, however, the infinite mercy of God has preserved and propagated no few relics of his good seed (*non poche reliquie del suo bon seme*) in England by means of his holy vicars, and of the ministers of the Apostolic See, and above all, of this most serene and most pious Queen, who never fails favouring and aiding by all means the restoration and increase of the religion in England; for the prosperity of which country, and of her Majesty, is certain that Scotto prays constantly, as he says. Monsignor Priuli, and Pole's other familiars, Scotto's affectionate servants, thank him much for his loving salutations.

London [June 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

June ?
MS. St. Mark's Library. No date of time in MS.

531. CARDINAL POLE to the Ambassador [FRANCESCO DE] VARGAS.

Would have been very glad to see him, had he come to England, but as it is the King's pleasure that he return to Venice, Pole wishes him all prosperity, and thanks him greatly for his loving offers, which he reciprocates, loving him much for his goodness and virtues. The Queen, who is well acquainted with Vargas' worthy qualities,

* Such was the trust placed by Paul IV. in the Cardinal of Trani that he consigned the "Fisherman's ring" to him, with full power to sign papal briefs at his own option, and Cardinal Pole's correspondence with him at this period is therefore valuable. A biographical notice of Scotto may be read in Cardella, vol. 4, p. 345.

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was glad to hear of his being sent back to Venice at this present time, knowing from the past how skilful a minister he is, and how acceptable to that most illustrious Republic; and as her Majesty will in like manner have to make use of him there, it will always give Pole pleasure to hear from him.

London [June ? 1556.]

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

532. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day after their Majesties' departure, the counsellors of state, with the exception of the Bishop of Arras, who remained here, went to them, nor is any ambassador or negotiator allowed to go to any of the places where the Emperor and the King of England are lodged, unless on urgent business, as was the case this morning with the Florentine ambassador, who moreover said that he should return this evening. The victuals required for the table of their Majesties, and of the few persons who accompanied them, are sent from hence daily. The plague does not increase so as to render residence here dangerous, many people merely withdrawing to the neighbouring gardens, as I have done; so everybody infers that their Majesties departed more to discuss and decide in quiet and secrecy the important matters now in course of negotiation with the Pope and the Kings of France and Bohemia, than from fear of the plague. Yesterday King Philip, with his counsellors, went to the Emperor at Laura, where they remained with his Imperial Majesty and Queen Maria until night. The harbinger (*forriero*) of the King of Bohemia has arrived, and was preceded by Count Salm and the Provost of Trent, the chief intimates of the King of the Romans, they having come to pay their court and wait upon his son, who they say will be here on the 15th instant, with a large retinue of several lords of Germany, and according to report King Philip will go to meet him at Louvain. By advices from "Laura" it is heard that in the council there was a discussion with the confessors about the repeal by the Pope of the concession from Julius III. to the Emperor, allowing his Majesty to take to himself, and alienate at his good pleasure, certain estates of the order of Calatrava, to the amount of 600,000 crowns, nor is it yet known whether they have determined to obey his Holiness or not; *but, as Don Bernardino de Mendoza at this consultation, and at all the others when there was a question of the Pope, said, their Majesties would go dissembling so long, that they will repent themselves of it; and as he always recommends no farther delay in commencing the war, the French ambassador, therefore, on hearing this language said very wrathfully that if the Imperialists followed this advice, and encouraged Marc' Antonio Colonna, as they were understood to do, they will find that his most Christian Majesty will not endure it.*

Brussels, 1st July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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July 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

533. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

King Henry informed him that the Legate Caraffa had heard that the Imperialists, under the name of Marc' Antonio Colonna, were making military movements to prevent the fortification of Paliano, and to sack Rome; and that subsequently these statements were heard to be mere reports, devoid of facts, and still less could there be fear of the sack of Rome, for which much greater forces would be needed. He continued that he would not omit to do what his predecessor had done for the defence of Holy Church; wherefore, should the Emperor or his son assist Marc' Antonio Colonna openly, he also would do the like by his Holiness, and if they did so secretly, that he in secret would give similar assistance; but that if Marc' Antonio Colonna, with his own forces and without assistance from others, resist the Pope, he would not interfere; but to show the Pope that the promise given by word should be followed by deeds he had ordered the 3,000 French infantry, destined to garrison the fortresses in Tuscany, to disembark at Civitavecchia.

His Majesty added that the Constable had told all this to the ambassador resident here from the Emperor and his son, and that he professed to know nothing whatever about it; and that in his opinion matters would not proceed much farther, because the Emperor, on hearing that he, the King, purposed resenting any attack on the Pope, would not choose to break the truce, and that had he intended to act in earnest, he should have commenced by doing something, and threatened afterwards; but by giving time, and hearing that his most Christian Majesty took the Pope under his protection, he would have more to do than he had imagined, although his Holiness of himself was very strong, having already 6,000 infantry in readiness, and was raising 4,000 more, besides his 8,000 militiamen, and will not have any want of money. That had the Pope chosen to take his advice, he would not now be in this trouble, as his Majesty counselled him first of all to fortify Paliano, and afterwards to give the Duke the investiture of it; neither did he approve of the coming hither at present of Cardinal Caraffa, as it would have been better for him to have remained at Rome, the Cardinal being a soldier, and a very able one, and the Duke a good sort of man (*una buona persona*).

In conclusion, his Majesty said that the day after to-morrow the Cardinal would be back from Paris; that on Sunday he would christen his Majesty's daughter, and depart a day or two afterwards. The words which passed between the Pope and Cardinal Tournon have been heard here, and although it is said that after they parted the Pope sent to visit him, retracting all the injurious expressions which he had addressed to him, I am told he will return to France, the King not choosing to keep at Rome a chief minister who is not agreeable to his Holiness.

The King sent M. de Rambouillet to Rome with the orders for the French troops to land at Civitavecchia, and for those who are to remain in Tuscany, where M. de Montluc, Knight of St. Michael, will go as the King's lieutenant, and to tell the Pope in his name

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that he will not fail giving him every assistance for his defence, but that he requests his Holiness to proceed so as not to be the first to cause the rupture of the truce, because as his Majesty believed that everybody will take in good part the assistance which the King will give him for his need, so he does not wish the world to suppose that the breaking of the truce could have proceeded from himself. *The whole court is sorry that war should be waged on any account whatever, it being wished that the truce should be maintained; and were it not universally believed that the Emperor will not give cause to move war, still deeper regret would be evinced by all.* During the last few days the Imperial ambassador has negotiated with the King, for that in lieu of the money, which in virtue of a clause in the truce he is bound to pay the Duke of Savoy annually, he do assign a fund (*un fondo*) in Piedmont; but the Constable has so protracted the matter that the day of St. John the Baptist, when the first payment was to have been made, has passed, and has put off the decision until the coming hither of M. de Brissac.

Before he left the court the Legate Caraffa despatched a courier to the Legate Motula at Brussels, and should he not be there, to the Nuncio, to let them know what he had negotiated here about the peace and the Council; and the courier brings back word that Motula not having arrived, the Nuncio acquainted the Emperor and King Philip with the announcement from Caraffa, and they replied that on Motula's arrival they would give the reply; but it is understood here that by the Pope's order Motula has stopped on the way.

Morette, 2nd July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 3. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

534. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Although what the Pope said to me to-day at audience is nearly the same as said by him heretofore, and as written by me, yet I will not omit notifying it in detail, so that your Serenity may clearly comprehend his mind. After the usual civilities expressed by him with extreme affection and gentleness, he said in the course of conversation, "It is astonishing that now, when that iniquitous ribald, the Emperor (*quell' iniquo e tristo huomo dell' Imperator*), a cripple both in mind and body (*storpiato e del corpo e dell' animo*); and that Philip, both from his lack of ability and experience, is not to be held in any account; and that they have lost repute, and find all their realms in ruin and despair; that Spain cannot endure them; whilst England rejects their yoke; that they should choose to kindle war. If they wage it, we shall suppose it to be the mere will and providence of God for their punishment; nor may it be imagined that we will fail to have recourse to those final and tremendous weapons given us by Christ; depriving him of the greater part of his forces, which are the tenths, the half-fruits (*mezi fruti*), the appointments to bishoprics, and other benefices. Do you suppose that we will fail, by legitimate processes, to convict and deprive him as a heretic? Do you believe that as feudatory of the

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kingdom of Naples, we for open injuries and misdemeanours, we, who represent the Pope by whom he was invested with the fief, cannot deprive him of it? To tell you frankly, had there not been one single respect which restrained me, everything would already have been in flames; that respect is, that being placed where we are by the goodness of God, and by the duty of our office having always sought peace, we choose never to incur the reproach of having been the first to violate it. We have borne much, and will continue to do so, as long as we can with our dignity. The King of France evinces great wish for peace, and we can turn him whichever way we please; if the others were equally well inclined we should already enjoy peace and quiet. In short, we will not be the first, we will not call the Signory [of Venice] save in case of need. That kinsman of ours, De' Sanguini, has arrived from the Imperial court, telling us much about the goodwill which the King of England said he bore us; the better the words uttered by him, the greater and more reasonable is our suspicion of him, and we have ordered additional provision to be made. Should they advance, we will send the Duke, our nephew, to show his face to them." Having finished this long discourse, in which he often said the same things over and over again, I thanked the Pope for what he announced to your Serenity.

Rome, 3rd July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 4. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

535. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I sent my secretary to Cardinal Tournon, who said that the King wrote that were the Imperialists to attack the Pope, his most Christian Majesty should not consider himself a christian were he to fail assisting him, and therefore if they make war he will render his Holiness every sort of assistance. When the secretary enquired if by rupture (*rottura*), he meant assistance given to Marc' Antonio Colonna for the recovery of his state, the Cardinal replied, "I would fain speak with those who counsel the King of England to assume this undertaking, to show them how little a Paliano signifies, and how sure they may be that a future Pope will avenge them; and were they to say to me, 'We act thus, lest Paliano with the assistance of the King of France become another Parma,' I should answer that the way to render it such, is war; as were the Pope to demand a French garrison for its defence, we should give it him. I would prove the danger to which they expose themselves, should they choose to make war on the Pope, because, as the King of France will not allow the Pope to be harassed (*sbattuta*), so is it credible that the other Christian powers, especially the Italians, will not tolerate it. For my own part I can do no more, and am very sorry to see this stir." The secretary then went to Cardinal Medici.* His right reverend Lordship said to him, "I will tell you the discourse I held with the Duke of Paliano for the benefit of all Italy and of this Holy See, as an

* Gianangelo de Medici, a Milanese, who on the 26th December 1559, succeeded Paul IV., with the title of Pius IV.

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Italian and a cardinal, not as the dependant of any faction, because I am the Pope's servant, and came back from Milan contrary to the advice of many persons, to run the same chance (*per correr la medesima fortuna*) as his Holiness. I have told the Duke of Paliano that it would be well to find means for quieting the present disturbances, as they may produce infinite mischief, as, for instance, to render the King of England master of what little remains of Italy; it being but too manifest that he may be said to surround all the States of the Church with the forces of the kingdom of Naples, of Tuscany, of the Milanese, and of Liguria; and having so many paid troops, the greater part being foreigners, that they may go wherever they please without opposition; besides which they are the masters of this sea; nor may it be said that the King of France or the Italian powers will give assistance, for they are unable to do so in time; and if by misfortune the Imperialists make themselves masters of Rome, how long would they wait before disbanding their forces? The last time [in 1527] when the League had so large an army, they remained for two years, and did not depart until Lautrec went to Naples to divert them; nor should reliance be placed on popular discontent, as it has been seen not to succeed. The extreme harshness of the Pope's language to the Imperial ministers should be somewhat mitigated; he ought to make them certain concessions in Spain and elsewhere; he should cease insulting those Princes, and rather soothe them, and remove the suspicion reasonably entertained by them, and they would then, perhaps, not care about a Colonna fief, if not from goodness of nature, at least for the sake of attending to some of their greater anxieties, such as the establishment of the kingdom of England, and the affair of the Empire."

He then said that the matter of the Council was most pernicious for the Church in these present times, as not being held with the consent of the Powers, there was very great danger of schism, which could not but entail war. In conclusion, Cardinal Medici said he told the Duke that without infringing the truce, the Imperialists might put the Pope to great straits, by keeping on the frontiers with their ordinary paid forces, thus compelling his Holiness to incur a monthly expenditure of 40,000 crowns; and he added, "The Duke seemed to me very well to comprehend these reasons, which I shall also repeat to the Pope, should he choose to listen to me without anger; and God knows that I do it for conscience-sake, as I perceive the manifest peril of our being taken unawares without commanders, without money, without men-at-arms, and without foreign troops, which is tantamount to leaving the whole of the Campagna to the enemy."

Rome, 4th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

536. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday arrived here Don Cesar de Avalos, brother of the Marquis of Pescara [Governor of Milan], who has sent him to King Philip to protest that unless his Majesty send him such supplies as necessary for the preservation of the State of Milan, he

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shall lose it. Three couriers have arrived from Italy, from the Marquis of Sarria, and the Duke of Alva, and the Duke of Florence. The Marquis informs their Majesties that having determined to leave Rome he was commanded not to go out of the city, *nor is this considered a good sign of his Holiness' disposition, but a fixed project for detaining him until the convenient moment arrive for a rupture with their Majesties.* On the arrival of his courier, the Florentine Ambassador went to the King at Laura, and gave news that the Pope has sent an order to the Cardinal of Pisa not to come to their Majesties without a fresh commission from his Holiness. The French Ambassador having heard that their Majesties' ministers say they hope that Marc' Antonio Colonna will recover his state, *said very angrily to my secretary that his most Christian Majesty would never permit the See Apostolic, or the person of his Holiness, nor any member of the Caraffa family, to be injured, because they have been named in the truce, and between his Holiness and his Majesty, a secret league has been already made.* He added that he had presented a memorial to the King of Spain with regard to the frontiers claimed by his King in these parts, and King Philip had the matter despatched immediately by the council, which sent it back to the Bishop of Arras for him to announce the decision to the ambassador, who is satisfied, as the points which remain for settlement are few and unimportant. The captains of the five hundred cavalry on these frontiers have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness, as they are to be sent into Italy 10 and 15 at a time, and they will receive money for the cost of the journey; and Count Amerigo Lodrone, who came hither to demand the arrears of his soldiers, and of his father, who died at Casale, was told by Don Bernardino de Mendoza that the King will soon give him employment in Italy, and that he was therefore not to depart, as he had said publicly he would do, and with dissatisfaction, from inability to obtain the aforesaid arrears.

Four days ago the Emperor sent for his confessor, having chosen to confess and communicate on the festival of the visitation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and when the confessor returned he told the Nuncio that his Majesty affirmed to him on his conscience, that he much desired to execute his resolve of going off to Spain to end his life in the monastery selected by him. Not the slightest word is said of the return hither of their Majesties, and indeed it is generally supposed that they will choose to keep all the ambassadors and negotiators at a distance until they have settled the affairs with the King of Bohemia; and they sit every day in the Council of State together with Queen Maria, to whom King Philip shows every mark of affection and honour, so as to dispose her favourably for the business he has to transact with the King and Queen of Bohemia, she being a very suitable instrument for mediation between one and the other of their Majesties. The deputies of these provinces departed without awaiting any reply to the three demands which they made of his Majesty, seeing that the Duke of Savoy, who remained here as head of the government said nothing more about the million and a half of gold demanded of them; he is now gone to Mechlin to have some pieces of artillery cast on a new principle

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by a famous cannon founder there, and the Bishop of Arras alone remains in this town, *which causes some comment, some persons being of opinion that the King does not wish for him in his privy council, choosing it to consist solely of Spaniards; whilst others say that his right reverend Lordship would not go there, knowing that his repute would be far inferior to that which he enjoyed when serving the Emperor, and that King Philip chooses Don Ruy Gomez to be head of everything.*

Brussels, 5th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

537. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday all the ambassadors here were invited to the christening of the King's daughter; the godfathers were, the Cardinal Legate Caraffa, in the name of his Holiness, and the Duke de Guise, and the godmothers, Madame de St. Pol and Madame de Montpensier, and the infant was named Vittoria, which was the name borne by the mother of his Holiness.* We afterwards supped with the King, but at a separate table. After supper the Legate came with the Nuncio to take leave of us, and state the causes of his departure; regretting being compelled to go back to Rome, and leaving this negotiation for peace and the Council imperfect, but that the rumours current in Italy compelled him to do so, although it might be said that in a certain way he had performed the office assigned him by the Pope, having made his statement to the most Christian King, and received from him the reply which he had communicated to all of us.

He then complained of the Colonna family, and said that although his Holiness was so supreme a prince, that his affairs were not to be judged by anyone, but it was his province to judge every other prince, yet had he drawn up the process and published it, that it might be known that his Holiness merely exacts what is just, and that the Colonna family deserve every punishment, as was also known to Pope Paul the Third, who deprived the Lord Ascanius of his territory (*stato*), which he recovered on the accession of Pope Julius, who, from being low-minded (*per bassezza d'animo*), would not continue the judicial prosecution; to which excesses were added fresh outrages by Marc' Antonio Colonna (calling him a rascal, "*furfante*"); so the Pope had chosen to punish him, and although he was taking up arms, yet the Almighty would assist his Holiness, and those who aid and favour Marc' Antonio Colonna, should beware of the anger of God. On this matter the Legate expatiated rather angrily, repeating the same expressions more forcibly, and turning for the most part towards the Emperor's ambassador, who replied in Spanish (although he speaks Italian well) that he did not suppose the Legate had called the ambassadors but to perform an office with

* The Pope's mother, Vittoria Camponesca, was a brave woman, of masculine habits, and a bold rider, and a month or two before giving birth to Gianpietro Caraffa, when galloping along a mountain pass to the sanctuary of Montevergine, she was stopped by a hermit, who desired her to proceed at a gentler pace, because the fruit of her womb was destined to become Pope. The title of "*Mater Castrorum*," given to Catherine de' Medici, entitled her daughter to the name borne by the mother of Paul IV.

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them on this his departure; but perceiving him to enter on another topic, with regard to which, having no commission from his princes, who sent him to increase his most Christian Majesty's good will, and not to find opportunity for disagreements, he should therefore make no answer; and that even had the Legate wished to speak to him about particulars, he ought not to have done so in the presence of so many ambassadors, who would estimate the importance of this proceeding, but rather call him aside, when he would perhaps have answered to the point, and maintained the honour of the Emperor and of his son.

The Cardinal then interrupted him, saying that if the ambassador would go to his chamber the next morning he would speak to him freely, and, in case of any reply, should have such a rejoinder as became him; but should he not make any reply, and that it be made by others elsewhere, the Pope was well able to answer anybody; but that it was evident that Marc' Antonio Colonna was not of sufficient force to wage war without the assistance of others, his auxiliaries being Spaniards, and troops of other nations drawn from the kingdom of Naples, to be joined by those in Tuscany with the Duke of Florence; and then, turning to me, the Legate, with the fury of speech then upon him (*con quell' ardor del parlare nel quale era*), said, "If the Venetian ambassador chose to announce the advices which he has naturally (*ragionevolmente*) received from Venice, everybody would know how these matters are proceeding, for it is notorious that Marc' Antonio Colonna has been to Venice, and that Aldana went to bring him away from there; and everybody knows that Aldana is a Spanish captain, and I know him very well, as I do all those in the service of the Emperor, whom I served for 18 years, and owing to the misbehaviour (*li mali portamenti*) of his ministers I was obliged to depart, and subsequently served another prince, until I changed my habit, and now serve Christ and His Church, for which I am disposed to die;" adding that he had no doubt but that God would assist the Pope to chastise his disobedient vassals; and that as they threatened to sack Rome, he, Caraffa, was compelled to stay with his Holiness and the other Cardinals, and that if necessary they would all die willingly, increasing the number of martyrs who had shed their blood in that same city.

When the Cardinal became pacified, having thus far spoken very angrily, the Imperial ambassador again rejoined that he was glad his right reverend Lordship had found his most Christian Majesty so well disposed, but that he could not complain of his [Simon Renard's] Princes, at whose courts no Legate has yet been accredited, and they had been unable to state their intention; and that his right reverend Lordship ought not to depart hence, preferring his own cause to that of the public, but continue the negotiation; or at least he ought not to incite his most Christian Majesty to change his good purpose. Thereupon the Legate, again flying into a passion (*accendendosi*), said that he knew what he had to do, and did not require to be prompted, and that he was an honest man, and had always acted as men of honour do; but that when a sack of Rome was threatened, he did not consider it so slight a cause as not to

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take precedence of all others. Then M. de Lansac, drawing near, said it was already night, and that it would be well for everybody to go to rest.

Thus ended this colloquy, which was heard by many persons, Cardinal Caraffa speaking for the most part in a very loud voice. The English ambassador [Dr. Wotton] added that he hoped that if his right reverend Lordship went to Rome he would not fail to perform every good office for the quiet of Christendom; after whom I also approached him, and said that having heard that he was on the eve of departure, I would take good leave without troubling him farther, but he answered me immediately, "No, no, I choose you to come and see me again," as I think of doing the day before his departure, which will take place in three or four days.

This conversation held with the ambassadors has seemed strange to everybody, as neither the time nor the place were adapted to it (che nè il tempo nè il loco lo ricercasse), *and I individually regretted what Cardinal Caraffa said about the advices from Venice, to which I did not think fit to make any answer at the moment, for the avoidance of untoward discussion; but when we ambassadors were returning all together* [*from Fontainebleau to Morette*], *I on the way said to the Imperial ambassador that I was surprised at the Legate's having uttered those words, because I declared that neither from your Serenity nor from others had I received notice of these things; and he, showing me that he held this in no account, requested me, on the other hand, to bear in mind what I had heard for such occasions as might arise, and he also performed the like office with the Mantuan ambassador. A good opportunity having presented itself, I also adroitly made a similar communication to the English ambassador.*

Morette, 6th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

538. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 30th ulto., Lord la Warre (Milord Alvard) was condemned to death,* and was to have been executed two days afterwards, together with the two who were sentenced to death a long while ago,† and who until now have been in hopes of pardon, for after the populace had already assembled to witness the spectacle, the officials and the necessary ministers being in attendance, the execution was delayed, and is now expected to take place to-morrow; after which, some others will be despatched before the Queen's departure

* "The last day of Juin was led from the Towre unto Yeld-halle, Wylliam West, sqwyre, odur-wyse callyd lord La Ware, and cast of he [high] treason, to be drane and quartered." (Machyn's Diary, A.D. 1556, p. 109. Printed for the Camden Society, 1848.)

† Harry Peckham and John Daniel, the persons here alluded to, were tried at the Guildhall in London on the 7th May 1556, and their execution took place on the 7th July following. (*See* Verney Papers, Camden Society Publication, p. 70, and Machyn as above, p. 109. From this letter it would seem that the execution did not take place until the 8th July.

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next week for the seat (*luogo*) of the Archbishopric of Canterbury 17 (sic) miles hence, where—the King approving—she will remain, awaiting his Majesty's return, and then go to Greenwich; and in the meanwhile, to say the truth, a change of residence is not merely requisite but necessary for her, by reason of the present intense heat, owing to the unusual and extraordinary drought, on account of which, although processions are made continually, they nevertheless as yet seem to profit little.

Of the remaining prisoners in the Tower, Sir William Courtenay, Carew, and Cheke have so much liberty, that their wives are allowed to go thither freely to pass the night with them; and with regard to Cheke, the theologians continue gaining ground with him in the matter of religion (*continuano li theologi di guadagnarlo nella religione*).

The affairs of the conspiracy are apparently at an end, many days having elapsed without further arrests; and as nothing more is elicited, it remains but to despatch the rest of the prisoners; so unless other events come to pass unexpectedly, there will be little to tell, everything else proceeding quietly; and the Queen by her orders still continues to maintain her neutrality, although harassed as usual owing to the present suspicions between the Pope and her Consort,* on account of which Cardinal Pole was on the point of sending an express to Rome, but apparently awaits the return of Francesco Piamontese.

Cardinal Caraffa wrote from France to Cardinal Pole that he had kept the Abbot of San Saluto with him, not only to have full information about the past negociations concerning the peace, but to employ him about it, if necessary, which does not seem to have much pleased Cardinal Pole, who had previously written to the Abbot ordering him distinctly not to await Caraffa's coming to the French court, but to depart thence previously, for the avoidance of any distrust on the part of the Imperialists; because as the Abbot is known to be the dependant of Cardinal Pole, they might suspect some secret scheme to the discredit of his right reverend Lordship and of this kingdom; but San Saluto, not having received the order until after Caraffa's arrival, could not go away without seeing him. The order for his departure is now at any rate repeated, although it is supposed to have been already complied with, it being reported here that Caraffa likewise has departed.

The ships were disarmed and paid off in Portsmouth harbour; only seven being detained to serve for the King's passage whenever the time for it shall arrive.

London, 7th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

539. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 6th instant, the Legate communicated to me confidentially through one of his gentlemen that although he had served the

* In the original, "tra sua *Maestà*, et il serenissimo Re;" *Maestà* being evidently a slip of the pen for "*Santità*."

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Emperor and other princes for many years, he had always been determined to abandon everyone whenever an opportunity arose for your Serenity to avail yourself of his personal services, and that he continued of the same mind; adding that the words uttered by him the other evening were not for the purpose of performing any bad office whatever, but merely to call me as witness for the affairs of Italy.

On the morrow I went to the Cardinal, who told me he had heard that the Emperor gave your Serenity's ambassador at his court to understand that he, the Legate, was come to France not to treat peace, or matters relating to the Council, but to establish a league between his Holiness, the most Christian King, and the Duke of Ferrara, with the determination (deliberazione) *to drive everyone out of Italy except themselves, the three allies* (coligati), *make an Italian Duke of Milan, crown one of the sons of his most Christian Majesty King of Naples, cause this Queen of France* [*Catherine de' Medici*] *to renounce her rights to the State of Urbino in favour of the Pope, and expel its duke; and that without any farther call upon your Serenity to join the league, he, on his return to Italy, would promise you, on behalf of the said league, certain towns in Sicily,* the names of which he did not remember; their intention being, after all these undertakings, and having raised fresh funds, to turn the forces of the league against the remaining princes of Italy; and that the Emperor offered your Serenity a defensive Italian league, which, if accepted, he would give you in effect those towns in Sicily which others had merely promised you by word. But the Legate declared that these things were all false, and that he had not negotiated any other public business with his most Christian Majesty than what related to the peace and the Council; but that finding it impossible to trust the Imperialists, he had endeavoured to render himself secure through another sovereign, and thus guarantee himself against their plots. Then he narrated the Pope's disagreements with the Emperor, and the outrages to which he had been subjected by his Imperial Majesty for many years, in like manner as the Legate himself, after the war of Germany, at which time his term of service with the Emperor expired; and he said that these and other causes prevented him from ever trusting his Imperial Majesty.*

In reply I thanked him, and as to the words uttered in the presence of the ambassadors I said I took the whole in good part.

Cardinal Caraffa then commenced speaking about the affairs of Paliano, and told me the orders left by him at Rome for the defence of that city, as also of Paliano and Orvieto, and of other places towards Tuscany, in case the Duke of Alva move troops; and he added that the Imperialists had sent the Pope's relation, Don Ferrante di Sanguini, to exhort him to suspend the fortification of Paliano, and to treat an agreement, but that the Imperialists, understanding that it was already rendered almost a fortress, stopped him on the road; and the Legate thought that in fact by this time

* Et senza chiamar altramente la Vr̃a Serenità nella Liga, al ritorno suo in Italia gli prometteria in nome di essa Liga alcune terre in Sicilia.

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its fortifications were completed, and he had advices purporting that 1,300 infantry, with 16 pieces of artillery, had entered the place; the most Christian King having also ordered the 3,000 foot soldiers destined for Tuscany to march for the Pope's service if necessary; but that he hoped the Imperialists would not advance farther, but merely guard their own places.

I enquired of his Lordship the time of his departure, and he said he thought it would take place this week, and he would stop both on the road and at Lyons in order to hear the reply received from the Emperor, and should it be such as to give hopes of concluding a good peace, he would return to the court.

The Legate said he knew the King would grant him everything were it not for the Constable, who, partly to save the King the expense, and in part from his rivalry with the house of Guise, would not let him do it; and he then added, "When the Cardinal of Lorraine was at Rome I did him the utmost honour, and neither he nor any of his family have made any demonstration towards me, not even a glass of wine (*pur d'un bichier di vino*), but I do not care about it, and all the honour done me proceeded from the Constable; but, thank God, I have obtained all that I needed from his most Christian Majesty's good grace without the assistance of anyone."

Morette, 8th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 9. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

540. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

At 2 a.m. last Wednesday morning the Emperor's postmaster and all his attendants were arrested, but after examination these last were released, the postmaster alone and two of his servants being detained, as also the letter-bag (*lo spaccio*) which he was preparing for the Imperial court. Proceedings of such importance made me go to-day to the palace for audience of the Pope. Whilst I was waiting in the [audience] chamber (*nella camera*), there arrived Don Garcilasso,* who told me he meant to ask leave of his Holiness, adding that the Papal government (*questi signori*) had seized a letter of his (*una sua lettera*), but that as minister of the Emperor and the King of England he thought himself at liberty to write what he pleased for the benefit of his sovereigns. The Pope, passing through the chamber where I was, most graciously laid his hand on my shoulder, telling me to be pleased to wait until he had despatched certain business, when he would give me audience, and he withdrew with the Duke of Paliano, the fiscal advocate (*il fiscale*), and the secretary Monsignor of Avignon. In the meanwhile the Imperial ambassador Marquis Sarria arrived for audience, and when the Duke came forth the Pope gave it him, and as the Signor Ferrante di Sanguini had brought Don Garcilasso he caused a demand for audience to be made of his Holiness, who replied that there was not time, as he had to attend the congregation of the

* Juan Garcilasso de la Vega (*see* Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index).

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Inquisition, which he did, telling me to take patience and not to go away.

The ambassador and Don Garcilasso departed, and on going downstairs Don Garcilasso was arrested and taken into the castle. The ambassador resisted somewhat, saying that he had been with his Holiness who spoke him fair (*la quale l'havea usato buone parole*), and gave him no cause to fear such an act, and that if they took Don Garcilasso away prisoner he also would go with him ; but the Signor Ferrante di Sanguini told him to return, as he would accompany Don Garcilasso into the castle. Simultaneously they sent to seize his papers in the house of Cardinal Pacheco, where he lodged, which occupied them until past 8 p.m., when the congregation broke up, the Pope departing much exhausted both from the heat and because he had looseness of the bowels (*et anco perchè se li mosse il corpo*), and he sent the Duke of Paliano to tell me that he was tired, and to return on the morrow. The Duke proceeded to say that "one Franzozin, the Imperial postmaster's servant, was found near Terracina on foot without either sword or travelling dress, which causing suspicion he was arrested, and on his person three letters were found, one from the postmaster without any signature requesting the Duke of Alva's secretary to obtain for him the agency (*la commissaria*) between Terracina and Velletri ; and two from Garcilasso, one in cipher* and the other without, which was so clear as not to need the ciphered one, telling the Duke that Marquis Sarria the ambassador was a simpleton (*era un dapoco*), and that nothing good must be expected from him, as two good words from the Pope blinded him to the honour and advantage of his Princes, and that the way to do deeds was to push forward with the cavalry and come double quick time with 4,000 Spaniards and 8,000 Italians to Rome, taking what could be got on the march, and sending the galleys to Nettuno and Civita Vecchia. When these letters were given me, and after opening them, not choosing to trouble his Holiness, who had already gone to rest, I left the palace with a single groom and went to the governor, ordering him to arrest the postmaster and all his subordinates, as he did. The postmaster was examined, and not having been asked about the agency demanded by him, I had him re-examined on this point, and he confessed to having asked for it, whereupon being asked his reason for doing so, he replied because he thought they would make themselves masters of the whole of the Papal territory. Being then tortured (*messo alla corda*), he confessed to the recommendation given by them to the Duke of Alva about the infantry, cavalry, and galleys, and about coming to Rome, and I believe it, because, as I told the Pope, this was the way to attack us, but the Lord will assist us."

Having heard that there were letters from France about which nothing was known, I asked him for a word on the subject, and he

* Concerning this ciphered despatch, Sir Edward Carne wrote to Queen Mary from Rome, on the 3rd August 1556, "After Garcilasso's letters had been deciphered in Venice (for none by lack of the original cipher could do it here), it appeared there was some privy treason against the Pope, but the names of persons and places could not be made out." (*See* Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 242.)

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answered me, "From you nothing can be concealed; I have letters from the King and the Constable dated the 1st, promising to assist the Pope on every occasion, and also not to fail with regard to my duchy, and moreover that they had told the Imperial ambassador resident with the King of this their resolve, communicating it also to the French Ambassador at Brussels."

The Duke also told me that the King had already remitted 60,000 crowns, which are here in a bank, and that he would give orders for the Pope to be assisted with 6,000 French infantry, of whom 1,500 may be now at Civitavecchia. He said besides that the Papal nuncio at the Imperial court informed him that the ambassador Marquis Sarria was in favour with the Emperor because he had always sought quiet and performed good offices for the Pope, whilst Garcilasso on the contrary had always done his worst, endeavouring to disparage the ambassador and render him odious to the Emperor.

The first arrest of the postmaster was considered important, but this of Don Garcilasso most important, the Duke of Alva having the greatest possible regard for him; so here the war is supposed to have commenced.

Rome [Friday?], 9th July 1556. 10h. 15m. p.m.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6. B.

541. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to-day for audience of the Pope, who said to me, "We daily detect their acts of treachery. Tassis has disclosed much and will also reveal other matters. We have arrested Garcilasso, nor would we scruple to do the like by his chief [the Duke of Alva?] also, were he here. We would fain learn further particulars from Garcilasso likewise. They recommended a march to Rome, and had divided our territory, *vivit Dominus;* they will perhaps be compelled to defend their own. We have no lack of forces; we have powerful Princes who will give us assistance; they will be unable to rob (*robbar*) us, as is their wont, of any place of importance, as we have opened our eyes. Should they choose to attack us overtly with armies in the field, they will repent them of it. We purpose speaking about this in public Congregation in the presence of all the ambassadors, and shall perhaps convoke it to-morrow, and we now pray you also by no means to absent yourself. We mean to proceed cautiously, imitating the most illustrious Signory, who always acts slowly and with much consideration, as should be done in state affairs. This tyrant of an Emperor is no longer to be held in account; he does not possess the great forces attributed to him, and what proof has his son given of himself? He enjoys no repute either as a soldier or as a statesman. Their territories in short are like an old house from which the removal of one single stone brings the whole structure to the ground. If we begin to give them a little cudgelling (*qualche bastonata*) here in Italy, everything will go topsy-turvy (*ogni cosa anderà sotto sopra*). The King of France is truly of a royal mind, and so much our friend that he can no

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longer be single handed, but have assistance even from the Almighty, who cannot bear tyrants. He worsted him as you know in Piedmont, Germany, and Flanders, thus showing others how they ought to do. That tyrant has no one in greater detestation than you and us; your freedom and this See Apostolic agitate him, and are the furies by whom he is driven wild. Should matters advance, we have determined to form an understanding with the most illustrious Signory, and almost to protest against losing this opportunity for freeing Italy, and as there is no one whom we love better than our nephew the Marquis [of Montebello] he will be the person to make known this our intention. Is it not evident that they have arrived at such a pitch of insolence as to arm even against us, and *parare undique insidias*, because we punished our vassals who deserved it? What would they say had we dared to threaten them even with words for punishing any of their own subjects? In a cause so unjust this tyrant our vassal dares raise his horns against his Prince. God will punish him, and although all our thoughts are of peace, as thou, my Lord, knowest them to be, thou who seest and hearest everything (and here he quoted a Greek verse in Homer to this effect), yet are we compelled sometimes to think of ourselves, of our country, by which we mean all Italy, and of the whole Christian world, as by God's goodness committed to us; and it often happens to us that when we are disposing our mind to peace, we hear a certain spirit which resists us, saying, *Leave direction to the Lord, who allows opportunities to present themselves that they may be availed of.* We have always told you our mind; we believe that you have written it; we will not fail to tell it you for the future, and to have it told to the Signory; and even had we been silent, and were we to continue so, the prudence of those most sage senators, and the opportunity afforded by the times, would be my spokesman. In that devilish soul of Charles in that filthy body (*in quello sporco corpo*), although its vigour is extinct, there yet remains that active malignity which of yore conceived universal tyranny, but he knows not what we have the power to do in the kingdom of Naples. An ancestor of mine, Antonio Caraffa, our father's grandfather, was the man who in the name of the last Queen,* who died without heirs, induced King Alfonso of Aragon to expel the house of Anjou, with which that Queen like a fickle woman was already satiated, and having determined to give the kingdom to this King Alfonso [A.D. 1433], accredited to him Antonio Caraffa, whom she recalled from Rome for that purpose. Having stated the cause of his embassy, the King in council replied that on several accounts he did not think it fit to assume that undertaking, whereupon Caraffa rejoined that having performed his ambassadorial office he would announce the answer received by him, but requested of his Majesty the favour to speak to him as a gentleman and his private servant, which being granted, he spoke to him in such form, being sage and eloquent, as to induce him to accept what he had refused, demonstrating the convenience, the fertility, and the beauty of that kingdom, and giving him to understand that the requests of a queen in affliction and dis-

* Queen Giovanna of Naples died on the 2nd February 1435, at the age of 64. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

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consolate ought to be acceded to, and that the opportunities for great exploits seldom occur, and when neglected they never return, conjuring him by the oath he had taken to God as king, to give freedom to the people and to succour those in affliction. King Alfonso undertook the expedition, and after encountering many perils and calamities accomplished it, and therefore who knows but that after so many years another member of that same Caraffa family may produce a similar result, now that by inheritance this unfortunate kingdom has fallen under the yoke of the most vile and abject nation (*più abietta e vil natione*) in the world, the very worst of any. We will make ourselves heard; and to speak plainly to you, should the Republic choose, the goose shall be spitted (*sarà fatto il becco all' oca*); we know that the Signory wishes for peace, and you have said so to us, we on our part counselling and desiring it in like manner; but there are certain occasions when one must rouse one's self."

In the midst of this conversation he was informed that the Imperial ambassador had come for audience, and after replying that he must wait, his Holiness then turned to me and said, "He is come to plead for Garcilasso; we shall answer him in words becoming our station, that if we had the tyrant also in our hands we would do the like by him;" adding, "This ambassador [Marquis Sarria] is a very good person, although he acted so insolently,* he nevertheless bore with much patience the penance we assigned him, which was great, for we kept him aloof (*tenendolo contumace*), and we are told that he always performed good offices in favour of peace and of us. He perhaps is not aware of the evil offices done him by this Garcilasso, who sought to deprive him of credit and repute with his sovereigns."

The Pope then repeated much that he had said before about the Emperor's tyranny, the forces of France, and his intention to proceed steadily in acquainting your Serenity with his intentions.

Rome, 10th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

542. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Their Majesties' ambassador in France has sent hither a courier to inform them that his most Christian Majesty, having sent for him, desired he would write to them that it having come to his knowledge that troops were being raised in the kingdom of Naples, should he know them to be destined by their Majesties as succour for Colonna, to the detriment of the Church and of the Caraffa family, he would give such assistance for the defence of the Pope's interests as becoming the denomination made at the time of the truce, of his Holiness personally, and of the Caraffa family. Shortly after the arrival of this courier, the French ambassador resident here sent to Laura to demand audience of the King, circulating a report at Brussels of his intending to negotiate about the prisoners and the rest of the unimportant points about the boundaries. It has

* When he forced the gate of St. Agnese (*see* before, despatch dated 28th March 1556.)

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not been possible as yet to learn anything about the reply made by their Majesties, it being merely said that the Emperor on receiving this intelligence displayed great anger; and all that the ambassador has chosen to say is, that he was received with a joyful countenance, and that the King spoke him fair; but the persons here about the court say publicly that the truce must be broken. Here there is no news of the Cardinal's having quitted Switzerland, but he tells the courtiers that he will still come to their Majesties, who, in consequence of the nuncio's assertion, have determined not to write anything to their ambassador with the Pope, in exchange for the words uttered to him by his Holiness, until they hear what Signor Ferrante de' Sanguini has effected. The harbingers went to Ghent to prepare the lodgings for their Majesties here (*queste Maestà*),* for the King and Queen of Bohemia, and for all the courts; but King Philip desired the harbingers to report to the Emperor that there are more cases of plague at Ghent than in Brussels; so their Majesties have determined to return hither next week knowing they cannot accommodate everybody better than here, especially as the persons belonging to the courts are so much in debt to private individuals that in case of departure it would be requisite to pay them, and that the attendants should receive from their Majesties the arrears for which they are creditors.

The King and Queen of Bohemia having arrived at Juliers (distant three days journey hence), a place belonging to their brother-in-law the Duke of Cleves, the Emperor and King Philip sent first the Marquis de Aguilar and then the Duke de Medina Celi to meet their Majesties, for which purpose the Duke of Savoy likewise, being governor of these provinces, will go as far as their boundaries. King Philip, with the whole court, will go to Louvain, four leagues hence. The King and Queen of Bohemia will remain two days at Juliers to act as sponsors for the Duke's new-born son, the Emperor and the King of Spain having wished the Duke to send him hither for the christening, that all, at one and the same time, might do honour to this ceremony in person; but this not suiting his Excellency, M. de Lalain goes to perform this office in the name of King Philip, who has despatched Don Francisco de Mendoza (nephew of Don Bernardino) to England to the Queen his consort, to give her notice of the approach of the King and Queen of Bohemia, assuring her that when rid of their Majesties (*che quando sarà dalle Maestà loro spedita*), he will go and see her, as he greatly desires. A captain has again come from Middelburg with an earnest demand for money, on account of the arrears of pay due to the fifteen hundred Spaniards there, making known that unless a good quantity of money be sent them speedily they will mutiny; so he immediately received half-pay (*mezza paga*), and cloth with which to clothe themselves, on account of their credits.

Brussels, 10th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Namely, the Emperor, King Philip, and the Queens Eleanor and Maria.

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July 11.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

543. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day when a general congregation of all the cardinals and ambassadors was held, Cardinal Morone said that not only did he believe, but knew for certain, that the Emperor and the King of England as Christian Princes did not bear the Pope ill-will, as demonstrated by so many of their actions, and lately by King Philip, whose marriage with the Queen of England was made solely for the purpose of bringing back that kingdom to its devotion and obedience to the See Apostolic.

The ambassadors being then called, the Pope said he would speak in the vulgar tongue (*in lingua volgare*) to render himself intelligible to all, telling them briefly that the Divine Providence had caused letters of great importance to fall into his hands, whereby he had obtained proof of the guilt of the persons arrested, expatiating much in praise of the Imperial ambassador, the Marquis of Sarria, as his Holiness knew for certain that they had not confided their projects to him, and that in short the Emperor and King Philip would have cause to consider themselves better served by the Marquis, who had always used his good offices for peace, than by those petty traitors (*traditorelli*). The Pope then said that his brothers the right reverend Cardinals, besides offering to serve him readily, being anxious for peace, and knowing how he had always sought and desired it, as clearly seen at present by his mission of the two Legates, declared that the prisoners might have acted without any order from their Princes, and gave him to understand that it would be well to avoid hostilities; so he assented to their suggestion that they should speak with the ambassador, and afford him the consolation of attending in peace to the peculiar office of a Pontiff; but that in the meanwhile he would arm, and should not choose to be found unprepared, saying that he had chosen to convoke all the ambassadors that they may not write "*vanos rumores*" of war, which he by nature abhors, but tell their Princes the truth, viz., that he was arming in self-defence and to resist the treasonable projects discovered by him; and with this he dismissed the Congregation.

Rome, 11th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 11.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

544. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday, at noon, Capilupi, the agent of the Cardinal of Mantua, was imprisoned in the castle, which arrest is held in great account by reason of the individual, who was beyond measure beloved at this court, as he in truth deserved, and because it is feared that these arrests may proceed so far and in such number as perchance to compel the Imperialists to come to a decision without further scruple.

Rome, 11th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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July 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

545. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary Dardoes (*sic*) returned lately from Brussels about the ransom of the prisoners, and brought back word that M. de Benincourt [Ponce de Lalain, Seigneur de Bugnicourt] had determined, as the Constable rejected the offer to reduce his son's ransom from 80,000 crowns to 60,000, he (Benincourt) would no longer abide by the modification, and that knowing the Constable to be able to pay that sum, he insisted on receiving the 80,000 in full. Dardoes (*sic*) also says that at the Imperial court he perceived that the more they were convinced of Montmorency's wish to get back his son, the more they daily raised difficulties about the ransom, on hearing which the Constable was greatly enraged. *The Abbot of San Saluto has been to the Constable to continue negotiating the peace. His Excellency seemed to hold it in small account, saying the King would no longer talk about it, which he repeated several times. Parpaglia nevertheless, perceiving that he had the matter much at heart, did not cease continuing the office commenced by him; and he told his Excellency that should these recent movements at Paliano not cause the King of England to change his mind, he supposed that his most Christian Majesty was still of the opinion expressed by him to his Excellency about giving the Milanese, on the terms written by me to your Serenity; but perceiving the Pope's determination to fortify Paliano, his Holiness saying clearly that he did so in order that the King of France might have one foot on the kingdom of Naples, he, the Abbot, did not believe that the King of England would tolerate this, as were he at the commencement of his reigns* (delli sui regni) *to give scent to the world of his being so cowardly, he would put all his States into confusion, and in great part alienate the affection of his subjects; but that if the Pope could be induced to desist from fortifying the place, or at least to consign it to a person in the confidence of both parties, until the claims of Marc' Antonio Colonna had been heard, and sentence passed according to law about his State, he, Parpaglia, considered it certain that King Philip would lay aside all ill-will, and again confirm his first desire; but that if his most Christian Majesty continued to proceed advancing (as was understood to be the case), sending troops and other supplies for the Pope's service, his inference was that matters could but get from bad to worse.*

The Constable replied, with many marks of mental perturbation, that the King of France could by no means fail defending those whom he had declared his friends in the treaty of truce; that if the King of England desisted from hostilities, his most Christian Majesty would do the like, but if he chose to prevent the fortification of Paliano, France could not fail to assist the Pope; and he then expatiated on the injustice of wishing to prevent the Pope from fortifying his own home (casa sua), *and doing what he pleased there. To this the Abbot replied that what his Excellency said seemed true, but was contradicted by circumstances, because the sending Legates to treat the peace and the Council, and simultaneously to erect a fortress with the intention of attacking the*

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kingdom of Naples, appeared to be facts at variance with each other. After many other remarks the Constable said, "The most Christian King very well knows that the Imperialists are preparing for war in every direction, but they may rest assured that they will find us in like manner more ready for them than they think;" so the Abbot added, "Monseigneur, as I see matters taking this course my stay here is superfluous, so with your good grace I shall return to Italy;" and thus, after the usual complimentary phrases, the Constable embraced and dismissed him.

Next day Parpaglia went to take leave of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and by the words of his right reverend Lordship he found him to be utterly opposed to the opinions of Montmorency, for he said to him *that it would be well not to allow these matters to proceed, but to find some mode of adjustment, in favour of which he would not fail to exhort his most Christian Majesty; and when the Abbot told him they must desist from fortifying Paliano, the Cardinal said, "They are matters for mature consideration, and therefore I do not choose you to depart, but we will have another meeting."*

Thus the Abbot promised to do, and moreover said to him, "Monseigneur, great part of this sin rests on your shoulders, for it was not the office of a cardinal to go to Rome and form a league with the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara, for the purpose of making one of the sons of the most Christian King, King of Naples, this being the cause of all these disturbances;" to which the Cardinal replied, "It is true that I went to Rome and stipulated the league, but I did so at a time when the Emperor was the most Christian King's enemy, my duty then leading me to do whatever was for the service of my King; but now that matters are in another state, I shall exert myself to the utmost for the quiet of Christendom."

The Spanish ships at Marseilles which had been released at the suit of the Imperial ambassador have now again been detained.

Morette, 12th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 13. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

546. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 4 p.m. the Pope sent for me; he said, "Loving the most illustrious Signory, as known to God, and also holding you in such account as we do, we choose to tell you some of our designs and conceits. We are not in a place whither we can call the Doge, or the Chiefs of the Ten, or the Senate, or the Grand Council, to lay before them our inmost thoughts. You here represent them all; to you we will tell what we design, and choose to tell it long before it may take place, that those lords, your masters, may see that from us you have always known what is passing, and all our thoughts much beforehand. We see the treacherous devices of those Imperialists (*di costoro*); we also consider their small forces, that being Lutherans and half Jews (*e mezi giudei*), they are odious in the face of heaven, and detested by mankind, as tyrants and insufferable. We have it almost within our reach to free the kingdom of Naples; the

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opportunity must not be neglected, to speak to you more clearly than we ever have done. The King of France is so obedient a son to us, and so anxious to do us pleasure, that he lately commissioned Cardinal Tournon and his ambassador here to assist us, not with a limited supply of money and troops, but with as much as we please, and as shall be needed, and in truth without his aid we should also have fared badly before now. Should the opportunity present itself we also believe that the most illustrious Signory will not fail (*non mancherà*), we say will not fail (*dicemo che non mancherà*), on perceiving matters so well arranged that they can take part in them gladly; and as it might be asked what benefit Venice is to derive from this undertaking, we, to speak freely with you, purpose making you masters of Sicily, which, if obtained, would be of more importance than the whole of the territory between your city and Constantinople. Sicily, as you know, besides so many other resources, was the granary of the Roman people, and if compelled to wage war, as we suspect, owing to the deceitful nature (*per la natura et inganni*) of these Imperialists, we, without the slightest scruple, by a legitimate process, and by a sentence so tremendous that it will darken the sun (*e con una sentenza così tremenda che annuvolerà il sole*), shall deprive the Emperor and the King of England, as our vassals who have perpetrated felony and rebellion, of all their realms, releasing the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance, giving part of their territories to those who shall occupy them, investing the King of France with part, and reserving part for my most illustrious Signory, namely, the coasts and ports held of yore by the Republic in Puglia, thus giving the Signory the means for making use of all the advantages (*bellezze*) and fertility of the kingdom of Naples, and we know that we can render no greater service to God, nor any greater satisfaction to the people there, who still remember your rule,* and in the centre of their hearts is engraved the image of St. Mark. Nothing could gratify us more than this, for we have always desired your greatness; and were I told that through this addition of a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples, the King of France would become very powerful and formidable, we should say that by us and by you the greatness of the King of France is less to be feared than that of the Emperor, by reason of his claims on our respective territories (*li nostri comuni stati*); but we tell you besides that, by giving this part of the kingdom to one of his sons, the King of France will in a very short time create an Italian king, as heretofore; and as must be your intention and ours, should you choose to take part in this (*se voi vorrete mettervi la mano*), the thing will doubtless succeed. By reason of the singular affection evinced towards us by the King of France, and which he continues to show us, we make sure of being able to persuade him to do what we have told you, namely, to get back all that was heretofore yours on the coast of Puglia, and the kingdom of Sicily besides; and we also believe it impossible for us to confer a greater benefit than this on

* The occupation by the Venetians of part of the Neapolitan territory, from the year 1495 until 1509, is narrated by the historian Pietro Bembo.

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the See Apostolic, because you having those harbours and coasts, and so much additional territory, will be by so much the more powerful and have greater means for defending the Popes, by preserving whom you will also preserve your own liberty, whereas at present if dependent on your assistance we should have to go half round the world (*ch' adesso se vossamo aspettare aiuti da voi, bisogneria circondare mezo il mondo*).

"Had it pleased the goodness of God to give us sufficient forces to enable us to act of ourselves, and gain the kingdom of Naples for St. Peter, we should not have need of anyone; our courage (*animo*) is greater than our forces, and we therefore had recourse to the King of France; and we have chosen to tell you as aforesaid, nor do we know for what purpose, save that we felt a worm within gnawing us (*che ne rodea*) not to speak freely and before the time, because, as we told you before, thus does one do by friends and those we love. Write this in such form as familiar to you, we not doubting that the whole will be kept very secret."

I replied, that, as done by me always, I would write, not only the conceits, but so far as my memory served me the very words of his Holiness, and I thought fit to add that on the day before yesterday the whole Sacred College and the ambassadors departed joyfully, seeing him so entirely disposed towards peace and quiet, hoping that through the Cardinals appointed by him some good result might be obtained in accordance with his pious intention, and having so long resided in Venice no one could be a better witness than himself of how remote your Serenity was from ambition of additional territory. "Yes," said the Pope, "but in matters of great importance one must rouse oneself (*bisogna svegliarsi*), and we, when a Cardinal, never sought anything else but to excite the Popes to make you great, and now that we can do it of ourselves we are encouraged so to do;" and with this he dismissed me. I rather hesitated to transmit these particulars by an express, but his Holiness having sent for me this day and spoken as he did, and being certain that he very well knows that from to-day until Saturday, the ordinary post day, it is a long while, and deeming it well for Princes to be forthwith informed of certain important requests about to be made them, I determined to despatch the present courier, Zuan Ponchino, to whom I have given 18 gold crowns, and your Serenity will be pleased to give him 10 more if he arrives at Venice by 9 a.m. on Thursday.

Rome, 13th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

547. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day at the 11th hour (11 a.m.) there assembled in the house of the Deacon* the right reverend De Bellai, five other cardinals, vidt., Carpi, Morone, Saraceno, Savello, and Santafiore, they having been appointed by the Pope to discuss the peace. The Duke of Paliano was likewise present and all the ambassadors, except the

* "Decano," the Senior Cardinal of the Sacred College.

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one from France, who is still infirm and suffering from gout, and the Ferrarese, who is ill of flux. I was summoned by a public cursitor to go to the said palace at the same hour, and when all were assembled, the right reverend Deacon commenced by saying that the College being aware of the fatal consequences of the war evidently in preparation between the Pope on one side and the Emperor and his son on the other, and which if once commenced would involve not only the princes of Italy, but all the Christian powers besides, and perhaps Sultan Soliman, who would not allow this opportunity to escape him ; the Deacon, therefore, at the last general Congregation, besought the Pope in favour of peace and quiet, and his Holiness, adhering to his Christian and pious intention, not only assented to this request on the part of the College, but exhorted them to find means for stilling and pacifying everything, and that this was the cause for which the present assembly was held, that its members might give such advice as seemed fit to them for the common weal. Then turning towards the ambassadors of the Emperor and of the King of England, their sovereigns being the first and most interested, he prayed them to be good instruments for so holy a purpose ; and to all the others he said that peace being what everybody must wish for, they also were not to fail proposing and counselling deliberately whatever might seem fit to each of them for the extinction of so important a conflagration as this would prove.

When he finished speaking thus, Cardinal Carpi* commenced saying that he left his house with much greater hope of obtaining his wish, which is for peace, than he has at present, having just met the Duke of Paliano, who told them all that the matter had advanced so far as to warrant its being considered the commencement of war; but nevertheless as this disagreement and these suspicions or offences had arisen between the Pope and the Emperor and his son, and as unfortunately the person who ought always to be the common father of all men, has become one of the parties, considering his good intention, he, Carpi, chooses to hope the best, and trusts greatly to the other side, the Emperor and the King of England, having shown many marks of their goodwill and desire for peace; nor did he see any better means for arriving at this good result than to request the Duke of Alva, who has such great authority in Italy, and from whom alone some catastrophe might be feared, in the name of the Sacred College of Cardinals, to suspend hostilities in case he meditated an attack, so that during this interval not only from hence at Rome, but from all the other princes and potentates of Italy, earnest application might be made to the Emperor and his son in favour of quiet.

This opinion was commended by all the other Cardinals, who spoke in rotation according to their grades; Cardinal Morone affirming that the Emperor and the King of England would never fail consenting to so pious an act. The Duke of Paliano, being then

* Ridolfo Pio, whose family had held the principality of Carpi ; he died in 1564, in his 65th year, leaving a fine library and collections of statues and pictures, and was one of the most virtuous men of his day. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 173–177.)

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requested to speak, replied that he had been sent to listen and report to the Pope, and not to speak; and when the Imperial ambassador was about to open his lips, the Cardinal Deacon (De Bellai) said, "Allow me to utter a few words of great importance," and then added, "I went to-day to the Cardinal de Tournon, the King's superintendent of affairs (*sopraintendente delle cose del Re*), that as the ambassador could not come he might be present here, but being unable to do so, he told me that in this Congregation, should I think it necessary, I was to say that the King cannot ever fail the Pope (should anyone choose to attack him), succouring him both with the fleet and with infantry (*e con l'armata e con fanti*), and with all his forces in Italy, and in short with whatever may be in his power, and that orders had been already given in case of need." After these words the Imperial ambassador [the Marquis of Sarria] spoke, saying that the Emperor and the King his lords believing that in consequence of the recent events he was now out of Rome and at Monte Pulciano, according to the intention written by him, he has received no advices for many days, nor any order about negotiations from his court, nor had anything been communicated to him by the Duke of Alva, and that therefore he knew not what else to say save to promise that whatever may proceed from him will tend towards this aim at peace, which has been sought by him invariably hitherto; and in reply also to what the Deacon had said, in conclusion, he affirmed to everybody that the Emperor and the King were Princes of such a sort that never would they be moved to do anything by fear either of galleys, infantry, or money; though on the other hand their goodwill and desire to keep their subjects well satisfied by means of peace, and not to harass anyone, were indeed motives which they acknowledged; and that he chose to believe that the most Christian King, as a virtuous Prince, would neither break the truce nor his word.

The following words of the Florentine ambassador caused comment: "On my departure the Duke my lord charged me always to assure his Holiness that it was not only his wish but also his firm determination (*risoluta opinione*) to be the obedient son of this Holy See; he always writes to me thus, and I availing myself of the opportunity make the declaration in this right honourable Congregation, although there is no lack of malignants who disseminate the contrary." It seemed to some persons that he spoke too freely in the presence of the ambassador of the Emperor and of the King of England, and the Cardinals alone then drew aside for awhile, and on their return Cardinal De Bellai, standing, again urged the ambassadors of the Emperor and the King of England to do their best for this peace, even at the risk of somewhat exceeding their commission, as in the long run (*a lungo andare*) they would perform an act worthy of praise and agreeable to their sovereigns, he himself occasionally when negotiating having done the like successfully, and to the satisfaction of his King.

The Marquis of Sarria replied, that in a matter of such great importance he could not venture to go beyond his orders; that by letter he would perform every good office, as he always had done; and that he was of opinion it might be rendered effectual by removing

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Garcilasso from the castle and consigning him (on receiving security) to him the Marquis, at his residence,* and also that Zuan Antonio de Tassis should either be set at liberty, or put at least in less close confinement, thus warranting some hope that matters might at length proceed towards the end desired by everybody; whereas, to say the truth, the rejection of these two demands would be interpreted in a very sinister form, both at the court of his Princes and by the Duke of Alva. All the Cardinals then prayed the Duke of Paliano to gratify the Marquis and the English ambassador, as this would be a great commencement, and whereby to soothe and quiet everything. The Duke replied that he dared not make such a proposal to the Pope, and that neither the Marquis nor Sir Edward Carne would tell their Princes to release state prisoners, even were they persons of greater importance than Garcilasso and Tassis, but that the Marquis should go and make his request to the Pope, who would perhaps grant it, or assign a reason for not doing so; the Duke declaring that his knowledge of the Pope's magnanimity and clemency enabled him to assert that were it possible to effect an adjustment, neither Garcilasso nor anyone else would receive injury. At length it was settled that the Pope's nephew should narrate the whole to his Holiness, and in the act of departure the Cardinal Deacon De Bellai said to me, "Believe me, lord ambassador, that I never speak anything but the truth. The King will have (*Il Re haverà questo* (sic) *gagliarde forze*) such powerful forces in Italy as to enable him not only to defend but to attack anyone.

Rome, 14th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

548. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Of the three individuals sentenced to death, only two were executed, but being of noble birth (*ma essendo nobili*), it was granted them as an especial favour not to be put to death at Tyburn (*al luogo publico*), but on Tower Hill, the place of execution for chief lords and gentlemen.

By their dying speech delivered to the populace as usual, they seemed to make so Christian and Catholic an end (*di morir così Christiana et Catholicamente*), that neither greater faith, nor more true and certain knowledge of God, could have been desired in anyone, so that not only were the people greatly affected, but also many noblemen and persons of quality who had flocked thither; no one having been able from compassion to restrain their tears, whilst all, both good and bad, admitted that the execution was just and holy.

The capital punishment of Lord La Warre and of the other three

* The imprisonment of Don Garcilasso de la Vega is mentioned by the English ambassador Sir Edward Carne in the Foreign Calendar, date 3rd August 1556. Amongst the other Imperialists then in prison at Rome were Giulio Cesarini, Camillo Colonna, the Archbishop of Taranto, Hippolito Capilupo, and the postmaster, Giovanni Antonio de Tassis.

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convicted criminals is supposed to be put off from day to day for the sake of giving them more time to repent and reconcile themselves to God, and for the salvation of their souls, to which above all the Queen wishes the greatest attention to be paid, rather than because either they or others may hope for pardon, as the persons aforesaid neither by their own deserts, nor through the intercession of persons in great favour with the Queen, and very dear to her, have been able to obtain it. According to report, although it seems improbable, Carew will adjust his affairs by payment of a fine, some persons telling me that he has already done so, by agreeing to disburse 2,000*l.* sterling. Cheke has again demanded a conference with the theologians, after having lately dismissed them, persisting obstinately in his heretical opinions, which, unless he retract them, will cause him likewise to be burned in public.

Francesco Piamontese has returned from Brussels, but without any letters from the King; his Majesty having subsequently despatched Don Francisco de Mendoza, esquire carver (*gientilhomo della bocca*), who arrived four days ago. As yet his mission is not known to have been for any other purpose than that of visiting the Queen, and of making known to her his Majesty's great wish to return; apologizing for the delay on account of the very momentous impediments which daily cross him, assuring the Queen, however, although he will no longer bind himself to any stated time or day, but that it will be soon; he having already ordered the stable department (*la stalla*) and a great part of his household to move and proceed in advance. Subsequently the said Don Francisco had private audience of the Queen, *which has yet more increased the previous opinion about a secret treaty and negotiation* (la opinione di pratica et maneggio occulto); *nor hitherto can it, through any channel, be ascertained, neither can I as yet learn, whether the despatch for Rome, on which Cardinal Pole was lately so intent, has been brought back by Francesco Piamontese, or sent forward on its way.*

Lord Maltravers, a youth two-and-twenty years old, one of the most noble and virtuous in this kingdom, son of the Earl of Arundel,* has been appointed by the Queen to visit the King and Queen of Bohemia, in her name.

The Venetian merchants established here came to me to-day, to obtain from the Lords of the Council the license to continue sending their woollens across the sea to Flanders, for conveyance thence by the carriers, as usual, to Venice; a general order and prohibition having been issued lately against the exportation and shipment of similar goods, especially for Flanders, by any person; this being done, they say, at the suit of the English merchants adventurers, as they alone of their countrymen trade in Flanders by special privilege. As I do not think it for the Republic's interest to fail supporting the merchants, I shall endeavour to have them relieved from this grievance, although some have made the attempt privately, and not only they and all the other Italian nations received a flat refusal, but likewise the Easterlings (*Osterlini*, Han-

* Henry Fitzalan, 18th Earl of Arundel. (*See* Burke's Extinct Peerages.)

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sards) here, who have a privilege exempting them from any impediment at all times, which will render the matter more difficult, though no pains shall be spared.

Your Serenity's creation* has rejoiced the most illustrious Legate Pole, the most of any of these royal counsellors, both by reason of his affection for the Republic, and on account of his especial regard for your family, by reason of the eminent worth and goodness of the right reverend Monsignor Priuli, whom he has so singularly and heartily loved and esteemed.

London, 14th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

549. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In a long conversation held by me with the Duke of Paliano, he said that the Imperialists who had been arrested gave very good advice to the Duke of Alva, recommending him to come speedily by way of the Campagna, with 10,000 Italian infantry and 1,000 horse; to send 4,000 by way of the Abruzzi to seize Tivoli, and to embark 2,500 Spaniards on board 45 galleys for the capture of Nettuno. He then added, "They will no longer take Tivoli, as we have garrisoned it; and still less can they now rob us of Civitavecchia, though they might have done so at the commencement. My brother the Cardinal will come with troops and other assistance, nor can we then remain always on the defensive. Should the Duke of Alva delay the attack until farther orders from his Princes (as said in Congregation), an arrangement might be effected by discussing the matter, unless they are quite demented, though the arrest of Don Garcilasso, his relation and friend, might render him precipitate (*lo potrebbe fare precipitare*)."

With all this talk of peace, the other day at dinner, when conversing with Cardinal Saraceni,† the Pope kindled spontaneously (*s'accese di sua posta*), and turning towards the Roman cavaliers (*i cavalieri Romani*) said aloud, "These sorry iniquitous Moriscos (*Marani*) were plotting to give Rome another sack, as if this city were one of their forests, in which to come and fell timber periodically, after a lapse of so many years. What they did heretofore does not suffice them, and but for Lautrec they would still be here. They purposed marching so many infantry one way, and so many the other, not knowing that we are provided, that we have no lack either of troops, money, or friends. Give sack to this city? We will give it to Naples our country, and will go there in person, with a crucifix before us. We intend to have that fiendish letter (*quell' indiavolata lettera*) printed, that everybody may know their treacherous proceedings. They have confessed everything, and their lives are at our mercy, but we choose to know more; and do you, Duke" (addressing me [Duke of Paliano]), "leave those rogues with

* Doge Francesco Venier died on the 2nd of June 1556, and was succeeded by Lorenzo Priuli, whose election took place on the 14th June 1556.

† Gianmichele Saraceni, a Neapolitan, made cardinal by Julius III. on the 20th December 1551. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 309.)

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their arms on the cord [of the strappado] until they name their accomplices, for we choose to know them, and let everyone beware of mischance (*et ognuno si guardi dalla mala ventura*)."

Rome, 15th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

550. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, after my audience of the Pope, the Duke of Paliano told me that the day before yesterday he received a letter from the Duke of Alva, brought by his captain, Don Geronimo de Urea, saying that couriers, and lately the postmaster, having been arrested, letters also being opened, he sends to complain of this, and to know what has become of the letters. The letter was addressed "Al muy Ill. Senor el Senor Conde de Montorio," and signed "Alli piaceri di V. S. el Duque de Alva." By the Pope's order the Duke of Paliano replied that, since his governorship, neither had couriers been arrested nor letters opened; and that if the affair of Terracina was alluded to, he had nothing farther to say, as he knew him to be well acquainted with it, and that by this time he would have heard the whole; he signing himself, "Alli piaceri di V. S. il Duca di Paliano," and the address being "Al molto Illre. Sigre. il Sigr. Duca di Alva." The Duke of Paliano also told me that at the first examination Don Garcilasso seemed to jest, but perceiving subsequently that they were carefully confined, "he saw that he was in some danger. He confessed to what I have already told you, and the other day he endeavoured to send out a letter in order, if possible, to make his escape, nor would I tell the Pope this, to avoid exasperating his Holiness yet more, and lest he desire me to put him in a worse and more confined place, it sufficing me to have provided against the possibility of his flight. The postmaster, Gio. Antº Tassis, is the only one who has been racked;* Capilupi confessed to having heard the same things, but merely by way of conversation."

I thanked his Excellency for this confidential announcement, and he then spoke about the quarantine to which it would be necessary to subject couriers coming from Venice, on account of the plague there.

Rome, 17th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

551. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Tournon quitted Rome this morning. Yesterday he told me that perhaps elsewhere he will be a better instrument for aiding universal quiet, and that he purposes writing freely to the King how matters are proceeding, and performing good offices for the peace.

* In a letter dated Rome, 3rd August 1556, and addressed by Sir Edward Carne to Queen Mary, it is seen that although not put to the strappado, "Garcilasso being fed with salt meat was kept without drink for three days to make him confess the names." (*See* Foreign Calendar, Mary, No. 522, p. 242.)

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He says that those who tell the Pope that there is no stir of importance at Naples are answered by him that these are deceits, and that they do so to find him unprepared; and he bursts forth, using strange language against the Emperor and the King of England; but that he (Cardinal Tournon) has told the Imperialists that they will have to listen to similar words daily, and must bear with them, having regard for the Pope's age, and for the dignity with which he is invested; and that as to fortifying Paliano, the Emperor ought to be glad of it, because it will thus be a stronghold against the See Apostolic, and that were he in the Pope's place by no means would he have such a fortress, as the Church can have no greater enemies than fortified places near at hand. He told me that he had let the Duke of Paliano know that the truce maintains him, whereas war deprives him of his duchy. The departure of so sage and good a personage, and chief minister of his most Christian Majesty, causes much comment and talk at this court. The majority of the cardinals and of the court regret his departure, it seeming to them thus to lose the best peace minister in this city.

M. de Rambouillet, chamberlain of his most Christian Majesty, has arrived, announcing the constant determination of the King to assist the Pope, and he says Cardinal Caraffa will leave the court on the 8th or 10th instant; and letters from Genoa state that at Marseilles troops were being embarked for Paliano. and that on account of the plague the Genoese government had put Venice, Padua, and Marseilles under quarantine.

The letter of the Duke of Alva to the Duke of Paliano, and the mission of Don Juan de Urea, so enraged the Pope that on the day before yesterday at table, and afterwards to Cardinal S. Jacomo, in Congregation of the Inquisition, he repeated almost the same words against the Emperor, his son, and the Duke of Alva, as he is accustomed to utter, and which have been so often written.

Don Diego la Chaux (*Lasso*), agent of the King of the Romans, has had leave to quit Rome to go to some baths. He made the demand of the Pope at table, and encouraged by his Holiness' kind words he chose to commence speaking to him about Don Garcilasso, but the Pope told him to hold his tongue and go away, and as he delayed doing so his Holiness rose from the table, saying, "If thou wilt not begone, I myself will depart" (*se non voi andartene tù, anderò io*), and he withdrew into the chamber. I understand that this Don Diego has already received 4,000 crowns revenue in Spain from his Holiness, but saddled with a pension of 2,000 to Don Alfonso Caraffa. Don Garcilasso also obtained a "reversion" in Spain of some 2,000 crowns, free from any pension, on which account they yet more resent his conduct.

A report circulates here, and many persons believe it, that the Imperialists have gained (*guadagnato*) Cardinal Farnese and Duke Ottavio by restoring Piacenza, but keeping the castle for themselves, about which, I having asked Cardinal St. Angelo,* and other dependants of the family, they evince great surprise; and yesterday in

* Ranuccio Farnese, younger brother of Alessandro, Cardinal, Prime Minister of Paul III.

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consistory, in reply to the Pope's enquiries, the Cardinal replied that he knew nothing whatever about this, and did not believe it. His Holiness said, "Enough! whether done or about to be done, we shall take it amiss, and will punish all the parties (*e la puniremo sopra ognuno*)." To this Cardinal St. Ángelo rejoined that he could not command either Cardinal Farnese or Duke Ottavio; and that whatever might happen he ought not to suffer for it; and last evening he wrote a long account of this discourse to Cardinal Farnese at Parma, exhorting him to quit that city, as his stay there is the cause of these reports.

The printed bull, depriving Ascanio and Marc' Antonio Colonna of their estates, has been published, and it is said that the "*auditor della camera*" has commanded the generals of the religious orders to have it placed on the gates of their churches in Naples.

Camillo Orsini has arrived on a call from the Pope, who has assigned him the apartment in the palace formerly occupied by Cardinal Pisani. It is not known whether he will remain to serve his Holiness. These Romans seem to place great trust in him.*

Rome, 18th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

552. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday the King and Queen of Bohemia were met by the King of Spain, at a village half a league beyond Louvain, where his Majesty waited for them, which being heard by the King of Bohemia, who was travelling in a coach with his consort, having had two fits of his usual malady,† he got on horseback immediately and came on in advance towards King Philip, on approaching whom he dismounted, and they embraced each other, and then proceeded together to meet the Queen, whose brother having fraternally and affectionately saluted her, the brothers-in-law remounted their horses, and on the road towards Louvain the King of Spain wished to place the King of Bohemia, who would not consent to it, on the right hand. Having thus entered Louvain they passed the night there; and early next morning set out for this town, placing the Queen between them, she also coming on horseback; and they arrived here at noon with two thousand horse, part having come with the King of Bohemia, the rest having gone forth with the King of Spain. The townspeople sent a doctor (of laws) to the gate, who, in the name of the community, congratulated King Maximilian on this coming, receiving his Highness with a great number of lighted

* This popularity did not last long, and the destruction of the Farnese gardens and other vineyards, as also of buildings in Rome at this period by Camillo Orsini, caused the Romans later in the year to regret the humanity of Cæsar Borgia in not strangling Camillo in 1502 (he being then ten years old), when his father Paolo was put to death in Castel de la Pieve, as recorded by Machiavelli. Camillo Orsini was the intimate friend of Cardinal Pole, one of whose letters to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese contains a long lament for the loss of his trees. It is, however, without any date of time or place, and solely through the aid of Navagero's despatches have I been able to fix them.

† Query epilepsy. The ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, in his "report" of the King of the Romans, A.D. 1557, said of the King of Bohemia, "Egli patiscé di una sincope ò mancamento di virtù, che alle volte gli viene." (*See* Alberi, series 1, vol. 3, p. 151.)

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torches, according to the custom of these provinces; and the Emperor having sent to tell the King and Queen of Bohemia that as the hour was late they were to dine first, and that he would see them afterwards, they dismounted at the palace, where apartments had been prepared for them, and the Queens Eleanor and Maria, with the Duchesses of Lorraine and Arschot, and other chief personages who were waiting, went down to the foot of the stair to receive their Majesties, and placed between them the Queen of Bohemia, with whom and with the King their nephew they performed such offices as became their close relationship. After dinner the King of Bohemia went to fetch the King of Spain, and the two together took the Queen, with whom they went to the Emperor, and his Imperial Majesty having come down into a chamber on the ground floor, he first embraced his son-in-law and then his daughter, having doffed his bonnet and keeping it always in his hand during their conversation, of which not one word was audible; and then all the chief personages who had come with King Maximilian having kissed the Emperor's hand, his Imperial Majesty called King Philip to him, and having said a few words to everybody, dismissed them. Yesterday afternoon the King and Queen went to the Emperor to talk together, none of the ministers being present; the interview was brief, but after leaving the Emperor, the King of Spain remained a long while with the Queen his sister.

As yet they are not known to have commenced any negotiation, and the provost of Trent, who is the confidential servant (*intimo servitore*) of the King of the Romans, and has familiar access at all hours to the chamber of the King of Bohemia, came to tell me, in strong language, that the report circulated by these Spaniards of his Highness having come hither spontaneously, was false, and that he had been induced to make this journey because the Emperor, both by letter and by words, which by his orders were repeated to him, had let his Highness know that he gave manifest proof to him, the Emperor, and to the world, of bearing his kindred (*il suo sangue*) ill-will. With regard to private disputes he said it would be easy to adjust them in the few days during which his Highness purposed remaining here; but respecting the exchange of these States of Flanders for the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Stiria, and touching the dignity of the Empire, he vowed that no proposal would be made on the part of the King of the Romans and of the King of Bohemia, though he thought it possible, owing to the strange humours of Germany, and the union and projects of the Pope and the King of France, that the Emperor and his son might condescend to propose and settle things of that sort, and something besides, such as no one had an idea of, but he would not specify what it was. The Spaniards assert positively that the Emperor and King Philip will make this exchange of territory, and that the Emperor has written to the King of Bohemia that it would be well for both their Majesties to resign the Imperial dignities to the kings their sons, thus doing honour to both one and the other, and retaining them in their family, notwithstanding opponents whose especial object it is to deprive the house of Hapsburg of those prerogatives; and that

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the King of Spain will consent to the King of Bohemia being Emperor, provided he elect him King of the Romans.*

The French ambassador has taken an opportunity to say that should the King of Spain purpose making a marriage between the Archduke Ferdinand and the sister of the Queen of England, his most Christian Majesty will give the daughter of the Queen of Scotland,† betrothed to the Dauphin, to Lord Courtenay, *to prevent the House of Austria from establishing itself in that kingdom.*

The Imperial ambassador in France writes that all visible signs show it to be the intention of the King and the principal ministers, with the exception of the Constable, to break the truce, and on these borders we hear daily of fresh reinforcements being sent thither, Marienburg having been lately provided with a variety of stores; so war is expected shortly, and their Majesties here have given orders for six thousand pioneers to go to Hesdin-fort to complete the unfinished works there. I have heard from a person of quality that yesterday Don Ruy Gomez held a very long conference with the French ambassador, exhorting him most lovingly and earnestly to mediate in favour of peace rather than of war, as indicated by his mode of proceeding, offering to induce the King to appoint commissioners well disposed towards the peace, and that if his most Christian Majesty would do the like, its conclusion might be hoped for; but he comprehended that his expressions, instead of being reciprocated heartily, were answered by ceremonious phrases. A gentleman in the service of the Cardinal of Pisa has arrived here with letters to the Nuncio, for the purpose of finding a lodging for his right reverend Lordship, but although, through the ministers, the Nuncio announced the news to their Majesties, this coming has not greatly rejoiced the court, owing to the determination made in France to send the Gascons in Tuscany to serve the Pope, although under pretence of their garrisoning Mont' Alcino and other places; and also because the Cardinal's letter is dated from Switzerland.

The Grand Conservator of the Order of Rhodes, who resided here with their Majesties, has died, as also the governor of the Prince of Spain (Don Carlos), to fill which post the members of the Council had purposed sending Don Bernardino de Mendoza, but subsequently determined to appoint one Garcia de Toledo, who has the care of the Princess. The plague has ceased entirely, but the scarcity of all the necessaries of life, owing to the very great number of persons who have accompanied the King and Queen of Bohemia, and those from every part of these provinces who have come to see these six crowned heads together, is such that everybody finds the necessary expenditure unbearable, as it in truth is.

Brussels, 19th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Et che 'l Re di Boemia sia Imperatore, pur che lo elega Re di Romani.

† Mary Queen of Scots had been affianced to the Dauphin in the year 1548. (*See* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.)

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July 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

553. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot has again conferred with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who told him that he had communicated to his most Christian Majesty what they discussed together, and that the King commended the office performed by the Abbot, whom he therefore exhorted to persevere, assuring him that he would find his most Christian Majesty excellently disposed to the quiet of Christendom; the Cardinal adding, "Lord Abbot, when giving the State of Milan to the Duke of Savoy, would not the King of England consent to the most Christian King's giving Savoy to the Duke of Orleans, and to his annexing Piedmont to the crown of France?" The Abbot replied that to make such a proposal would be tantamount to disturbing the present negotiation, as the Imperialists demonstrate clearly that one of the chief causes to induce them to form this resolve would be that of preventing the most Christian King from uniting either Savoy or Piedmont to his crown; they, on the contrary, choosing the Duke of Orleans to acknowledge their tenure from the empire (ch' el Duca di Orliens riconosca quel stato dall' Imperio). *The Cardinal repeated that the most Christian King would never depart from what was fair, but that it was requisite for his Majesty to see that the Imperialists did not molest the Pope, he being determined not to abandon his Holiness; in addition to which the King of France wished the Pope to be included in this negotiation. When Parpaglia inquired how this could be effected, the Cardinal said the Emperor should make the same reply to the Legate Motula as his most Christian Majesty had made to Caraffa with regard to approving the Pope's good-will about the Council; and that as to the peace, such difficulties as remained unsettled* (irressolute) *should be referred to his Holiness. Thereupon the Abbot inquired if the Cardinal of Lorraine wished him to write to Brussels, and he said that it would be well. The Cardinal asked whether the Abbot believed that the King of England would consent to place the Republic of Siena under the protection of the Church, like Bologna; and Parpaglia's reply was that he did not know the will of the King of England, but he thought if the King of France would restore Corsica, he, on his part, would satisfy his most Christian Majesty about the affairs of Tuscany. To this the Cardinal rejoined that nothing must be said about Corsica; and this point he considered the most difficult in the present negotiation, as the King of France would not object to refer the affair of Metz for decision to the Imperial Diet, as also with regard to other places occupied by France in Flanders, some compromise* (compositione) *might be devised, but Corsica would be the most difficult to adjust; and, in conclusion, he said he had spoken as of himself, and left it to the Abbot to write to Brussels as seemed fit to him. Parpaglia tells me that nothing of importance can be effected unless by the Constable, wherefore it would be expedient to mitigate his Excellency's [ill] will* (animo) *by some better hope of ransoming the prisoners, but that it was above all necessary for the Emperor and the King of England not to show that they held this*

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Paliano in such great account, as it was notorious everywhere that his most Christian Majesty had resolved to defend the Pope.

M. de Gordes, who had been sent thither about the ransom of the prisoners, was informed on behalf of the Emperor and the King of England that it would be well to suspend the negotiation for two months, during which interval thought would be had for fresh means, not only for their release, but for some arrangement whereby to bring about a good peace, which would smooth all difficulties.

Don Ruy Gomez, discussing the same topic with Gordes, told him that for certain important business which concerned his King he thought of going to Spain, and purposed going through France, hoping that his most Christian Majesty would allow him to do so, with which opportunity he would offer him such terms of peace that he felt sure they could not be refused; which having been announced by Gordes to his most Christian Majesty, he desired him to come away from the Imperial court instantly.

Paris, 20th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

554. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lords of the Council are of opinion that by prohibiting the exportation hence of kerseys and other woollens for Flanders, by anyone, not even by the English themselves, the prices, which have risen greatly, will diminish; and what matters more is the wish to oblige the merchants-adventurers in reward for the services rendered to the Queen by accommodating her Majesty with considerable sums of money when required. It is intended to obtain a fresh loan from them at present; and lest the present supply of woollens in Flanders be increased, and that they may be enabled to dispose of their goods, and, being without competition, make sales, with greater despatch and advantage, the demand of the Venetian merchants, made through me, for an export permit at least for such kerseys as they have had manufactured and which are ready, they offering valid security for their mere transit through Flanders, has been of little avail, as intimated by me in my last. The arguments adduced orally and in writing by the merchants and by me, in reply to all the grounds alleged by them, took no effect; for the Bishop of Ely came to my house with the verbal reply in the name of the whole Council. They apologized not so much with reference to what had been remarked by us, as to more important matters to which there was no occasion to refer; and as to the loss and inconvenience incurred by Venetian merchants, they said that the prohibition had been issued solely for three months, and as in the meanwhile the road through France and all the others were open, the merchants might conveniently send their goods that way, if unable to abide this brief delay; and although my rejoinder demonstrated the cost, inconvenience, and risk of all those other roads, I could obtain no other decision. A similar refusal was given subsequently to the Hansards (*Osterlinj*) notwithstanding all their privileges, they

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having made the same offer, to give security for the exportation of the woollens, these being merely embaled (*solamente imballate et preste*—sic); and the other nations have been treated in like manner; so all further demands may be considered vain and useless.

For this same purpose of cheapening woollens, I understand that they have stopped them in general for two years; not even the Staplers being allowed to export wools for any quarter, and with great difficulty could they obtain leave to make this last transmission (*questa ultima condutta*).

With regard to these commercial topics, your Serenity must know that two years ago, when King Philip landed at Southampton, the inhabitants there obtained an order from him for all ships loaded with malmsies to land them in that port, according to ancient custom; which measure the London merchants for their own interest opposed, and spoke to me about it, whereupon I gave notice accordingly to the Lord Treasurer [William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester], who promised my secretary not to despatch the privilege, and to summon the merchants and hear their case. From that time forth, although on the arrival of the "Vianuola," the "Barbara," and the "Tamisera," the inhabitants of Southampton urged fulfilment of the promise made them by the King, a mere word from the Lord Treasurer then sufficed nevertheless to obtain permission for them to unload here. The London merchants therefore expected the like with regard to other vessels, but were disappointed, for according to their account, the privilege having been already expedited and taken out (*cavato*), the ship ——, Marcopulo master, having arrived lately at Margate, and beginning to unload, the Hamptonians (*li Antonitani*) protested violently that he must be made to go back to Southampton, and obtained an order for the merchants not to enter anything in the London custom-house. I remonstrated strongly with Cardinal Pole and the whole Council, alleging that the ship's stowage (*stiva*) had been already moved (*mossa*), and that the vessel leaked, so that if they insisted on her putting back she would incur evident risk of loss; and being convinced by these and similar arguments, they left it to me to give drink-money (*beveraggio*) to the Hamptonians (*Antonitani*), and the vessel was allowed to continue unloading here. Although I complained of the wrong done to the merchants by not hearing them, according to the Treasurer's promise, before ratifying the privilege, they nevertheless took but little heed of this, and choose at any rate to enforce it; and unless the merchants here adduce valid arguments proving the especial detriment to the Crown (*del re*) through the inconvenience or loss to which they and the English themselves will be subjected to, by making all other ships nuload at Southampton, they will not move the government to cancel the privilege, and must necessarily discharge there. I will not fail, as I have done hitherto, with your Serenity's support and authority, to assist and favour them, and to be their advocate and intercessor, whenever they apply to me, though I trust but little that they and I shall succeed, unless an arrangement of some sort be made with the Hamptonians (*li Antonitani*) to prevent their opposition, as it was for their sake and to benefit their town that all this was conceded

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they being the more favoured, as at present no one dare oppose and gainsay the first boon granted by the King.

Her Majesty departed to-day, but merely went a distance of seven miles to Eltham, such has been the variety of resolves formed within the last week.

Before moving, the Queen chose to give orders and arrange about the prisoners, so as not to be troubled with this business during her absence, having some of them released on giving security, others being fined, others remaining in prison as they were; to others she conceded liberty within the Tower; and the execution of those condemned to death is deferred, from what I hear, until her return, perhaps in order that the King being then here, may, with his usual clemency, obtain their entire release, so as to gain for himself so much the more favour and popularity.

Doctor Cheke at the last moment asked and obtained permission to speak with Cardinal Pole, and by the goodness of God his most illustrious Lordship's words produced such an effect upon him that he recanted entirely (*che egli si è in tutto riditto*) and purposes living catholically, submitting to any penance the Cardinal pleased, and which reduces itself to a brief penitential and confessional discourse in public, as an example for others, in the presence of the courtiers, by whom, having been the King's schoolmaster (*maestro*), he is chiefly known, whereupon free and secure he will be restored to his wife and children, and to his estates (*et alli beni suoi*); this act being in truth very advantageous, by reason of the universal opinion entertained of his learning, and of the good life he led, as his example will confirm those who are virtuous (*li buoni*), and serve to dispose and move some . . . . . (*corroded in MS.*)

Last week, eight of the Queen's ships alone, after chasing ten English pirate-vessels which they attacked, brought six of them into Plymouth harbour, the captain of which six, a man of valour and condition, who made his escape to Ireland in a small boat (*con un piccolo botto*), thinking to be safe there, was killed by the natives. On board the four that sheered-off was one Killigrew,* an Englishman, an old pirate, whose name and exploits are most notorious, and he is therefore in great repute and favour with the French.† As some ships have gone in pursuit of them, it is believed that they may have the same end as their consorts.

Yesterday Don Francisco de Mendoza was sent back to the King, accompanied by the courier Gamboa, that he may return in haste with the reply to certain despatches as usual. Mendoza assured the Queen of the King's immediate coming. Requests his recal on the arrival of the ambassador Surian.

London, 21st July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

555. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I went yesterday to visit the King of Spain on his return from Laura," and to congratulate him on the coming hither of his brother-

* Peter Kyllygrew. (*See* Domestic Calendar, August 18 and 21, 1556, p. 86.)

† In date of 31st July 1556, Machyn (p. 111) records the execution of six "robars of the see," but gives no names.

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in-law and sister, which assurances he reciprocated, his manner being kind, and the expression of his countenance cheerful. After taking leave of his Majesty I had a long conversation with Don Ruy Gomez, who said that (speaking confidentially with me as was his wont) at a secret conference with the French ambassador he told him that if he on his part would do as became a true minister, he, Ruy Gomez, ventured to say that a good peace would be made between the two crowns, as he knew his king would offer very fair terms; wherefore he should induce King Henry to send commissioners, and King Philip would do the like; but he found that the ambassador had no such intention; adding, he knew by sure signs that the King of France was determined to break the truce, but would assign as the cause the affair of the prisoners, about which he had no reason to complain, and that King Henry waited for the Pope to stir, his Holiness, on the other hand, wishing the Emperor and King Philip to commence; but that this they will not do, as they choose the world to know that they are averse to war, and that the object of the Pope and the King of France is to make them do things by force, but that his King will never be drawn into a war by these means, and would rather shed all the blood in the veins of his faithful subjects; and that indeed, from courtesy, fair concessions will be made. He then entered into the following detail, that it seemed strange to him to hear sinister advices from every quarter, and of so much preparation as was being made by the most Christian King's ministers to give him trouble, and that as matters could not be worse than they are, he hoped that they would arrive at the opposite extreme, namely, at some auspicious result; and he said he knew his Majesty to be good, and that he never sought to usurp what belonged to others, so he trusted in God that He would watch over his interests.

To-day I went to visit the King of Bohemia, and after congratulating him on his arrival in this town, his Majesty came almost to the door of the chamber to meet me, holding his bonnet in his hand a long while, and returned my compliments graciously. I enquired whether his departure would take place so immediately as had been told me, to which he replied, "In truth I purpose remaining here a few days, and have come to give satisfaction to the Emperor, he having very earnestly requested me; and to speak freely with you, as is my nature, which has moreover done me harm, and as I think I may be confidential, I may perhaps stay yet longer, in order to learn the cause of my coming; and I know that great things are said, but I believe I may say, '*Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*';" *and he added,* "*The world is in great agitation; I do not find this court in the state in which I have so often seen it. The Italian affairs are ill managed, and by persons full of pride and caprice* (gente piena di fantasia et superbia), *so that I am accustomed to call them dwarf Spaniards* (spagnoleti); *and when I heard that the King, my brother-in-law, had made the marriage with the Queen of England, I said that if his Majesty were so fortunate as to have the Spaniards and the English on good terms with each other, as the Queen had been with him, his power might be considered greater than that of any Prince in Christendom, but*

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(*and this he said with a loud laugh*) *from what I hear, the Spaniards have been enlightened by the English* (ma (con gran riso disse) per quanto intendo i Spagnoli sono stati chiariti dagli Inglesi)." With such address as seemed fit to me I left to his Majesty the satisfaction of speaking, and after having made him a loving offer of your Serenity's good-will I took my leave, telling him that to-morrow I should go to visit his most Serene Consort, and on my departure he again accompanied me towards the door with the same gracious and courteous forms as on receiving me.

Yesterday evening the Queens Eleanor and Maria, the King of Spain, and the King and Queen of Bohemia, and the Duchess of Lorraine, supped together in the park, there being several sorts of musical performances, and other amusements, which banquet was given by Queen Maria ; and this evening the King of Spain will do the like by the aforesaid Majesties. On the 25th instant the personages of these courts will make a tourney on foot, and on the morrow they will joust. The Queen of Bohemia has been several times with the Emperor, and alone, for a long while, and also with Queen Maria, who, according to report, is charged to commence negotiating such matters as the Emperor has a mind (*ha in animo*) to settle with his son-in-law. The persons of the court of the said King of Bohemia say that the Emperor and the King of Spain will be deceived if they think to avail themselves of the name and person of their King, not only with the German nation but with others ; or to make him remain as Governor of these States for their preservation in case of war with the King of France ; or give him the charge of vicar-general in Italy, to march troops thither in case of a rupture with the Pope ; as their King does not choose to be their Majesties' Delegate (*sustituito*) either in these provinces or in Italy, as he would not only lose repute, but incur detriment in many ways ; and that by the exchange of the Tyrol, Stiria, and Carinthia, and should the Emperor choose to renounce the Empire to the King of the Romans, he would remain under the obligation to do what he could for their Majesties, and for their benefit (*et che co'l contracambio del Tiruol, Stiria, et Carintia, et rinuntia che volesse far l'Impre. dell' Imperio al Re di Romani, restaria con obligo a queste Maestà di far per esse, et a loro beneficio, quello che egli potesse*).

Three days ago the son of the Earl of Arundel [Henry Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers] arrived here, having been sent by the Queen of England to visit the King and Queen of Bohemia, and with a commission to use every entreaty with the King her consort, that on the departure of his brother-in-law and sister his Majesty be pleased to return to England, praying him to remove whatever impediment may arise any longer to delay farther this his return, so earnestly desired by her ; and he also performed an office in the name of the said Queen with the Emperor, for him to exercise his authority with his son, that she may be gratified by the performance of the promises received from their Majesties. The King of Bohemia, besides other loving words, said, that were he not impeded by his usual indisposition, he would go postwise to see her, but the shortness of the time, and urgent business compelling him to return

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immediately to his father, he would send her one of his gentlemen to reciprocate this loving office; the Emperor and King Philip repeating very positively to him (the envoy) the promise that on the departure of the King and Queen of Bohemia his royal Majesty will go to England. Lord Maltravers also said that Queen Mary had written to Lord Courtenay, at Venice, to let him know that all the first and last charges brought against him had been found to be false, and that she loves and always shall love him in conformity with his station (*secondo le conditioni sue*), and that she was induced to perform this office for the sake of truth, and that he may not continue to despair of the King's favour and of hers; especially as his most Christian Majesty is understood not to have omitted the performance of loving offices (*di far de gli officij amorevoli*) with regard to the said Lord Courtenay. Sir John Masone, counsellor of the Queen of England, has obtained her permission to return home, provided it be confirmed by her consort, and on going to ask this favour of him, as necessary on account of his private affairs, Masone was answered that the King could not grant it him at present, because on his arrival in England everybody would infer that he (the King) did not purpose going thither so immediately as he intends doing, but that in a few days he will give him a decisive answer.

The Emperor again says, and does so every day, that before the middle of next month he intends to depart for Spain, and he has despatched a harbinger to Holland again to inspect the cabins (*gli appartamenti*) which he had constructed the last time, when everything was prepared, but no one will believe this until it comes to pass, saying besides, that although the affairs of Africa and Spain require the presence of one of their Majesties in the last-named kingdom, yet is there greater need for the Emperor to remain in these provinces should war break out, on account both of the King of France and the Pope; and it is supposed that should his Imperial Majesty move from hence, it will be for the purpose of taking some step about the affairs of England (*per far qualche effetto per le cose d'Inghilterra*).

Brussels, 21st July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

556. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Spain having heard from a Fleming that the Cardinal of Pisa had left Baden, near Spires, and was coming hither in great haste, despatched two couriers yesterday, by different roads, to ascertain the truth, as also the road taken by his right reverend Lordship, to enable him to give orders as he subsequently did to the Prince of Ascoli and Count Chinchon to be the first to go and meet him; and afterwards the Duke of Savoy to go as far as Louvain; King Philip, with the King of Bohemia, intending to go and receive his Lordship at the gate of this town; and for his lodging they have prepared the palace of the Bishop of Tournai. As yet the King's couriers have not returned, and one has arrived here, despatched from Bologna to the Cardinal, with a commission, should he not find him, to take the letters waiting for

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him here, and to depart with them for delivery to his right reverend Lordship at his present abode. This being heard here, the postmaster has been desired not to let him have horses for his return, the Emperor and King Philip choosing to know first of all if their couriers have found the Cardinal, and whether the news of the imprisonment of Don Garcia de la Vega and the postmaster Tassis be true; and the Nuncio having gone to negotiate with Don Ruy Gomez about certain benefices, and talking to him as usual about the Pope's good will, Ruy Gomez, in a rage, answered him that seeing all his facts at variance with similar assurances, he was compelled to believe either that he had always intended to deceive him, or had himself been deceived by his Holiness.

The French ambassador went again lately to the King, making a fresh demand for the release of the prisoners, saying that thing alone might cause the truce to be broken, his most Christian Majesty being unable any longer to withstand the words and tears of their blood-relations (*congionti di sangue loro*), who demand justice of him by his causing the agreement to be executed. In reply the King spoke him fair, saying he would send M. de Lalain to him to give a more precise answer, and from what the ambassador has said, Lalain went to him, and he is perfectly satisfied with the courtesy of his words, but says that his King chooses to witness deeds, and that otherwise he will do what is becoming; nor does the ambassador scruple to discourse indiscriminately with everybody, saying anything he pleases, as if certain that the truce will be broken.

It is reported here that the Duke of Sesa, who was expected from Spain, has been arrested by the French; nor does any Spaniard now think it safe to pass through that country, and many have asked the ambassador for safe-conducts; and from the report of an engineer who has returned from the Flemish frontiers, to give information about such of them as should be garrisoned, if the truce be broken, he saw evident signs of its not lasting, by reason of the many and various supplies with which the French have provided their places.

The Abbot of San Saluto writes to the Regent of Milan that he has had several close conferences with the Constable of France about the affair of the peace, and through him he spoke with the King, who said to him, that to reduce to one word all that he could say, he would be content that the Duke of Savoy should receive the Milanese from King Philip, and that King Henry would give him his sister in marriage, on condition that his Excellency renounce his claims on Savoy and Piedmont to the second son of his most Christian Majesty; but this proposal has not been taken into consideration, both because the said Abbot [Parpaglia] is the subject of the Duke of Savoy, and also because he is supposed to incline towards the interests of France.

Brussels, 23rd July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

557. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday a gentleman arrived here postwise, having been sent by Cardinal Caraffa to the Cardinal of Pisa, and from what he told

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the Nuncio, who repeated it to King Philip, he is commissioned to tell Pisa that his master, Caraffa, seeing the King of France constantly well inclined towards the peace and the Council-General, will delay his return, although called to Rome, in the hope of hearing what Pisa may have negotiated with their Majesties, who do not evince satisfaction at the coming of this messenger, neither do their ministers, considering it an artifice devised by Cardinal Caraffa, as one of the two couriers who went in quest of Pisa, after riding 200 miles, could hear nothing of his right reverend Lordship.

The King of Bohemia remains daily with the Emperor for two or three hours, and from what the Provost of Trent tells me they have not yet settled anything, but to-day they were to draw up a schedule of articles (*una forma di capitoli*), to see if they could agree together. I, wishing to discuss the particulars, as heard by me from several persons at the Court, namely, that to the said King of Bohemia they would give Burgundy, which yields one hundred thousand crowns annual revenue, and would cause the Archduke Ferdinand to have for wife the sister of the Queen of England, with a promise that the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos], should take for wife, when she becomes of marriageable age, the eldest daughter of said King Maximilian, finding means also to marry her sisters for him; the Provost answered me, that for the present the only thing he could assure me positively was, that it was true his Imperial Majesty had made certain offers, which of themselves were good, *but that to speak to me freely in confidence, the Emperor showed the piece of meat in one hand to his son-in-law, who was afraid there might be a cudgel in the other, like the dog who doubtless looks at the morsel and longs for it, but by the dread of a heavy blow is deterred from taking it. I, laughing with him at the simile, and wishing adroitly to ascertain the quantity and quality of this meat, he said I might figure to myself that the Emperor purposed giving Sienna or Milan to the said King, and availing himself of his authority and person against anyone soever, and in whatever way suited his Imperial Majesty and King Philip; but that not having money and other means whereby to keep possession of either of those states, he would incur the loss both of them and his repute, and sacrifice his legitimate hope of becoming Emperor; adding, that let them say what they will, and whether the Emperor resign the imperial dignity or not, Maximilian will never do anything to his own disadvantage, whether they give or deprive him of these hopes, as either sooner or later he believes himself sure of obtaining that grade; but should the Emperor wish to win him over to his son, rendering him as true a friend as he already is the close kinsman of King Philip, he ought to give him something solid and firm* (soda et ferma), *as, for instance,* by making an exchange of these provinces for the county of the Tyrol, and the duchies of Styria and Carinthia. The Provost then expatiated on the many advantages which both these kings (Philip and Maximilian), and the whole House of Austria, might thus from time to time obtain, demonstrating on the other hand the many ills that might befall

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them, and saying in conclusion, that he would quote Horace to me, repeating the very words used to me by King Maximilian, thus—"*parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus,*" saying, that should the war with the Pope and the King of France not take place, facts would convince me that nothing of importance will be stipulated, *as the Emperor was not so fond of giving as of taking* (perchè S. C. M^ta^ non era tanto amica del dare quanto del tuore).

Brussels, 25th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

558. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday the Pope told Camillo Orsini that he had sent for him to Rome to give him the government and care of it, with regard to the war; that he was certain he would not refuse it, as besides being his country, it is the most honourable city in the world, and the See of the vicar of Christ.

On Sunday (as said by the cashiers of the banks who carried the money) the Pope deposited in the castle 300,000 crowns. On the morrow Cardinal S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] went to his Holiness and prayed him, for the love and respect he bore him, and for their ancient friendship, to grant him (S. Giacomo) a favour. The Pope, expecting him to ask for Don Garcilasso, or for some one else of the Imperial prisoners, replied that he might make his demand, and that if fair it should be conceded him. The Cardinal then said that he wished for leave to speak freely to him for half an hour, and to tell him the state of affairs, and what is said about his Holiness, who replied that he would hear him willingly and quietly. Thereupon the Cardinal told him much, blaming the present government and his ministers, who counselled him to wage a war, which would prove so detrimental to the whole world. He demonstrated to his Holiness that it was not well for him to lavish so much abuse on the Emperor and the King of England, for after all it was undeserved, as never had they withdrawn their obedience from him like the King of France, whom he praises so much.* He told him that he had erred in giving the bishopric of Cominges to Cardinal Caraffa, because he is an Italian, and cannot reside there, neither can he speak either French or Latin; and that by acting thus the Pope, instead of being the universal father of all, as in duty bound, shows himself partial to the King of France; and he also told him that the privation of Marc' Antonio Colonna had no foundation, nor could it last. With great difficulty could the Pope restrain himself, and told the Cardinal he loved him better than ever, that henceforth he would proceed more reservedly, and that his words were caused by his being naturally choleric. S. Giacomo replied that many persons believed his Holiness' choler to be feigned as a foil, when he had no reason to assign, and that he made use of it to silence reply (*per non lasciar parlar gli altri*).

* Che non l'haveano mai levato l'obedienza, come havea fatto il Re di Franza.

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This conversation having ended without anger, Cardinal S. Giacomo began to have some hope of an adjustment, and sent his secretary to Francesco di Sanguini (who precisely on that day at 5 p.m. returned from Naples) not to tell the Pope anything vexatious, as he had left him well disposed. Signor Ferrante obeyed, for although the Duke of Alva had blustered greatly about the imprisonment of Don Garcilasso, saying that if the slightest personal injury were done him he would have four of the chief members of the Caraffa family beheaded, he did not tell the Pope this, and merely informed the Duke of Paliano that at Naples they were giving [earnest?] money, and had despatched [recruiting?] captains for 10,000 foot soldiers.

Don Garcilasso is examined daily on fresh charges. He is supposed to have had an understanding with some Roman, who dared to defend Marc' Antonio Colonna, which if proved would send some heads flying (*faria saltar teste*). One of the Roman cavaliers of the guard [Bernardo Caffanello] told the Pope that if he would let them know who they are, they themselves would quarter the culprits; and the Cardinal "Decano,"* who had dined with the Pope, told him that being joined with his King he had nothing to fear; to which his Holiness replied in a rage, "What need have I of your King? I have the Emperor under these feet;" and the Cardinal having said that the King was his servant, and ready to execute all his commands, the Pope continued, "We love the King, and will make use of him as we would even of the Turk, for the need of this See Apostolic; but it is not your business to speak when we are speaking." Then, unmindful of his promise to Cardinal S. Giacomo, the Pope proceeded with his usual gross abuse of the Emperor, and exhorted the Romans to arm, together with the women and boys, and that those who could not carry arms were to throw stones; and said that if they were truly Romans they would avenge the blood of their ancestors, and the injuries done them by the Spaniards, who had slaughtered and sacked them in their homes; and twice or thrice he repeated that thus would they show their ancient Roman courage.

Rome, 25th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

559. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Gordes has arrived from Brussels, and is bearer of a letter addressed to the Constable by M. de Benincourt [Ponce de Lalain] to whom belongs the ransom of M. de Montmorency, informing his Excellency that should he desire the release of his son for 50,000 crowns, he would concede it him on condition that the reply be sent to him, Benincourt, in the course of the present month of July, and at the same time security from the merchants at Antwerp, that one month after the aforesaid release his Excellency would send him 50,000 gold crowns of the sun, drawn (*cavati*) from France, should

* Jean de Bellai, senior cardinal, elected by Paul III. on the 20th May 1535. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 145–147.)

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the sum not be disbursed by the merchants. His Excellency determined to accept the terms, and despatched a courier to Lyons to arrange for the [bankers] Guadagni to send to Antwerp to give the security, and then at the appointed time send the sum in cash. Thus will there be an end of this negotiation, but, although it is very agreeable to the Constable, as it gives him back his son, for whom he has greatly longed, yet as the conditions do not seem in accordance with his dignity, both because previously they announced their intention of accepting a smaller ransom, as also by their showing they trust but little in his word and promise, he does not evince much joy at this arrangement, and is extremely angry; *so the persons who would wish the negotiation for peace between the two crowns to advance, disapprove of this proceeding on the part of the Imperialists.*

The Legate Caraffa has informed the Imperial ambassador that the affairs of Rome being in a more tranquil state, and the Cardinal of Pisa [Motula] having received orders to continue his journey, he (Caraffa) had determined to await his colleague's arrival at Brussels. Cardinal Caraffa says he shall wait as long as necessary for replies about the agreement for peace and for the Council, wishing above all things to convey some comfort to the Pope respecting these matters. M. de Montluc, with the title of his most Christian Majesty's lieutenant-general in Tuscany, has already departed for Marseilles, and will await the Legate there.

It has been determined to send a new ambassador to England, Prothonotary de Noailles, the brother of the ambassador who returned lately, because although on the King's part it seemed superfluous to keep one ambassador with the husband and another with the wife, yet considering the many affairs and schemes (*negotij et maneggi*) which his Majesty has in that kingdom, it has not seemed fit to have a person there of inferior grade to that of ambassador, and in a few days he will depart.

Don Juan de Luna, warder of Milan, has come to the King, it being reported that he fled from the Imperial court.

Paris, 25th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

560. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning the Spaniards, with marks of gladness, circulated a report that last evening the Emperor and the King of Bohemia concluded a compact, which for the future will produce a practically good understanding between all the members of the House of Austria, the only particular mentioned by them being that the Emperor and King Philip give Maximilian the county (*il contado*) of Burgundy, guaranteeing its revenue to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, and should the province not yield that sum the deficit to be supplied by the King of Spain. The Spaniards do not say to what conditions the King of Bohemia binds himself, nor can the form of the convention be ascertained, no minister having

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been present at this conference, their Majesties choosing to keep the matter to themselves, after taking a solemn oath to observe its articles. The personages of King Maximilian's court say they have no sign whatever of these conditions, and merely know that their King has announced to everybody his departure for the 10th of next month, and that he will go first with his consort to see Antwerp. One of his chief ministers has been heard to say that the King of Spain has written a very kind letter to the King of the Romans, in which, besides other courteous expressions, he tells him that as the Emperor his father and Lord is quite determined to put aside the administration of the rest of his affairs, and to go to Spain, he, King Philip, wishes him, the King of the Romans, to accept him as his son, in like manner as he will receive him for his father.

The French ambassador sent an express to Zealand to know whether the Emperor's orders for a good number of ships to be prepared to accompany him to Spain had been executed, and the ambassador says that to-day he has received news that hitherto thirty-two "*urche*" had been detained, the crews reporting that this was done for the purpose of going to England, and that all the necessary arrangements have been made in the ship which is to convey the Emperor, who every day goes telling all persons indiscriminately, and in very forcible language, that before the middle of next month he intends to have left Brussels.

This morning the Nuncio received an advice from an express sent by him to Maastricht to hear something about the Legate Pisa, of whom he had received notice that he had just arrived within three leagues of that city, travelling incognito from fear of the Lutherans. The Nuncio announced this to their Majesties' chief ministers, who immediately sent off the courier, who had failed to find Pisa, to ascertain the truth of this, and that they might send the Prince of Ascoli and Count Chinchon, who have been appointed to meet his right reverend Lordship.

The courier despatched by the King of Spain in pursuit of Don Juan de Luna arrived last night, and says he reached him at a village near Peronne, a place belonging to the King of France. On presenting to him the letter written by King Philip's maggiordomo, Don Diego de Azevedo, by commission from his Majesty, exhorting him to return, and promising not only to exculpate him from the charge which he thought had been brought against him by the Emperor, but to benefit him in such a manner as always to render him satisfied. He replied immediately, and wrote a second letter to his son, who is page to the King, giving him notice of what has taken place hitherto, and with regard to the King's promises, expressing himself precisely as follows, "God grant they may take effect, as I have already promised a gentleman in the service of the Constable of France, that on obtaining the terms desired by me from his most Christian Majesty I have constituted myself his vassal, nor shall I any longer be able to serve my natural sovereign, on account of him who unjustly degraded me." ("*Che ottenendo le conditioni, ch' Io desidero da S. M^tà Crist^ma, mi son fatto suo vassallo, nè potro più servire il mio natural Re, per cagione de chi ingiustamente mi ha disgradato.*")

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The French ambassador has again been commissioned by the Constable, together with the agent sent by his Excellency heretofore for the ransom of his eldest son, to make a final offer of forty thousand crowns, as he cannot do more by reason of the great number of his children; which proposal being made by them to Don Ruy Gomez, he replied that the King had caused the ransom to be reduced by 20,000 from the 100,000 originally demanded, and that neither could he, nor ought he, further to extend his authority by depriving the captor of what belonged to him, but that he would, nevertheless, do everything possible to gratify his Excellency, though according to general report neither he nor the other prisoners will any longer be released.

Brussels, 26th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

561. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Signory.

Yesterday morning at table the Cardinals Perugia [Fulvio della Cornia, Bishop of Perugia], Seraceno, Trani, and Ariano, having dined with his Holiness, the Pope said that the treacherous acts of the Imperialists came more and more to light daily, and that Romans and even cardinals were concerned in them, saying he who "*intingit mecum manum in parapside, hic me traditurus est*,"* but that he would treat them as they deserved, degrading them from the cardinalate and cutting off heads, so that those who had rotten livers (*fegato guasto*) would do well to take heed for themselves, as what he said was uttered by him from the benignity of his nature, which was averse to bloodshed.

Many persons present also remarked that when the Cardinal of Perugia gave him the napkin to wipe his hands the Pope took it impetuously, and rising from table in a rage, went into the library to say the "office," having left in the audience chamber the aforesaid cardinals and the Portuguese ambassador,† who had joined them. Having finished the office, the Pope returned into the chamber with a very gladsome countenance, but when the Portuguese ambassador approached him, saying that he purposed despatching a courier to his King, and was therefore come to his Holiness to hear whether he could give any good news to his Majesty, who is the Emperor's brother-in-law (*germano*), and tell him that his Holiness has pardoned the said Emperor and his son, and is reconciled to them, the Pope would not allow him to proceed farther, and drawing up his sleeve and rochet half way up his arm, and shaking it, as usual with him when in a rage, he said, "Lord ambassador, let there be no more talk of peace, but of war. Woe is me (*ohimè!*) are you not aware of the impiety and acts of treachery of these rogues, heretics, and scelerats (*scelerati*)? We will give them as much war as they shall desire. Charles has always been schismatic, and Philip rapacious; both one and the other are unworthy of the so many favours received by them from

* See Gospel according to St. John, chapter 14, verses 21–26.

† Don Andres de Castro. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Index.)

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the goodness of God. Continuing to act in conformity with their nature, they sought to outrage us (*volevano assassinarne*), as they did heretofore; we will deprive them of their realms and dignity, and do our worst by them, and hope in God that He will show how powerful His most holy arm is. They are not of the blood of the Catholic King, nor of Queen Isabella, to wage war on us, which signifies to wage it against Christ, without any cause in the world. By seeking to outrage us (*in cercare di assassinarne*) they will have greatly injured themselves." The ambassador, seeing the Pope so exasperated, went away without transacting any of the business for which he had come, the four cardinals remaining greatly perplexed, pondering the discourse held at table, and which of them it concerned; but this morning everybody knew for certain that it was meant for the Cardinal of Perugia, news having come that his brother Ascanio della Cornia had fled from Velletri to Nettuno, having placed troops in the citadel, and raised the cry of "Empire and Spain."*

This morning Consistory assembled, and before he made his entry the Pope had the Cardinal of Perugia put in the castle.

His Holiness spoke with great vehemence as usual against "his traitors," without naming any one in particular. He said he should have no regard for any sort of person whatever, not even for Cardinals; all his gestures and his countenance evinced extreme anger. The Fiscal Advocate (*il Fiscale*) and Messer Silvestro Aldobrandini being then introduced to plead the rights (*per la ragione*) of the See Apostolic, they commenced reading an opinion (*sentenza*) that whereas for his misdeeds Marc' Antonio Colonna had been deprived of his state, whereby his Holiness had willed to do justice without scruple, and had with the same justice willed that in no place, nor by any one, might he be assisted and favoured; and it being heard that the Emperor and King Philip his son had aided him with cavalry and infantry, captains and money; it seemed to them, the "Fiscale" and Aldobrandini, that the Emperor and the King of England had incurred the penalties contained in the sentence, that they had forfeited all the rights of their fiefs, and that as an example to others they ought to be punished and chastised (*puniti e castigati*)†. The Pope replied that the Fiscal Advocate and his colleague having performed their office so freely, he was pleased with them; that this was a thing of importance, that he would think about it, and not form any decision without the counsel of his right reverend brothers.

Cardinal Tournon has written from Narni to Cardinal d'Armagnac, that on account of the heat he will not proceed beyond the Duchy of Urbino. It becomes daily more and more evident that he left Rome because the freedom with which he expressed his disapproval

* The Duke of Paliano told the Venetian Ambassador that Ascanio della Cornia, being military governor of Velletri for the Pope, had an understanding with Don Garcilasso de la Vega, which being discovered, he was ordered to Rome, but excused himself under various pretences, and when troops were sent to bring him by force, he made his escape as aforesaid.

† By the letter of the Duke of Alva to the Pope (Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 250), it is seen that this demand made by the Procurator and Fiscal Advocate was one of the insults most resented by the Imperialists.

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of this war, made the Pope rather distrust him; so he did not think it compatible with his dignity to remain.

Rome, 27th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

562. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the receipt of the advices of the fresh troubles which beset the Pope, Cardinal Caraffa has informed the King that his Holiness wished him to do three things—first, that in Rome or Venice a deposit be made of 500,000 *crowns, of which* 350,000 *to be supplied by the King, and* 150,000 *by his Holiness; that his most Christian Majesty should also be pleased to send him* 300 *spears, to whom the Pope would assign their garrisons in the Papal States; and, thirdly, that his Christian Majesty should send* 12 *of his galleys to remain at Civitavecchia; and to charge his ministers in Italy, on hearing from the Pope his need, without any farther order from the King, to place at his Holiness' disposal the aforesaid subsidies, both of money, troops, and galleys, besides the infantry already destined for him.*

The King of France, for the present not wishing to break the truce, provided he can do so without loss of dignity, has often endeavoured to satisfy the Legate with general expressions, assuring him that not only will he not fail in his promised protection, but that should the need require it, he, for the defence of the Holy Church, would pass into Italy in person, together with all his forces; but that, knowing the position of the King of England, it was hardly credible that he would move against the Pope, most especially as his most Christian Majesty had openly declared he would send 3,000 *infantry into Italy for his protection. But the Legate does not cease urging the King to answer him more precisely, and having understood that his Majesty would wish him to depart, he says he will not do so until he obtains a clearer determination from the King, who diverts him with every sort of amusement, endeavouring thus to retain his adherence* (di tenerlo), *not wishing to exasperate him, lest on his arrival at Rome he turn his mind to fresh thoughts.*

The Constable sent back M. de Gordes to Brussels to accept the offer of 50,000 crowns for the ransom of his son, and the sureties have been sent from Lyons for transmission to Antwerp; in addition to which, a German here offered the Constable spontaneously to do the like; the money also being ready, having been disbursed by his Excellency's wife, being derived from what is called her nest-egg (*sua musina*); so that there are hopes of seeing the son so greatly longed for, within a few days.

Don Juan de Luna having escaped from Brussels, came to his most Christian Majesty, who welcomed him liberally; and subsequently the Constable told him to be of good cheer (*ch' el stia di buon animo*), as his Majesty will recompense him for all the services he has rendered to the Emperor.

Paris, 30th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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July 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

563. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal of Pisa [Motula] has arrived at Maastricht. The Nuncio at the Imperial court sent him a courier, informing him that by reason of the fresh movements discovered at Rome, if he could avoid going to the court he was to do so; the Nuncio adding that although three couriers had been sent to the King, one from his ambassador at Rome, one from the Duke of Alva, and one from Don Ferrante Gonzaga, giving account of the arrest of La Chaux (*Lasso*) and Capiluppi, yet their Majesties' ministers evinced an extraordinary wish for the Legate Motula to arrive at the court, which seeming to him, the Nuncio, a thing constrained (*cosa forciata*), he recommended him to take a decided course (*a pigliar partito*), so the Legate, leaving his retinue [to follow], departed postwise with only six attendants, nor was it known whither he went; but Cardinal Caraffa is hourly expecting his secretary, Antonio Sachetti, whom he sent to Brussels to see the right reverend of Pisa [Motula], and to bring him back word of the state of his negotiation.

Paris, 30th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

564. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the French Ambassador and Don Ruy Gomez discoursed a long while together, the latter expressing great surprise at the most Christian King's now sending so many and such various supplies to these frontiers, saying that these are deeds in accordance with the words usually uttered at the court of France, and that consequently King Philip was certain not only that peace would not take place, but that the truce must be broken. The ambassador answered him, that there was no cause for surprise, nor for taking amiss the provision which his most Christian Majesty was making in several places, as Princes are always wont to be jealous about their fortresses; but that his King had indeed reason to be suspicious of the great number of armed ships which are ready for action in Zealand, it being given out that this is for the Emperor's voyage to Spain, which he, the ambassador, did not believe that his Imperial Majesty will undertake. Don Ruy Gomez then told the ambassador that the King of Spain had conferred on the Duchess of Parma the favour of being allowed to receive her income of 18,000 crowns on account of dower, provided the King of France allow Queen Eleanor to receive her marriage portion in France, which is nearly of the same amount.

The Nuncio says he is in hourly expectation of a reply to a letter written by him to the Legate Pisa, exhorting him to come to this court without apprehension, as their Majesties would receive him most graciously, and he believes him to have stopped at some place immediately on arriving in the French territory. Their Majesties are said to have despatched the courier to give the Legate confidence, and as a final experiment to show that they do not wish for war with the Pope; and should he still persist in dragging them into it, we shall soon hear of their sending cavalry

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and infantry, to be raised by Duke Eric of Brunswick, who is here, and by the Duke of Holstein and Count Schwartzenburg, amounting in all to five thousand horse and five thousand foot, for service in Italy; and it has been several times recommended to send an honourable commission to Don Ferrante Gonzaga, on whom they think they can rely, having restored him to his honour by depriving those who calumniated him of their grades.

The Emperor every day tells all persons indiscriminately that before the middle of next month he is determined to depart for Spain,* and some persons of the court say that he has already provided the hundred and thirty thousand crowns; and as a mark of affection towards his confessor, he has caused King Philip to assign him an annual pension of two hundred crowns; dispensing him from the trouble of following his Majesty to Spain. Yesterday, moreover, when talking with his sisters, daughter, son, and son-in-law, turning to this last, and to his daughter especially, he said he should depart, greatly comforted and satisfied at having seen them, which he did not expect, and that he hoped they would always live lovingly together, and that he thought his departure would take place two or three days after they commenced their journey, and that shortly after them the King of Spain will depart for England.

No other settlement has been made between their Majesties except that of adjusting the affairs of the Emperor's daughter, and certain other credits due to the King of the Romans from his Imperial Majesty; and the Emperor has executed a writing whereby the King of Spain is bound to pay the King of Bohemia annually about sixty thousand crowns on security in the kingdom of Naples, or in Burgundy.

The King of Bohemia, when conversing with the Nuncio, uttered nearly the same conceits and words as to me, with the following additional particulars; the one, that the business on account of which he had been called might have been done without his coming hither; the other, that he knew that many persons had complained of his not having sound opinions (*che non sentisse bene*) about the true religion, and that in like manner as he knew himself to be innocent of this accusation, so he hoped in God to have some day a post in which he should be able to demonstrate the devotion of his mind towards the See Apostolic, offering himself in loving terms to his Holiness; after which he commenced greatly blaming the mode of proceeding of the ministers here, especially of those who held the most important charges, and from what I hear he is accustomed to use this language to any person in whom he thinks he can place a little confidence. Yesterday the said King received a letter from his father, urging him to return to act as vice-regent, his Majesty intending to go to the Diet at Ratisbon, and having to remain there to assist the forces in Hungary, expressing great fear lest the Turks overpower his troops; and, he adds, that he is to tell the Emperor to go auspiciously, according to his intention, to Spain, that he, the King of the Romans, will bear willingly this very heavy burden of the affairs of the Empire, and that the Em-

* The ambassador now repeats what he wrote in the preceding letter.

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peror is not to think of depriving himself of the title, as he, the King of the Romans, does not wish for it, because, having been upheld by his Imperial Majesty's good prudence and felicity, he would not that, owing to the present troublous state of the world's affairs, this rule and felicity should be changed; all which things the King of Bohemia reported to the Emperor.

The French ambassador did not go to visit the King of Bohemia until yesterday, and from what the Provost of Trent told me, during the conversation, which lasted more than two hours and a half, a great change was visible in the countenance of his Majesty, who at first greeted him with fair and courteous words and manners, and at length, seeing that he would never go away, and that he continued saying disagreeable things, he was compelled to dismiss him, which he, however, did very adroitly. The Provost remarked to me that the ambassador performed this office with his Majesty for the express purpose of making the Emperor and King Philip suspect him of having a good understanding with the King of France; and in the Provost's presence, when talking with some of his confidential attendants, the King of Bohemia said that the ambassador, in certain impertinent terms (*con certi modi impertinenti*), had requested him to perform offices with the King of Spain for the release of the prisoners in order that the truce might be confirmed, using several sorts of words to ascertain whether hatred still prevailed between him and the Emperor and his son.

Brussels, 30th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

565. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day I went by appointment to the Pope, between 3 and 4 p.m., and as he had kept me waiting for an hour, during which he was reposing, immediately on my entering the presence chamber he addressed me thus: "Excuse me, for as we do not sleep at night, we are compelled to rest by day; the heat, and our troubles, owing to the malignity of these traitors, are so great that they deprive us of our sleep by night. Had not the Almighty helped us, this Cornia would have succeeded in perpetrating the greatest act of treason imaginable, as it entailed the change of state.

Their plots and acts of treachery have been discovered; the citadel of Nettuno was recovered immediately; those poisoners (*venefici*) have been executed, and these other assassins arrested; and Ascanio puts the seal to everything. We may rest quite assured that the evil they omit to do proceeds from their inability to do it, but we neglect no means. We understand that in Flanders they have practised (*praticato*) with your ambassador, and not satisfied with that they have sent an envoy* (*un huomo*) to Venice, who went first to the Duke of Ferrara, but we know that you are sage, and conversant with their tyrannical acts. When the Emperor chose to cross into Provence [A.D. 1536] we were in Venice,† and went to

* Francisco de Vargas. (*See* Andrea Morosini and Foreign Calendar, Index.)

† This serves to correct Magenis (page 347), who was of opinion that Giampietro Caraffa never returned to Venice after the year 1553. (*See* Cigogna Inscriptions, vol. 3, p. 347.)

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visit Don Lopez de Soria, who was ill, as he was our friend, and we had known him when he was in the service of the Catholic King, and in his house we found Don Luis de Avila, who was sent by the "Tyrant" to the Signory to treat a defensive league,* which meant that you were to defend and secure his States, that he might go into Provence to beat the King of France, and on his return requite your merits by seizing your territory. We remember that to this proposal the Signory replied that the treaty of Bologna which they stipulated with him had been observed, and that they would continue to observe it, nor would they have any other treaty. We are of opinion that in like manner at present you will know how to regulate yourselves, nor will you trust to their promises, for the vespers of the Papal states would be the eve of your holiday; and if you think otherwise you deceive yourself, their tyranny is but too manifest; they are people who come one knows not whence (*sono genti che non si sa di che luogo*); they are endowed neither with goodness nor valour, nor any quality fitting them to rule a castle, and they lay claim to the whole world being theirs; your cities, the cities of the Church, and Rome itself, they call theirs."

The Pope then repeated what he has so often said against the Emperor, his son, and the whole Spanish nation, and he moreover again said that their procedure was rebellion, as they failed towards their prince; that he was their lord, both as Pope and master of the kingdom of Naples; and here he took a copper casket, in which he keeps the recognition made by the King of England for the investiture of the fief of the kingdom of Naples, stamped with a large golden seal, and threw it out (*la cacciò fuori*), making my secretary read it, the document purporting in short that Philip acknowledged the investiture of that kingdom from the mere grace and liberality (*dalla pura gratia e liberalità*) of the See Apostolic, naming the favours of Julius II., and saying on oath that he will always be mindful of them, and that he sends that patent (*patente*) to the most holy Paul IV., in testimony of this his recognition.

When the secretary had finished reading it the Pope said, "We have shown it to you that you may be able to bear witness to it to the Signory, and that it may be seen of what sort these traitors are. We have borne with them with very great patience, from our anxiety (*gelosia*) to justify ourselves before God and the world, including most especially my Signory of Venice, against the charge of being so martial as to wish for war unless provoked and compelled; but we have not chosen to be so inert as to remain unprovided, lest the times of Pope Clement be renewed in ours, *sunt enim assueti his proditionibus et his vinculis*, in which case you also would fare badly. We compare the body politic (*li stati*) to musical concord (*un' armonia*), nor can one State be touched without putting them all out of tune, and Italy is so afflicted that the dismemberment of one State, even of the small ones, would endanger the rest; so we would hazard all we have, not only for the Signory of Venice, but for any other Prince and petty Baron of Italy whatever. Until now we have never demanded a league, nor anything else of you, merely laying before

* This mission, confided by Charles V. to the historian De Avila, is not recorded by Andrea Morosini.

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you the common peril, hoping indeed that, *nobis etiam tacentibus*, you would perceive the opportunity for rendering service to God by defending the Church, the universal mother, freeing Italy from tyrants, and rendering yourselves glorious, as becoming your valour and goodness, and as was done by your ancestors, by which means you will profit yourselves and all your posterity. The King of France is our good son, and in truth the first-born of this See Apostolic, nor will he fail us, even should he have to come in person. You have so great a part in Italy that with one single finger you will make the scale turn on whichever side you please; should you make it go down on the good side, blessed be ye; if on the other, you will have the reward you deserve, namely, the ruin of your State. For the present we pray you to regulate yourselves well, as by doing so you assist us to establish our affairs. The Duke of Alva has sent to us the Count of S. Valentino, a relation of ours in the female line, to whom we were unable to give audience until yesterday by reason of our many occupations. He complained of these arrests made by us, but we are of a contrary opinion, for we would have done the like by the tyrants their Princes. He gave us a writing about certain frivolous matters, which we will answer expressly in due season, and cause you to receive a copy of it for transmission to the Signory, and will do the like with regard to what shall take place, so that by perceiving the course of events they may provide for their need. Our wish has been, and is, for peace, but when an enemy does what he can to injure us, though unable to accomplish it, the act must nevertheless be resented. We cannot trust them; we would rather trust the Turk. We know them, and will tell you that they bear you no better will than they do us; and rely on this, for we know the fact, they try all means to make themselves masters of Italy. They are treating with the Farneses to bring them to their allegiance; we do not know what will take place. We believe, indeed, that the spiritual and temporal interests of that family in our territory will prevent its members from stipulating the agreement." And then, having again told me to pray your Serenity to regulate yourself well, and not to lose the opportunity, the Pope dismissed me.

Rome, 1st August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

566. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The most Christian King's secretary, M. de Buecchiée (*sic*), has arrived from the French court with letters dated the 19th ult., and on Thursday afternoon he kissed his Holiness' foot, being graciously received and caressed. The Duke of Paliano told my secretary that Buichié (S. Fermo?) announces the goodwill of the King, both with regard to peace, as also his determination to assist the Pope should he be molested by the Imperialists, and that he had therefore detained the Legate [Cardinal Caraffa] until the arrival at the Imperial court of the Cardinal of Pisa, to see if any good could be effected. Yesterday Cardinal Sermoneta told my secretary that his brother wrote to him from France that the King gave the Pope a diamond worth about 12,000 crowns, and that he had it taken to Cardinal Caraffa by the

1556. Constable, saying that as that stone was the most durable of any, so would the King's promise and determination to run one and the same chance with his Holiness be adamantine (*così la fede del Re e la volontà di correre un' istessa fortuna con Sua Santità saria adamantina*). Cardinal Sermoneta is of opinion that Cardinal Caraffa will have left the French court immediately on hearing of the arrest of Don Garcilasso. Sermoneta also said that had Beucchiè (M. de S. Fermo)* found Cardinal Tournon here he would not have let him depart, as he brought him letters from the King and the Constable telling him to remain, they having also written to the Pope and to the Duke of Paliano to make use of Cardinal Tournon, as he was worth more than all the other ministers in his Holiness' service (*perchè valeva più, che quanti altri ministri potesse havere*). Cardinal Sermoneta added that Cardinal Tournon departed because he did not choose to assent to a rupture without the King's express commission, not choosing in this his old age that it could be said he had been the cause of the King's breaking the truce. In conclusion, the secretary having asked Cardinal Sermoneta about the affairs of the Farneses, he replied that the negotiation with the Imperialists was quite certain, and that if not concluded it would proceed from the difficulty of finding means to make the parties trust one another, and not because Cardinal Farnese was averse to it.

Rome, 1st August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Original Letter Book, Vol. 7, III. B., p. 110, Venetian Archives.

567. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Council of Ten.

During this day's conversation with the Pope, he told me he was "advised" from Flanders that the Emperor and the King of England had been profuse in their caresses and promises to your Ambassador, but that he answered them, that the Signory took it much amiss that their Majesties should wage war on the Pope; and his Holiness said that he thanked your Sublimity, and considered himself under an obligation to you.

Rome, 1st August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

568. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal of Pisa is waiting at Mezières for instructions from Cardinal Caraffa, who has sent the Gascon Captain Cencio to him to tell his right reverend Lordship to go to Lyons, from which place they will proceed together to Rome, and Caraffa says that Motula's retreat was made by order of the Duke of Paliano.

Besides the three proposals made by Caraffa to his most Christian Majesty, he has also required him to keep 10,000 *Switzers; but the Legate is very doubtful about the reply, as the Constable shows himself averse to these concessions, assuring him, however, that the King will not desert the Pope, though those* (chi) *who have hitherto evinced most haste for the war exhort him to persist in his demand,*

* *See* post, letter dated 17th October 1556.

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as the King will not allow him to depart dissatisfied. The decision will be delayed for some days to await advices from Cardinal Tournon; and in addition to this it does not seem reasonable that before he gets back his son the Constable should form any fresh resolve which might be prejudicial to him.

Paris, 2nd August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

569. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Aug. 4. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

The Imperial ambassador [Marquis Sarria] having several times within the last few days demanded of the Pope in person leave to quit this city and withdraw to Siena by order of his Princes, he was answered that his Holiness chose this request to be made in Consistory, or else in a congregation; so last Sunday the underwritten cardinals, the greater part being Imperialists, were called (*chiamati*) to dine with his Holiness, namely, Carpi, Morone, Saraceno, Savello, Pacheco, Medici, Mignanelli, Trani, Reumano,* Sermoneta, and Simoncelli, the Duke of Paliano being also with them, and the ambassador likewise. When the tables were removed and withdrawn (*levate e retirate*), the Pope desired the ambassador to propose his departure, and that all the cardinals should give their opinion. All the Imperialists counselled the Pope not to let him go away, as during these present events the departure of an ambassador would be considered a matter of great importance. Sermoneta in his turn (*al luogo suo*) said that if Sarria was ordered to depart for the performance of some other mission, he approved of the aforesaid counsel, but that if the order was given for the sole purpose of removing him from Rome, he did not think it for the Pope's dignity to detain him. The Pope approved Sermoneta's opinion, and having withdrawn into his chamber with the Duke, told the ambassador alone that if he was ordered to depart for the purpose of quitting Rome without being employed on another mission, he would give him leave, although his presence was very agreeable to him (*sebene molto volontieri lo vedea*), and his wish being that he should remain. The ambassador said that he took the leave, and would again inspect his commission better, in order, moreover, if not at variance with his sovereign's orders, to comply with the desire evinced by his Holiness for him to remain.

On the morrow Marquis Sarria returned to the Pope, and told him that after mature consideration of his commissions he could not do less than depart, with the good favour of his Holiness, who, having again confirmed the leave, dismissed him very graciously, and with great demonstration of remaining satisfied with his service. On hearing this I visited him before his departure. He received me joyfully. He said he will soon depart (leaving, however, his household here), as commissioned by his Princes, for Siena, awaiting there the result of present events; should they take a good turn, he would come back, and if not, he will go whither commanded; that

* Giovanni Suavio Reumano, a Gascon, made cardinal by Paul IV., 20th December 1555. (*See* Cardella, as before, vol. 4, p. 349.)

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he could not in honour remain here, being deprived of his post office,* his letters being intercepted, and report being made to him daily of much language very unbecoming the dignity and grade (*professione*) of his masters; that nothing less became the Emperor than the epithet of "heretic," or that of "simpleton" (*dapoco*), as applied to Philip, and that these were the least abusive and defamatory words uttered against them; that the Emperor's worth, life, and character were well known to me, I having been so long a while ambassador with him,† and that he assured me on the word of a gentleman that all the paternal virtues abounded in the King his son, and that he would prove worthy of such a father; that he was slow in giving way to anger or disgust (*noia*) towards anyone, but when he formed a decision it was immutable, although it might endanger all his realms, and that he prayed God the Court of Rome might not have proof of his resolute and steady nature; that he (Sarria) yesterday spoke with the Countess, the mother of the Duke of Paliano, telling her that the Pope's obstinacy would be his death, should things go wrong, as they must, and that her son would be deprived of the duchy of Paliano, the stones, and yet more human nature, forbidding that an ancient estate should without reason be taken from its natural lords and given to others; that Cardinal Caraffa, were he to succeed the present Pope, would scarcely tolerate it, and that they ought therefore to accept the offer made them of as much and more territory in the kingdom of Naples, leaving Paliano to Marc' Antonio, thus keeping her son loyal to the Emperor, his natural sovereign, removing the cause of war, and lengthening the days of the Pope, on whom the whole fortune of her family depended; and that they should remember that the Imperialists had 15,000 infantry, the greater part well-paid veterans, and 3,000 horse, besides as many Germans as they pleased. He also told her that they ought not to have acted so disrespectfully against Garcilasso, a public minister, and that if they considered themselves wronged, they should have sent him back to his Sovereigns with the letters, requiring them to punish him, as was done heretofore by King Francis of France with regard to a Fleming, who, as ambassador from the Emperor, purposed seizing a certain fortress in his kingdom, on the borders of Picardy. Sarria also said that the Countess thanked him, saying she knew it was but too true, and that the Duke her son would accede to anything, but that the Pope was of such a nature that he could not be spoken to, and that he insisted on the Duke's retaining this dignity. To this Sarria replied that the Pope was a worthy and sage man, and were the axe laid to the root he would always listen to advice and regard it. To lay "the axe to the root" would be not to give ear to Zuan della Casa, to an Aldobrandini, and to a Bozzuto,‡ all outlaws and desperate characters.

* In a despatch dated 18th July, Navagero informed the Signory that the Pope, by a "motu proprio," had suppressed all the ambassadorial post offices in Rome.

† For an account of Badoer's embassy to the Emperor, see his "Report" made to the Senate in July 1546. (Alberi, series I., vol. 1, pp. 289–368.)

‡ By Navagero's Report of Rome, it appears that the two first-named were Florentine outlaws, who had some wild scheme of a Republic, and the Neapolitan Bozzuto purposed recovering the kingdom of Naples.

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The Marquis also said: "To avoid war we offered the new Duke of Paliano as compensation an equal amount of territory, more valuable, in the kingdom of Naples, and if this did not please him to leave him Paliano provided the fortress were destroyed, or else to place the fortress in the hands either of Ferrante Sanguini or Gio. Bernardo Carbone, who are the Pope's very near relations, and in his close confidence, to make sure of its not being made over to the French. What more could be done; what more could we offer them? These terms, which were drawn up by us, the Duke of Alva did not choose to have put into writing by this agent of his, who is lodged in my house, and four days elapsed before he had audience, and God knows when he will receive the answer. They also endeavoured to disgust (*annoiare*) and make me break with Garcilasso, saying that he had used evil offices with regard to me, and showing me that part of an intercepted letter in which he wrote to the Duke of Alva, *The Emperor's affairs here are ruined, and in very little repute, or rather in none at all;* to which I replied that greater truth than this Garcilasso could not write, as I knew not whether any private Duke was ever held in less esteem than his Imperial Majesty, and for saying that I was the cause of the affairs of my Lord the Emperor being brought to this pass, I was bound to be obliged to him and to love him better than ever, as he wrote the truth."

Rome, 4th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

570. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The coming of Don Francisco de la Chaux (*Lasso*), master of the horse of the King and Queen of Bohemia, to return the compliment received by them from her Majesty through Lord Maltravers, is the cause of my writing these lines. Don Francisco came post-wise in two days from Brussels, with a handsome retinue, and was received with great honour, his Princes' embassy being accompanied by a jewelled fan richly wrought, there being inserted on one side of it a crystal mirror, and on the other a watch; a device highly artistic and of beautiful design (*cosa di bella arte et bella inventione*), perfectly suited to the season, and which being presented to her Majesty in the name of the Queen of Bohemia, seemed to give her very great pleasure. Don Francisco then added on behalf of her consort King Philip, saying he was charged thus to do by word of mouth from his Majesty in addition to what had been written by him, that as immediately on the departure of his Princes from Brussels, the Emperor purposed embarking for Spain, he the King could not do less than accompany him to Ghent, from whence he would forthwith come to her post-wise; which announcement gave zest to the embassy (*che fu, come Vostra Serenità può pensare, il condimento della ambasciata*).

Don Francisco would not remain more than two days, on one of which he came to see this city, and on the morrow took leave to depart, as he did two days ago with the same haste. I was present

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at the court [at Eltham?], on his dismissal, having then gone thither to see him as an old friend of mine, and performing such offices as due in the Signory's name. The Queen gave him three holograph letters, two of which were for his King and Queen and the third for her Consort; and as a mark of great honour had him accompanied by the whole Royal Council as far as the last gate of the palace, and then as usual sending to his lodging a present for him, though the particulars of it are unknown.

At the time of his entry, the Queen hearing that I was at the court sent for me. I congratulated her on her well-being and on the King's speedy return. With regard to the King's return, the Queen answered me that everybody besides Don Francisco announced it to her; and then spontaneously, she began asking me about your Serenity's creation, showing that it had greatly rejoiced her, owing to information received of your merits and qualities, having also, as she herself remarked with satisfaction, understood that you were of the family and kindred of Monsignor Luigi Priuli, who, on account of the most illustrious the Legate, is known and beloved by her Majesty, who before I took leave desired me twice to greet your Serenity affectionately in her name. To say the truth the Queen's face has lost flesh greatly (*dal volto grandemente diminuito di carne*) since I was last with her, the extreme need she has of her Consort's presence harassing her, as told me, she having also within the last few days in great part lost her sleep.

In a long conversation held with me *by the aforesaid Don Francisco, I clearly comprehend the design* (mira) *of his Princes on this kingdom, by reason of some hope and intention* (per qualche intentione e speranza) *given them, as evident to me from his language, of the marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand* to this "Miladi Isabella," though he would not be too communicative* (benchè non volesse andar troppo oltre), *which I think it fit for your Serenity to know, although as yet on this side* (dalla parte di qua) *there is not the slightest suspicion of it.*

On the same day the Admiral arrived at the court [William Lord Howard of Effingham], who, according to his own belief, as he told me, was sent for to give orders for the ships now at Portsmouth to put back towards Dover, to be ready for the King's passage. He also informed me that of the captured pirates, 40 were hanged last week, between the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth harbour, besides a few here in London; some of the ringleaders remaining, their punishment being delayed for the purpose of examining them better. It is understood that this Channel and the whole of the coast of Normandy is so frequently infested (*visitato*) by other pirates, that to prevent the losses daily incurred by the Londoners, some of the wealthiest aldermen here have provided a considerable sum of money, so that besides the provision made by the government, they may be yet more vigorously pursued and destroyed.

* In the month of August 1556, Ferdinand of Austria, King of the Romans, had three sons, namely, Maximilian, King of Bohemia, Ferdinand, born in 1529, and Charles, born in 1540; the two last, at various periods, were both proposed as consorts for Elizabeth Tudor.

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Having written thus far an express from the King at Brussels brought the distressing news of the death of Lord Maltravers. He was a young man 22 years of age, of most handsome presence and no less virtuous, nor was there anyone in England of greater promise. He was the only son of the Lord Steward the Earl of Arundel, one of the chief noblemen in the kingdom, to whom there now remain but two daughters, already married,* and although he is of vigorous age (*di fresca età*), his wife nevertheless, being infirm, cannot give him hope of having other children; so on his demise this ancient and most noble family will become extinct, which adds immeasurably to the universal regret. In his letter to Cardinal Pole, King Philip charges him, until his Majesty shall despatch a gentleman express for the purpose, to impart the news to the unfortunate parent, offering him such Christian remedies and consolation as no one else would know how to administer, though as yet they have taken but little effect on him. The confirmation contained in this same letter, of his Majesty's return hither on the Emperor's departure, should it not entirely relieve the Queen's sorrow for this death, will in great part mitigate what would otherwise have been insufferable. The King also complains to Cardinal Pole of the recal of the Legate the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba]†, saying he had sent the Prince of Ascoli and Count Chinchon as far as Mastricht to meet him, having made preparation to receive and treat him with such honour as becoming. Again requests his own recall.

London, 4th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

571. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Before the King departed hence, the Constable sent for the Cavalier Tiburcio, the Duke of Parma's agent, and told him that his most Christian Majesty had received advices to the effect that the aforesaid Duke was treating some agreement with the Imperialists, who had offered him Piacenza, they retaining the castle, if he would withdraw from the service of this Crown. This greatly perplexed the King, as if the Duke continued bearing his Majesty the same good will, he ought to have communicated to him the offers he had received, and not allow them to be made known to his Majesty by others. The Cavalier replied that, as he knew the mind of his Prince, he could assure his Excellency that he would never negotiate anything without imparting it to his most Christian Majesty. Then next day the said Cavalier received a courier from the Duke, telling him that an Imperialist being a prisoner in Parma, some one who went thither to negotiate his ransom, proposed to his Excellency, in the name of the King of England, that if he would leave the service of his most Christian Majesty, the said King would give him Piacenza; which he charged the cavalier to com-

* Joanna, to John Lord Lumley, and Mary, to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk.

† He was transferred from the see of Motula in Puglia to Pisa on the 10th April 1556. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, p. 348.)

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municate to the Constable. Then his Excellency introducing him to his most Christian Majesty, he made the same statement, adding that as the Duke would never do anything to the King's disservice, so he requested his Majesty to remember that he had frequently said that whenever his Excellency could get back Piacenza it would gratify him. The King replied that he had always known his Duke's good will, and remembered having expressed to him this wish for the restitution of Piacenza; but in these times, when there was no certainty either of peace or truce, he would do well to consider how he ought to negotiate, because should the King of England now choose to give him Piacenza, it would be to alienate the Duke from his most Christian Majesty's service, and therefore he had determined to send M. Forcevoe (sic) *to Parma to hear the truth from the duke himself.*

On the day of the King's departure he had a long conference with the Constable and the Legate. The King said *he would not desert his Holiness, but that at this moment there was no fear of the Imperialists doing anything of importance by reason of their great penury* (grande strettezza), *but as the Pope laid so much stress on being compelled to keep a certain amount of troops in Rome, he would contribute a pecuniary subsidy for some part of them. This did not seem to satisfy the Legate, and afterwards, in conversation with other persons, he said openly that unless his most Christian Majesty formed some other resolve, it might be feared that the Pope would think of adjusting his affairs in the mode best suited to their security.*

Paris, 5th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

572. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Ascanio della Cornia is at Naples, and a captain sent by the Duke of Alva to Germany with money for a levy of 4,000 men has arrived at Genoa. The Duke's despatch (*scrittura*), brought to the Pope by Count Valentino, is being answered by Monsignor della Casa, by Bozzuto, and by Aldobrandini, with the advice of the Duke of Paliano and Camillo Orsini. The Pope will settle all these drafts, and is expected to add much of his own, and then send it to the Duke in reply to his writing, of which I enclose a copy.*

In the Congregation held on Sunday, after Marquis Sarria withdrew, the Pope abused the Emperor and his son violently, in Spanish, in the terms usually employed by him, ordering Cardinal Pacheco to write it to both one and the other, which the Cardinal said he would do, such being the will of his Holiness.

To clear himself from any suspicion about Don Alonso, the Duke of Ferrara has desired his ambassador here to tell the Pope and the Duke of Paliano that he had him accompanied by one of his gentle-

* Not found.

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men to your Serenity, he having brought him very gracious letters from the King of England, reminding him of the good treatment received from King Philip's ancestors by Duke Alfonso,* and saying that although he was reported to have leagued with the Pope and the French, and to be their captain general, the King of England did not believe he would do anything to injure the Emperor and him. To this the Duke of Ferrara replied that he had been and was anxious for universal peace and quiet, above all for Italy, which as a good Italian would never cease to be his object, adding that if he caused Don Alonso to be accompanied to Venice, it was on account of the suspicion (*per causa del suspetto*), and to avoid omission of such courtesy as was becoming. All has been taken in good part here, and the Ferrarese ambassador told my secretary that the Duke of Paliano said to him he supposed Don Alonso went (as already hinted by the Pope) to demand of your Serenity a league.

The Imperial ambassador [Marquis Sarria] left Rome yesterday. Rome, 8th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9.† Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

573. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday afternoon, at 4h. 30m. p.m., the Emperor departed for Ghent, being accompanied by his son for the distance of one league beyond the town, with a few personages of the courts, and the archer-guard, amounting in all to about two hundred horse. Shortly before his Imperial Majesty's departure, there came to take leave of him his natural uncle the Bishop of Liège, and the other bishops of these provinces, and many of these noblemen, and of the principal citizens of the neighbouring towns, good part of whom, on returning from the presence chamber, were seen to shed tears, the Emperor always exhibiting a serene countenance, until on going out of the gate of the town he was seen to weep bitterly, turning back repeatedly to look at the walls. The Queens Eleanor and Maria will leave this in two days, and one or two days afterwards the King of Spain, with the whole court, and the ambassadors, including myself, will proceed to Ghent. The King is supposed to have remained here after the Emperor, because three of the six privy-councillors are in bed with fever, namely, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Don Juan Manrique, and Don Antonio de Toledo; and especially that he may have their opinion about the decision to be formed respecting the Duke of Parma, there having come hither Girolamo da Correggio, who nevertheless gives out that he has come on his own private business, and to oblige the Cardinal of Trent, having to tell the King several things relating to the Milanese. The Bishop of Arras has asked the King's permission to stay here, and has obtained it, and will remain about the person of

* In 1512 Ferdinand the Catholic protected Duke Alfonso against Julius II. *See* Frizzi, vol. 4, p. 254.)

† I have been unable to find any despatches written by Federico Badoer from Flanders between the 30th July and the 9th August 1556, after which last date there is again a void in the correspondence until the 25th August 1556.

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the Duke of Savoy (*presso il Duca di Savoia*) as counsellor of these provinces, with an annual salary of 2,500 crowns; and by the Emperor's command (*voler*), the King three days ago elected in his stead Don Luis de Avila; and the Regent Figueroa is expected from England; so that all the six councillors will be Spaniards.

It has been impossible to induce the deputies of these Provinces to give the King a million and a half of gold, and they have been told that if they will not make the grant whilst he is here they must go to Ghent, where, owing to the Emperor's departure, they are expected more willingly to give this subsidy to his son, who has been counselled thus to order them (*e così ho inteso esser stato consegliato di farli venir a Gant*). It has also been resolved that it is well for the Emperor to go to Spain now rather than at any other time, as this departure will benefit all the affairs of his son; the counsillors being of opinion that the Pope and the King of France will be less ill-disposed towards King Philip than towards his Imperial Majesty.

It is said that the courier who departed for Italy this evening conveys notice by letter to all the Princes and ministers, as also to the Princes and States of Germany, of the Emperor's departure.

Brussels, 9th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

574. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Was visited to-day by the Count of S. Valentino, who said he had been desired by the Duke of Alva to communicate the three mandates (*istruttioni*) which he received on leaving Naples. The first alluded to the Count personally, and desired him to lodge in the ambassador's house. The second charged him to acquaint the cardinals and ambassadors with what he was desired to represent to the Pope, telling him besides that if his audience was delayed he was to depart. It also ordered him to demonstrate that the fortification of Paliano had solely for object to give the French passage into the kingdom of Naples. The third was to the effect that should the Pope answer him, that when Paul III. deprived Ascanio Colonna of his state no war was waged on that account, he was to rejoin that Paul III. contented himself with depriving Ascanio; nor did he invest anyone with his estate, neither did he fortify it. After reading these writings and instructions, Count St. Valentino continued: "I have been to the cardinals, as enjoined me, and to the French ambassador, who answered me that his King wishes for peace, but that, should the Pope be molested, he will not fail to succour him with the forces of his kingdom and with his own personal assistance; as if he purposed aiding the Pope, in case we be compelled to resent the many injuries he has done us and to defend ourselves (*come se quando fossamo astretti a propulzare le molte ingiurie del Pont^e^ e deffenderci, esso lo volesse ajutare*). Should the Duke of Alva, who is a minister of peace, be compelled by the receipt of orders from his court to advance, it will be because they can no longer tolerate the Pope's misconduct (*mali portamenti*).

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He sent me hither with orders to make this communication to the cardinals and ambassadors, amongst which last the first was your lordship, as ambassador of a republic most friendly (*affettionatissima*) to the Emperor. I must now go to the Pope, and try to depart to-day or to-morrow; nor ought I to have remained so many days, having heard that he is sending the reply by an envoy of his own."

In conclusion Count St. Valentino said, "What answer am I to give the Duke of Alva in your name?" to which I said that I could assure him of the Signory's good will towards the Emperor and the King of England, telling him also that the continuance of peace and quiet will always be the chief end and object of your Serenity.

Rome, 10th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

575. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

His most Christian Majesty will not fail to do what the Pope needs for the defence of Holy Church and of his family; and therefore having heard the four proposals made by him, requiring that a deposit of 500,000 *crowns be placed at his disposal, that* 300 *men-at-arms be sent into Italy, and twelve galleys to Civitavecchia,* 10,000 *Switzers being also kept in readiness, although his Majesty wished to satisfy his Holiness, yet the season having approached so far towards the winter, the proposal could not be carried into effect at present, but he nevertheless on a better opportunity would not fail* (non era per mancare); *and as he knew the Pope to have need of money for the garrison of Rome, he would give orders for the contribution of some part, and also promised him to pay the troops required for the garrison of Paliano, as he does those at Parma and Mirandola, promising the Duke of Paliano an annual pension of* 12,000 *crowns, and* 6,000 *to Don Antonio Caraffa.*

By the hand of the Constable his most Christian Majesty presented to the Legate a diamond, estimated at 12,000 crowns, to give to the Pope, telling him that in like manner as that stone is the hardest and purest of all jewels, so will his most Christian Majesty's mind be always most firm (*durissimo*) and most pure for the defence of Holy Church and of his Beatitude.

So far as I have been able to learn, these are the determinations obtained by the Legate from his most Christian Majesty, who, convinced that Caraffa was bent on inducing him to wage offensive war, to which at present he would not consent, whilst comprehending the affection displayed by his Holiness towards the French crown, and the advantage to be derived from the Pope and his family in case of need (con la occasione), *has endeavoured to provide practically for his Holiness' defence, giving him the largest promises possible, purposing to avail himself of time and opportunities; and being very intent on strengthening his party in Consistory for the creation of a new pope in due season, he has earnestly*

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urged the Legate to induce the Pope to make, for the most part, cardinals of the French faction, as it answers better for his Majesty to have a good number of cardinals resident in Rome, rather than French who do not stay there, and if they do it is an expense for the King (è un interesse di Sua Maestà Christ.ma) ; *and he had such abundant* (large) *promises from the Legate that he hopes for the creation of a good number of them.*

The Imperial ambassador here has had letters from the Emperor dated the 7th, telling him that on the 8th his Imperial Majesty was to depart for Ghent, and desiring him to let the King of France know that, intending to go to Spain by sea, he had therefore caused some of his hackneys and mules to be sent [overland to Laredo?], which he thought might pass without asking for any farther safe-conduct, in virtue of the truce he had; but as his most Christian Majesty is still at a distance from Paris, the ambassador has been unable to execute this commission. The Constable's son, the Duke of Montmorency, late a prisoner, was expected to arrive yesterday in freedom at Peronne.

Paris, 13th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

576. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Since what I wrote yesterday about the despatch of the Legate I had an opportunity of speaking with a friend of mine, who, from his position, being interested in these negotiations, is therefore much in the confidence of the Legate, and having had a long conversation with him lately at Anet about the decision announced to his right reverend Lordship, I learn from my friend that it agrees with what I wrote, purporting besides that the most Christian King would demand passage from your Serenity for the troops which he purposes sending into Italy, should circumstances require it; and to keep the enemy in doubt of what road they may take, he would also make the same demand of the Duke of Mantua, and send an agent to the Switzers that they may be in readiness; but all the arguments used by him to persuade the King that offensive war would not cost more than to stand upon the defensive, failed to take effect, nor would his most Christian Majesty and the Constable comply with the wishes of Caraffa, who, however, thought he might feel sure that in case the Imperialists molest the Pope his Majesty would defend him with all his forces, which being at so great a distance the Legate demonstrated that they could scarcely arrive in time for the Pope's need, should the King of England choose to attack him; the Cardinal thus showing that he was not altogether well pleased.

The Queen of Scotland is rather better, as also the Legate's nephew, his most illustrious Lordship being expected here this evening.

Paris, 14th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Aug. 15.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

577. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday night Messer Domenico del Nero, one of the hundred cavaliers, departed with the reply to the Duke of Alva, the substance of which had been communicated to the Count of St. Valentino, who also left that same day.

A few days ago, at table, the Pope, talking with the Roman cavaliers, said, "Don't suppose that although we are having Borgo fortified, we mean to defend you within these walls; we shall take the field with our army, and should those fellows (*coloro*) cross their frontiers, by so much as the distance of this tooth-pick"—placing on the table the tooth-pick with which he was picking his teeth—"we will give it them boldly (*daremo dentro animosamente*), for we shall have forces to do it, and God will help us."

The eight French galleys which brought the Gascons to Civita-vecchia went to Corsica, and have returned with some more, amongst whom are a number of gentlemen under M. de Mola (*sic*). They were mustered at a distance of some 20 miles from Rome, and are said to be 1,800, though it is believed that they do not exceed 1,200. The government (*questi signori*) has not yet settled where to put them, though it is said that some will go to Viterbo, but in the places where they have been quartered hitherto they have done very great mischief.

A secretary of Duke Ottavio (Farnese), by name Giovan Domenico degli Orsi, has arrived here. He is come to give account that what was said about Piacenza has taken no further effect, although the Emperor has frequently had it told to the Duke his son-in-law, who knows that he ought to do as desired; and that he (Duke Ottavio) will do nothing without the knowledge and good pleasure of the Pope and the King of France.

The Duke of Florence has apologized through his ambassador here to the Pope and the Duke of Paliano for allowing the Duke of Alva to raise troops in Tuscany, by reason of his obligations to the Emperor and the King of England.

Rome, 15th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15.
(Second Letter.)
p. 272.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

578. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

[The Pope threatens to deprive King Philip of his crown.]

Having sent yesterday to ask audience of the Pope, he excused himself by reason of his intention to say mass on the morrow, but said that I was to go to him to-day immediately after dinner, when he would willingly hear me. I went at the appointed hour, and found him at the end of dinner, and it fell to my lot to give him the napkin with which to dry his hands,* whereupon he immediately rose without giving audience at table as usual; and having

* "Da sciugar le mani." At the papal court at this period forks were not in use, and as in their stead the Pope used his fingers, the napkin was presented for use, and not as a mere act of ceremony.

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made me enter the chamber with him, after apologizing for not having given me audience yesterday, to which I replied that I merely sought his convenience, he said, "We have but little to tell you, save that fresh acts of treachery on the part of those people (*di costoro*) are brought to light daily;" and his Holiness, leaning with one arm on the ledge of a small kneeling-desk, said, "Things are in such a state that they can no longer be tolerated; those two" (alluding to the Emperor and the King of France) "were first at strife with each other about private affairs, and for our misfortune, or rather owing to the inertness (*dapocaggine*) of our predecessors, they have become so powerful that they now fight for universal monarchy. Their ambition is such that it makes them aspire to sole empire, most especially the Imperialists, who perceive that they cannot remain thus, as they must either do the rest or succumb, so by various means they have endeavoured to make themselves masters of everything by promising the King of Bohemia to make him King of Tuscany. Think how the Duke of Florence would fare. He is endeavouring to make Philip coadjutor of the Empire; to encourage heresy by attending their diets and councils, to depress this See Apostolic, and make themselves masters of Rome, and then of your State, which they say belongs to them; and we remember having said in your defence that not only were the inhabitants of the lagoon (*lacuna*) in which Venice is situated named '*Veneti*,' but also those of the whole province; wherefore it became the most illustrious Signory to rule them. On account of his wicked proceedings we renounced his friendship, nor could we ever bear him. The tyrant knows well what we did when we were Cardinal; and now that God has placed us in this See, without our seeking it, we are compelled to preserve it or sacrifice our life, which for His glory we do not the least value, and His Divine goodness knows that to-day, at that sacred altar, of which of His mercy he has made us worthy, we renounced to Him the Popedom and our life, and when it shall please Him we will quit this world willingly, but so long as we remain here we choose to preserve intact that authority which He has given us, so as to die an honest man (*huomo da bene*). Now, as we said, these Imperialists would fain make themselves masters of everything, because they see that they cannot last long in their present state. The King of France, on the other hand, has not so much cause to covet his neighbour's goods, as he has a large united kingdom, walled round by nature, and by the present King's care; he knows that he can defend himself from all adversaries. He has an understanding in Germany, where his authority exceeds that of the Emperor, and he has moreover shown that he has forces for attack, as demonstrated of late years, and as would have been evident much sooner had King Francis allowed him to give battle when Charles invaded France, in which case the name of this tyrant would perhaps no longer exist. This security and greatness of France causes the King to be content with repelling attack and keeping his adversary beneath, that he may not make himself greater; so we may say that we have two sons, the one Cain and the other Abel, for in truth the King of France could not show greater obedience and love than he does; he not only promises not

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to fail in his duty to assist us, but for our sake he christened his lately born daughter Vittoria, which was the name of our mother; and his great love for us makes him detain the Cardinal, though we hope he will soon obtain leave to return, and from him we shall learn the entire decision about what is to be done. There is no longer any occasion to wait for proof of the evil intentions of the Imperialists (*di costoro*), as fresh acts of treachery are discovered daily. We know that a person has been sent to Venice to procure the most deadly poison (*per pigliare veneno finissimo*), and other plots of theirs are known to us. Even the Legate [Rebiba], whom we sent about the peace, has been obliged to make his escape, as he heard that they purposed imprisoning him. When near the court he sent to have lodgings prepared by one of his attendants, whose diligence was such that he discovered this their iniquitous design, and announced it to the Cardinal, who changed his course, and we understand that he is now in a place of security. As we told you heretofore, we have put up with so much malignity that they now deserve reproof (*riprensione*), were it solely to prevent its being said that we were the first (*solo per rispetto che non si possa dire che siamo stati i primi*); nor do we see any form of adjustment, for we would not trust them even with security in hand. They thought to anticipate us, but we have been more speedy. Should they increase their forces, we will do the like by ours; if they purpose coming hither, we also shall think of entering the kingdom of Naples. If not content with having tyranically devastated (*desolato*) the kingdom of Naples, the Milanese, and Lombardy, and after sacking Rome, what would they do with the rest? They think that God sleepeth; *non dormit, neque dormitabit qui custodit Israel.* The Almighty will no longer permit that *teneant virgam super sortem justorum.* We will unsheath all the spiritual weapons; we will deprive them of their empires, realms, and states; we will treat them as the enemies of God, which they are, and those who adhere to them; we will proclaim a crusade of all Christians against them, against schismatics and heretics, and shall ascertain for ourselves who chooses to be a Christian; and possibly the apostasy of that nation from the faith may afford a fair opportunity for depriving it of the election of the Empire, as Greece was deprived of yore, and enable us to bestow the right on those whom we shall know to be deserving of it. Should they drive us out of Rome, we will go to some island, there to continue exercising our authority; we will convoke a Council, limited to a fixed number for each side (*a tanti per parte*); those who are Christians will attend it, and such as are Turks and Pagans may absent themselves. We care not about them (*non habbiamo cura di loro*), and who knows but that God the blessed may choose, as the penalty of his wicked acts, to show the tyrant in his lifetime the destruction of his accursed race (*la desolatione della maledetta sua stirpe*). We hope not to be so old as not to witness it." And then, slapping his thighs with both his hands (*e poi battendosi le mani alle coscie*), and raising his eyes aloft, he said very violently, "It is impossible for us not to be ashamed of any longer tolerating such impious tyranny at the hands of the

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vilest nation, or rather of the dregs, of the world (*dij, talem terris avversite pestem*); and will no truly free spirit arise to prefer death to such hard servitude?"

After a short pause he then added, "Ambassador, with you we proceed very discreetly (*con molta modestia*); we do not ask of you a league, or anything else, but that you should regulate yourselves well, and not make some gross mistake (*qualche marrone*), as it would be your ruin. The Imperialists (*costoro*) have recourse to all means, even to the most insignificant petty Princes and Lords, and not merely to the most illustrious Signory and the Duke of Ferrara." Considering this an opportunity for communicating to him the reply made to Don Martin Alonso, in conformity with the orders given me by the Senate, I announced it accordingly. The Pope answered me, "It does well (*sta bene*); it is a prudent reply, for those Lords do not bind themselves to anything. Write to them to keep prepared, that they may be able to do in due time what God will instruct them; but to use worldly arguments with you, is it for the interest of the two States, leaving aside religion, the duty of Christians, and our friendship for the Signory, does it suit you that this State should be ruined? Were we a nobleman of your Senate we should put the same question. Is it for your profit that we should be conquered? Will it be for your service that we should be at war whilst you look on, to see whether, after our downfall, you can remain in safety and enjoy your own? We would recommend you to hang out a carpet, and place a cushion on one of your balconies on the Grand Canal, and that you may stay at your ease, to see who is passing and what is doing (*e che comodamente stesse a vedere chi passa, e quel che si fa*) and should the Pope ask your assistance, that he be told to give it himself; but if after our ruin yours necessarily ensues, by God you must think what you have to do. If you choose to put the rope round your neck, without waiting for them to perform the office, and to go and beg pardon, do so, as you will meet with the same mercy that you did the year of Prevesa (*l'anno della Prevesa*)*, when you were unable to get the wheat which at exorbitant cost they had promised you, so that your city was on the point of being famished. We are, as we have always told you, and thou, O God, knowest it, always desirous of peace;" which opportunity I would not allow to escape me, and therefore replied, "The Almighty, who has this peace so much at heart, knowing the will of your Holiness, will bring it to pass, to your Beatitude's immortal praise, to the infinite contentment of the whole world, and principally of the most illustrious Signory." He rejoined, "God grant it, but matters are now so far advanced that we cannot remain thus. We cannot say as of yore on St. Mark's one of your Doges said, having the French ambassador on one hand and the Spaniard on the other (one illuminating for a certain victory and the other lamenting it), (*gaudere cum gaudentibus et flere cum flentibus*, for at present everything is at

* The attack on Prevesa in the year 1538 is recorded by the historian Paruta, who also alludes to the refusal of the Imperial governors in Naples and Sicily to concede to the Republic the promised export, permits for grain.

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stake. As we have already told you, we treat you with all discretion; we do not ask a league of you, nor that you should do one thing more than another, though matters are perhaps now coming to such a crisis that they can scarcely be borne any longer; keep at least prepared. We know that you are a Republic, which cannot decide like one sole and absolute Prince; yet do we choose to believe that in time you will open your eyes to your welfare, for to tell you the truth we choose to ascertain this. As the Imperialists (*costoro*) attack us without any cause, solely because we oppose that universal monarchy on which they have set their minds,—nor will we be their slaves like former pontiffs,—we will wage war on them like a brave man (*da huomo da bene*), and let the loss be what it may, we will cease to draw breath before our courage fails us. It might be said, *Thou canst not.* Christ can, through whom I am God's minister. *Go to a hermitage, and make way for one more worthy than thyself.*"

The Pope having then stopped, I asked him if he had sent the reply to the Duke of Alva. He said yes, but that it was immaterial, being sent to a minister who had not authority, and was only capable of doing mischief; his Holiness adding that he had given orders for me to receive a copy both of the proposal and the reply, but that the illness of his nephew, the Duke of Paliano, caused the delay, and that if it did not inconvenience me to wait I should receive it now, as he was going to visit him. I replied that if his Holiness would allow me to accompany him, that I also might visit his Excellency, he would confer a special favour on me. The Pope rejoined, "As you wish to confer this favour on one of your noblemen, let us go;" so having descended a private stair, we found the Duke, who, after receiving the Papal benediction and a kiss from his Holiness, said that he had had a tertian ague (*una terzanella*), that nature had effected a copious crisis (*un crisi abondante*), the physicians also having blooded him, so he hoped not to take any hurt. I performed such loving office as was becoming, saying I was glad to have seen him, as it enabled me to announce to your Serenity his convalescence; and then the Pope, after many honourable expressions about your Serenity, and his paternal love and esteem for the most illustrious Republic, desired the Duke to give me the enclosed copies of the writings;* and his Holiness, after repeating the provocations received from the Imperialists, his own patience, his wish for peace, and many other things in accordance with what I have so often written, dismissed me, I having previously (as desired by the Senate) congratulated him on the recovery of the citadel of Nettuno.

Rome, 15th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

579. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday I went to visit the Legate. He commenced a long discourse about the plots formed by the Imperialists against his

* Not found.

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Holiness, saying that, as he told the Abbot of San Saluto yesterday morning, his Holiness (if the Emperor and his most serene son showed themselves really anxious for peace), could he find means for making sure of their goodwill, would return to his original purpose, and show himself desirous of the quiet of Christendom; and he had elected six right reverend cardinals, who, together with all the ambassadors, were charged to discover this mode of security; five of them being of the Imperial faction, and the Cardinal de Bellai alone of the French party; wherefore should his most Christian Majesty choose to drive a hard bargain, he might complain of this, as although the decision about the proposals rested with his Holiness, yet could he not be pronounced an Imperialist for adhering to what five cardinals his delegates counselled him. He added that in the Pope's name he had made four proposals to the most Christian King; the first about the Council, the second concerning the peace, as he had already informed me; and that the reply then given by his Majesty by word of mouth was now made in writing also, and will be read in Consistory.

The other two proposals related, the one to the adjustment of the affairs of the benefices of this kingdom, which were all arranged, and the other to the appointment of an inquisitor against the heretics; to which the King replied that he quite approved of this, but being of opinion that one alone could not suffice for so vast a territory, he thought it would be well to name one for each bishopric, and that he should be a native, which his right reverend Lordship said he hoped the Pope would admit. He added he had found similar goodwill in his Majesty for the defence of Holy Church, for which he had offered him all the forces of his kingdom, together with his own person; *and also touching the defence of the Caraffa family, having taken it under his protection, the King promised him to defend it. Here the Legate expatiated at great length on the reasons which had induced the Pope to invest the Duke of Paliano with that state, saying that as his Holiness would not alienate Church property to give it to his kinsfolk, so if he gave them that of rebels, no one ought to take it amiss.*

The Legate also said, "Should the Emperor not molest us, we on our part will make no farther stir, but if he moves he will meet with opposition of a different sort to what is anticipated by him, and to tell you the whole, he does not fail disturbing every thing, having even endeavoured to detach the Duke of Ferrara from his most Christian Majesty, but he still keeps faith, though he misbehaves himself by not settling his affairs completely with the King. He no longer demands infantry, but that his salary (provisione) *be increased from* 24,000 *crowns to* 50,000, *and the men-at-arms; and by the Duke's ambassador the King sent to tell him that he will give him the* 50,000 *crowns, leaving him at liberty to keep the men-at-arms or not. I do not know whether the Duke will accept these terms, although I sent him one of my gentlemen to urge many reasons for his acceding to the agreement, which if not made before my return to Rome, I shall endeavour to conclude by making the*

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Pope contribute something of his own, as these Imperialists must at any rate know with whom they have to deal."

Morette, 17th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

580. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Will not deviate from my usual custom of writing every week.

In the very place where the [false] proclamation of the Queen's death was made* (*nel luogo proprio dove fu fatta la publicatione del proclama che la Regina fusse morta*); two of its chief authors were hanged,† including the parish priest there, and both died with great demonstration of repentance and acknowledgment of their error, confessing that hey had fallen into it from their bad opinions about religion. The others, as many as 12 in number, have been brought hither to the Tower.

The brother of the pirate Killigrew, and six or eight of his chief comrades, have also been removed from Portsmouth to the Tower, where some persons pretend they have been tortured (*tormentati*), and on their account certain prisoners who had their liberty in the Tower have been confined. Killigrew's father, who is a wealthy gentleman, has offered to pay all those who have suffered loss from him, hoping thus more easily to obtain his pardon, though it is not believed that this will profit him much.

The Queen has been unwell lately, both from the great heat, the like of which no one remembers, as likewise owing to some mental vexation (*qualche dispiacer di animo*), and not having yet quite recovered, she has chosen to change her residence, and to-day went eight miles hence to Croydon to a house of the most illustrious the Legate.

The day before yesterday that Spanish gentleman whom the King said he would send, arrived express, and was sent back with the same haste. He confirmed the King's coming after the departure of the Emperor; so the Earl of Pembroke has been appointed to go and receive him at Calais, Lord Paget at Dover, and Cardinal Pole here at Canterbury (*et l'illustrissimo Legato di quà a Canterbury*); but nothing has been yet settled about his right reverend Lordship, although he solicits and desires it in order that he may have to remain at his Church. The immediate despatch of this gentleman, who during the two days of his stay had several long conferences with the Queen together with Don [Juan de] Figueroa, (her Majesty on Sunday, the day of his arrival, that she might attend to his despatch, having omitted to go to vespers in the chapel, which she is not wont to do without some great impediment,)

* This shows that a letter written by the ambassador on the 11th August is missing. The place here mentioned seems to be Yaxley in Sussex, where one Cleobury personated the Earl of Devon, and in the church there proclaimed "the Lady Elizabeth Queen, and her beloved bed-fellow, Lord Edward Courtenay, King." (*See* Lingard, vol. v. p. 246, ed. London, 1854.)

† Cleobury was executed at Bury in September 1556. (*See* Strickland's Elizabeth, p. 117.)

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has caused a belief that he has been sent on business, rather than for this mere mission about the King's return; but nothing further can be ascertained about this.

London, 18th August 1556.

Postscript.—I am informed that the Lord Treasurer has been sent for, to make arrangements (it is supposed) either at Dover or Portsmouth, where the Emperor is expected, the Queen intending by all means, if possible, to see his Imperial Majesty there.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20.* Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

581. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Relative to the warlike preparations of the Imperialists and of the Duke of Paliano, and to the fortification of Rome.

Rome, 20th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

582. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal de' Medici told my secretary that in the penultimate Consistory, the Pope having asked him what he thought of the affair of Ascanio della Cornia, he replied, "Ill, Holy Father, and I suspect that each day will bring us worse tidings, should those disturbances continue;" and when the Pope said that he had a number of soldiers and good troops, the Cardinal replied that his Holiness must neither rely on them nor allow them to take the field, as they would be routed by the mere sight of the enemy, for that since the coming of Charles (VIII. ?) into Italy, never had an army, composed exclusively of Italians, been seen to gain one single battle, because they know not how to use the pike; and as the Imperialists have much foreign infantry, both German and Spanish, and 800 men-at-arms, and 2,000 light horse, whilst his Holiness has a bare 500 very sorry jades, he therefore lacked the means for resisting the enemy in the field; and consequently of the three faculties of war (*le tre parti c'ha la guerra*), namely, attack, resistance, and to remain reciprocally on the defensive, the two first were denied him, as with the troops he has, his Holiness cannot invade the kingdom of Naples without the certainty of their being cut to pieces; and should the Imperialists choose to advance, he could not prevent them from being masters of the open country, and consequently of the defenceless towns, such as the majority of those in the papal territory; whilst the third resource, of remaining mutually on the defensive, was no less injurious to his Holiness than the other two, as he would be compelled to incur intolerable cost; whilst the Imperialists can hold their own with the troops paid by them even in time of peace. To this the Pope said, "What would you have me do if these heretical tyrants compel me to act thus?" The Cardinal rejoined, "Holy Father! I would that an agreement were negotiated, and that your Holiness should make

* No date in the original, but the letter is placed between those of the 15th and 22nd August.

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some slight concession (*li mettesse un poco del suo*), to prevent such great and universal mischief." Thereupon the Pope said, "And should this ensue, shall I be the cause of it?' Cardinal Medici replied, "When a person can provide, and does not do so, I know not what to say; I should indeed regret to have it recorded by historians, that in the reign of your Holiness, a Pope of such exemplary life, a war and schism broke out, such as had not happened in the time of popes, who, to say the truth, led foul and evil lives (*pontefici di mala e sporca vita*)."

On hearing this his Holiness could no longer contain himself, and said, "You have this day caused me dissatisfaction, but these words do not proceed from you; the tyrants are those who make you utter them; but we will deprive them of their realms and empires as schismatics." Cardinal Medici made answer that he would neither affirm nor deny that the Emperor was schismatic, though he indeed would say that this privation might bring it to pass, that instead of one schismatic kingdom, all the Emperor's realms might become so, they forming two thirds of Christendom, and that it does not suffice to deprive, as in the next place force is required to effect the privation. The Pope in a great rage then said, "You also are schismatic; speak out (*dite sù*), if you have anything to say against me." Cardinal Medici replied that, perceiving the Pope to be too angry, he would say nothing more, but that should his Holiness choose to listen, he will always tell him the truth in his own chamber, as he is neither a flatterer, nor interested, like the persons about his Holiness. He then went and sat down; and says he fully expected to be sent to the castle, as the Pope never took his eyes off him.

When consistory was dismissed, Cardinal Medici went to the Duke of Paliano, and narrated to him what the Pope had said, requesting his Excellency to represent to the Pope that, if he did not choose him to speak freely for the common weal, for that of the See Apostolic, and especially for that of the Caraffa family, that his Holiness should be pleased to assign him a residence, and that he would obey readily. To this the Duke of Paliano replied, that rather than be the cause of so many inconveniences, he would prefer being deprived of the duchy, and even of his life. Thereupon Cardinal Medici said, "My lord, you are to be a duke; it remains for determination whether the duchy is to be this of Paliano, if possible; and if not, to exchange it for Camerino; and I promise you to make the college consent to this, and that we will give it you with all the votes unanimously." The Cardinal said, moreover, to my secretary, "The Duke did not dislike my proposal, but nothing farther has been said to me about it. I can do no more, and am certain that in the confessional I have not to reproach myself with having failed in my duty; for I have said without scruple that which no one else had the courage to say; anticipating abuse, and even blows (*botte*) and imprisonment; for after all, the Pope himself in the end will wish me well for it, knowing that I spoke for his advantage, and that of this See Apostolic, and not for any private respect of my own."

Rome, 22nd August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556. Aug. 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

583. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 2 p.m. went to the Pope, who announced the return of his messenger Domenico del Nero from the Duke of Alva, who treated him kindly and expressed goodwill towards his Holiness. Having listened to the Pope's solemn protestations of his wish for peace, replied that besides the other causes which made me hope for peace was the desire displayed by his Holiness for the "reformation" (*reforma*), which was so ardent that even in the midst of the present troubles, he yesterday in consistory had issued certain orders to that effect. His Holiness replied most amiably (*tutto pieno di dolcezza*), "Yesterday we put our hand to the root of a too flagrant impiety, namely the '*accessi*' and '*regressi*,' *etiam invitis dominis*, tantamount to sending those poor prelates to the slaughter-house (*al macello*). And whilst on this topic we will tell you a joke of a waggish courtier, who threw himself at the Pope's feet, asking him for a large benefice held by a very famous man. The Pope replied, How can you ask this favour of me when we know that the benefice is not vacant, its incumbent being still alive? whereupon the gentleman said he wished to tax the abuses of the court, adding, Holy Father, do but give me the benefice, and leave to me the care of rendering it vacant. With regard to which matter when we received the '*regresso*' of our Archbishopric of Naples* without knowing anything about it, we induced Pope Julius to repeal all the '*regressi*' conceded *sine consensu* [of the incumbents?]. He declined doing so with regard to all benefices in general, but repealed those of the cathedral churches, and we were then told by a very worthy cardinal, that they had done a most holy work, as there were cardinals who had as many as 40 '*regressi*;' so now, when we have the power, we will not allow it to escape us. All the '*accessi*' by whomsoever given, and be their clauses what they may, have been revoked and cancelled by us, so that word no longer exists; and yesterday when speaking about this matter we inveighed against the '*regressi*,' issuing a mandate for the cardinals in Rome to give a list (*una nota*) of those they have within a fortnight, those who are absent from Rome but in Italy within a month, and those who are out of Italy within three months; and on receiving these particulars, should any person be found to have more than one, we shall say, It is improper (*non sta bene*); take one of them, renounce the others; and when it comes to the point of the '*regresso*,' we will compel them to keep but one benefice, either that of the '*regresso*' or the one held previously. And thus will we go reforming by degrees, nor do we choose the devil, with all the designs projected by him, to prevail against this good work, as this is, building for one's self a house in heaven; and we have commenced with ourselves, suppressing almost entirely the '*datariato*,' which yielded us so great a revenue, in order that when we shall come to the others,

* According to Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 166, 167, it seems that Gianpietro Caraffa obtained the reversion of the see of Naples in 1549, but did not obtain possession of it until 1551, in the reign of Julius III.

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they may not be able to say that we do it to enrich ourselves, seeing that at a moment the most critical which could befall us, we deprived ourselves of such vast income, not because we did not know that we had need of it, but because we could not take it without committing the sin of simony. Should we be able to call the Council, as we hope to do speedily, we will accomplish all at once and well, as where many sages are gathered together, things are done better. Should it, however, be difficult to convoke, we will propose the questions to the cardinals (*daremo li quesiti alli Cardinali*) whether such a dispensation, such an absolution, or such an office be saleable. They will not be able to speak against the truth, and were they to do so, we would commit them to the Inquisition as heretics; and thus do we hope in God to go reforming, without that fear which other Popes had of dying of hunger, for we do not distrust the goodness of God, which has always assisted us. When we came to your city we brought neither gold nor silver, nor property of any sort; you gave us shelter and you gave us bread, with so much charity as not to choose it even to be known who gave it us; and now that we are here, were we to apprehend its failing us, we should deserve to be punished by God for entertaining such a fear, as we have even experience of this, for incurring such extraordinary expenditure as we do (all of which, however, is necessary) in troops and fortifications, so that we spend upwards of 70,000 crowns per month, yet have we no lack of funds, and our revenues on the contrary have all increased, not from the prosperity of the times, as owing to the scarcity of everything it ought to be the reverse, but because our eyes have been opened; nor have our kinsfolk chosen to do what the nephews and relations of other Popes did, taking bribes for leasing the revenues of the Church so much below their value; and although according to the proverb every man thinks his own wife the most chaste of any, yet does the fact prove that these nephews of ours might have kept this augmentation for themselves, and that they did not do so."

After the Pope had listened to the perusal of the news-letters from Constantinople discussing the power of Sultan Soliman, he blamed the Imperial ministers for provoking him, and said that should a Turkish fleet come into these waters, the King of France could not be accused of having sent for it. He then complained of the bad policy of the Christian Princes, who gave just cause to fear that one day or other the Turk will do the rest (*il Turco non facci il resto*), his forces being innumerable, and that what he once gets possession of he never loses. In conclusion, his Holiness spoke at great length about the Emperor's departure for Spain, and the withdrawing (*retirata*) of the King his son to England, it seeming to him that at no time more disadvantageous for his interests than at present, nor with a greater demonstration of weakness, could the Emperor have determined on departure, unless perchance it conceal something unknown, both to his Holiness and others.

For many months I have never heard the Pope talk more reservedly than to-day, so it is possibly true, according to the advices from France, that Cardinal Caraffa despairing of obtaining

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what he wanted from the King, as the Constable opposed it, Caraffa had recourse to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who made him speak with the King (*l'abboccò col Re*), and they said so much that his most Christian, Majesty consented to give a levy of Switzers, and to make a certain pecuniary deposit.

Rome, 22nd August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug, 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

584. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Legate left Morette on the 17th instant, and will embark at Toulon, avoiding Marseilles on account of the plague. *A friend of mine, his confidant, told me that he spoke with Cardinal Caraffa before his departure, and found him joyful, his Lordship saying he had so urged the most Christian King and the Constable that they promised positively to make the deposit at Venice, the money being put in a place under two keys, one of which to be kept by the Pope's commissioner, and the other by his Majesty's nominee, with an express declaration that the money is to be spent solely for the defence of the Church and of the state of Paliano; and whenever any portion of this deposit shall be abstracted for the purposes aforesaid, one and other of those princes will be bound within a certain period to make good the deficit, so that the* 500,000 *crowns will always remain there, but in deposit. For the sake of encouraging the King to take this step he had proposed to him the means for obtaining the money through the merchants on very fair terms; and the Pope likewise on his part was prepared to supply his quota. The Legate added that his most Christian Majesty had promised him to keep twelve of his galleys in the harbour of Civitavecchia, according to the Legate's request, and that he had fair hopes that after his landing, those which conveyed him would remain there. Thus he said he took with him the announcement of the deposit, a firm promise of the galleys, and that the Switzers should be ready whenever needed, so that for the entire grant of all he desired there merely remained the* 300 *men-at-arms, but, although the King makes a difficulty about conceding them, the Legate trusted that should circumstances require the passage of the Switzers, his Majesty will be compelled to send the said men-at-arms likewise.*

All these things have been confirmed to me through another channel, with the exception of the mode whereby to find money for the deposit, I having been unable as yet to discover either that particular, or in whose hands the money is to be placed; but notwithstanding these apparently defensive preparations in case the King of England molest the Pope, reports are nevertheless in circulation of an offensive attack next year, the rumour resting on certain words uttered by the Constable which might be construed in this sense; in addition to which, precise orders have been sent to every part of the kingdom to levy the royal revenues and enforce their payments, which has strengthened the aforesaid opinion.

The day before the said Legate departed he sent for the Abbot of San Saluto, and told him that he knew the commencement of his

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negotiation about the peace between these Princes, and also knew that he was expecting a reply from Brussels, but by advices which he, the Legate, had received from that court, the delay of its transmission proceeded from M. d'Amont [Simon Renard], the Imperial Ambassador here, who had performed two evil offices against him; first, he forwarded the letters very late and open, and then wrote to the Emperor and King Philip that they must not trust Parpaglia, as his bias was French, and that he merely sought to elicit information from Brussels for the purpose of imparting it to this court; but that the Bishop of Arras, who of late shows himself hostile to d'Amont, took the Abbot under his protection, and by demonstrating his good qualities discredited the aforesaid ambassador, so that Caraffa believed they would soon answer Parpaglia. And here the Legate commenced saying how anxious the Pope was for this peace, provided things proceeded with true effects (con veri effetti) *and without fraud, and that he, the Legate, in his Holiness' name, promised if the Imperialists laid down their arms that the Pope would do the like; and as he knew that they felt aggrieved by the fortification of Paliano, they must dismiss that from their minds, as his Holiness chose by all means to complete it, but that if the Imperialists would come to a real adjustment, they would find the Pope excellently disposed to satisfy them by merely keeping there such a garrison as was required for its necessary defence, and which could not give any suspicion of attack. In reply, the Abbot, after greatly commending the disposition of the Pope and the Legate, offered to write about this to Brussels, at his Lordship's command, and the Cardinal requested him so to do, assuring him that he would find his deeds and words to correspond, and that on receiving a reply he was to give him notice; and with this Parpaglia went to Paris, intending to write to Ruy Gomez.*

Morette, 24th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

585. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The landing of the Emperor in England, about which there is much discourse amongst the multitude, is verified solely by conjecture and opinion. It is true that orders have been sent to provide victuals and refreshments at certain ports of this Channel, such as Dover and Portsmouth, off which the fleet must necessarily pass, so that should it put in there, from lack of wind or from foul weather, or any other accident, it may be conveniently received and provisioned; in which case, should the place where it might arrive prove suitable, the Queen would perhaps go thither for an interview with his Imperial Majesty, and thus, so far as can be known at present, it would take place accidentally and casually as a thing done and caused on the sudden, and not as arranged and concerted beforehand. Her Majesty indeed chose the Admiral to re-embark on board the seven ships which remained armed, and to put to sea to meet the

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fleet and join it, to give convoy as far as the Emperor might please, though with the intention that the said ships might also serve for the King's passage hither, but she subsequently determined, so great is her anxiety (*gelosia*) and desire for the coming of the King, regardless of expense, to have the others fitted out expressly for his Majesty's passage, so that on arriving at Calais he may not be prevented crossing should he have to await those of the Admiral, but at any rate find these already awaiting him; and to-morrow or the day after the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Paget are to go thither to receive him, the Lord Treasurer and the Bishop of Ely doing the like at Dover, but the departure of these last is more uncertain than that of the others.

What I wrote doubtfully* about the money which the Queen sought to borrow is now verified by the fact, her Majesty having sent freely (*liberamente*) to the lords and gentlemen, the wealthiest and best provided (*più ricchi et commodi*), letters [privy seals] in which is specified the precise sum demanded of each of them, according to what the individual may be supposed able to bear, and I am told that the least is 40 pounds sterling, her Majesty urging all of them to exceed their means, availing themselves of their property and credit to raise the sum required by her, as she is in great need, and compelled to supply herself with funds to enable her to quell the insurrections to which she is daily subjected. *This mode of request has seemed the more strange and vexatious to everybody, as it is unusual and unprecedented* (innusitata et insolita), *the device being attributed to the suggestion* (consiglio) *of the Spanish lords, in order, as said by them publicly, that the King may make use of the money; so it seems that all* (*although it be untrue*) *apologize under pretence of being overwhelmed with debts; but opposition will be of little avail, nor in the end will any one dare obstinately to resist her Majesty's desire.*†

Since the execution of the authors of the proclamation in Suffolk,‡ of whom a schoolmaster was the ringleader, reports circulate about a certain other individual, a captain from the other side of the Channel (*capitanio di là dal mare*), an arch-heretic well acquainted with Germany, where he is known, and he is said to have had an understanding with the schoolmaster and his accomplices, as entertained by him actually with the emigrants (*transfugi*) and rebels abroad. This person for his greater security lives for the most part in the forests in England (*in queste selve*), and hiding himself there, he every now and then with great audacity appears in one town or another, sometimes disguised as a peasant, sometimes as a wayfarer, sometimes as a merchant, and sometimes in one garb, sometimes in another, so as not to be tracked and recognised, finding out all those whom he knows to be suspected, and of the same mind in the matter of religion, preaching to them and encouraging them to remain firm and constant, as they shall soon hear and see great and powerful

* Probably in the missing letter of the 11th August.

† The decipher is imperfect, but the ambassador's meaning is, I think, correctly given in my text.

‡ I do not know in how many counties Cleobury's proclamation was made.

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personages, who will come to replace them in their religion (*a rimetterle nella loro religione*) and free them from slavery; after the performance of which persuasive offices, he immediately disappears, retiring into the country and the forests (*selve*). In many places orders have been given to keep on the watch to capture him if possible, spies being posted for this purpose in the forests (*boschi*), and they hunt him with bloodhounds, as is done to wild beasts and beasts of chase (*come si fa alle fiere et animali di caccia*).

London, 25th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

586. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Martino Alonso, who arrived here yesterday, sent me two packets of letters from your Serenity, one dated the 8th, the other the 10th instant, so I sent immediately to demand audience of the Emperor and his son; and this morning, when received by King Philip, I told him I was commissioned by your Serenity to let him know what great satisfaction you had derived from the loving congratulations and confidential announcements made to you in the Emperor's name and his Majesty's, by the said Don Alonso and the ambassador Vargas, assuring him that you reciprocated these sentiments, and saying how readily you had written to the Pope urging him to find means to obtain quiet not only for Italy but for Christendom; adding that I was charged to pray his Majesty to persevere in his natural inclination for peace. He replied that the accounts received from Don Martino and the ambassador Vargas had so convinced him of your affection that he was extremely satisfied, and that you would always find him your good friend; the expression of his countenance when giving this assurance convincing me that he was really much pleased with the replies given to Don Martino, and with what your Serenity had done. He then began telling me, with great familiarity, that the Emperor purposed departing for Zealand to-morrow, and would send for me and the other ambassadors to dismiss us; and in the act of my taking leave he thanked me for the good offices which Don Martino told him I had performed, as confirmed by the letters of the ambassador Vargas.

To-day I went to visit Don Bernardino de Mendoza, expecting also to find with him (as I did) the said Don Alonso, his nephew. Don Bernardino said to me apart he thought a greater union must be formed between the King and your Serenity, because the Pope would declare himself unfriendly to you, and purposed giving the port of Ancona to the King of France, through whose intervention he would make the Turkish fleet harass your Serenity. He said letters had arrived from their Majesties' ambassador in France purporting that the King told him he would not fail to observe the truce, although from his confederacy with the Pope he could not fail succouring him; and that by letters lately received from England from the Queen and the members of her Council, he hoped that should the King of France not keep the truce, the Queen would

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declare war on his most Christian Majesty for the benefit of her Consort. Then taking in his hand a lengthy despatch, he told me it was an agreement which would soon be concluded with the delegate from Peru, in the name of the feudatories there, from whom the King would obtain so considerable a sum of money, that he will be able to defend himself not only against the Pope but also against France, and any other power, if requisite; and the feudatories, provided they obtain permission to dispose of their lands and effects (*robbe*) to their heirs and successors, will bind themselves within three years to pay eight millions of gold, binding the King to render the [Peruvian] revenues independent of Spain (*con obligare il Re a disimpegnare l'intrate della Spagna*). In my reply I endeavoured to give him satisfaction, and went immediately to Don Ruy Gomez to make the same impression as on the mind of the King with regard to the resolve announced by your Serenity to Don Martino Alonso, the said Don Ruy Gomez being the person to whom alone the King confides everything; and after performance of this office, with which he seemed well satisfied, he said the King would desire his ambassador to thank your Serenity for your intention of writing to the Pope to dispose him to peace. He told me besides, that the French Ambassador had never answered him whether his King consented, as he said he would, to appoint your Serenity arbitrator of the disputes between their Majesties; and that yesterday the said ambassador sent him word that being indisposed, he could not come to see him, saying that if he wished to talk about the peace, towards which he saw him of late disposed, he would willingly discuss it; Don Ruy Gomez remarking to me that he considered the message a feint, and that the ambassador did not really entertain any such wish, but that he nevertheless purposed going to see him.

Ghent, 25th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

587. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning the Emperor appointed all the ambassadors to go to him in the afternoon; and speaking to each of them separately, he said he was determined to depart for Zealand to-morrow, and await fair weather for his passage to Spain, whither he purposed going, knowing himself to be no longer adapted to the management of the affairs of the world, and that he wished to serve God with his mind at peace. To the Siennese Ambassador, who was the first, after narrating to him several things which had taken place between his Majesty and that Republic, he said he had left the care of it to his son, when negotiating with whom he would find him most lovingly disposed towards it; *and the ambassador, who told me himself that he had received this commission, added thrice, with a sigh, "Good God! what has the King of Spain to do with Sienna? and when will His Divine Majesty have mercy on our sins?"* The second was the ambassador from Florence, who told the Emperor that not one of his true servants counselled him to take this departure, especially in the midst of such great troubles as Italy is threatened

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with by the Pope, and which will consequently occur in many parts of Christendom; wherefore the Duke his lord, as his Majesty's most faithful servant, felt great discontent at it. The Emperor replied that this was not injurious either to the Duke or anyone else who had relied on his remaining here, as what the King his son, young, robust, and absolute master, might be unable to do, could still less be effected by him, he being now old and feeble, and divested of all power. The Nuncio followed next, remaining but a short while with his Majesty, and came forth very melancholy; nor has it been possible to ascertain what he said to the Emperor, nor what his Majesty replied; and from what his auditor has told me, the Emperor did not send for him, but the Bishop of Arras, as of his own accord, let him know his Majesty's resolve to dismiss the ambassadors, adding that in case he had any office to perform in this matter for his own satisfaction, he was to let him know; so the Nuncio sent to tell him (as he had informed the Bishop some days previously) that he also wished to perform this office of taking leave of his Imperial Majesty; the Bishop of Arras thus showing that the giving the Nuncio audience did not proceed from him.

After the Nuncio, I was introduced to his Majesty, and seeing him pause in expectation of my commencing the conversation, I represented to him in your Serenity's name what I told his most Serene son about your reply to Don Martino Alonso, and the precise words used by his Majesty in reply were as follows: "Ambassador! I have heard from Martino Alonso the loving demonstrations made to him by the Signory, and their goodwill with regard to desiring all happiness for me and the King my son; and it seems to me that they have taken the good road by writing to the Pope to dispose him to peace and quiet, and if they continue performing this office, as you have told me, the Pope will have regard for them, *and will abstain from playing the mad pranks he does, owing to his extreme old age* (et si rimoverà di far delle pazzie che fa per esser molto vecchio), *which may be said to have arrived at second childhood;" repeating to me several times these words, "That he was indeed old, and that in the midst of so much mischief this was a blessing;"* adding, "Ambassador! with yourself personally, and with the good offices which I know have been performed by you at this court and with the Signory, as written to me by Francisco Vargas, and told me orally by Martino Alonso, I remain very well satisfied, and wish you during your stay with the King my son to persevere in the same sincere disposition as evinced by you hitherto. To-morrow I shall depart for Zealand, there to await fair weather for my passage to Spain, to live in repose, and serve God as I ought; and shall always remain with that goodwill towards the Signory which I always have borne them, and which I promise on behalf of the King my son." I replied that willingly would I have completed the term of my legation with his Majesty, and have followed him both to Spain and to any other region whither he might have gone, not merely in obedience to your Serenity's commands, but from my own election, considering it great good fortune for me whilst serving the most serene Republic, to reside with an Emperor who, from so many heroic virtues, such very exalted conditions of fortune and

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so many undertakings heretofore so gloriously achieved by him, had very great fame in the world; but since it was his Majesty's firm will to withdraw himself entirely from worldly pomps and actions, and to make this voyage, I prayed the Lord God to grant him the grace to enjoy a very long life in the utmost prosperity, and to enable him to keep his mind in that great and secure, nay sole, repose which is attained by those who serve Him without guile, as I should believe his Majesty would do;* and that he might indubitably take with him this satisfaction, that what I had assured him of your Serenity's goodwill, and of your respect for him and the King, would always be verified by good operations for the future, such as he knew had been effected on past occasions; and humbly thanking him on my own private account for his opinion of my sincere mode of proceeding, I said that I had also to thank my good fortune for enabling me, whilst obeying your Serenity's commands, to render myself agreeable to his Majesty, of whom I then took leave, which was conceded me with loving and hearty words and gestures. The Ferrarese and Mantuan Ambassadors followed, being both called at the same time. To the one from Ferrara, when the complimentary phrases were ended, he spoke rather resentfully of his Duke, by reason of the many and divers things done by him to the prejudice of King Philip's territories by adhering to his enemies, saying he wished the ambassador to let him know that he nevertheless did not believe everything, and that it was no less for the Duke's interest to have the King for his friend than it was advantageous for his Majesty to be on good terms with his Excellency; and to the Mantuan Ambassador he spoke in honourable and loving terms, calling the Cardinal his "good friend," and Don Ferrante "a faithful creature" (*fedel creato*). The Portuguese Ambassador was the last to take leave of the Emperor, with whom he remained a short time, nor have I heard anything farther.

I visited the most serene Queens, making them offers in your Serenity's name, and wishing them a very prosperous voyage, &c., and was answered lovingly, especially by Queen Maria, who really seemed to think—such was the opinion of all the personages of these courts—that she was being addressed by the representative of a sovereign who, in these times, is sincere, and their Majesties' good friend.

Ghent, 27th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 28. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

588. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day at audience, in reply to my usual panegyric on peace, the Pope replied, "We have told you that our most earnest wish is for a good peace, and those who think otherwise of us think what is false, and the blessed God knows it; but the mischief is that we

* Come mi daria a credere che faria la Maestà sua.

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cannot ever rely on the Imperialists; we know them too well, and how ambitious they are of universal empire, and that they cannot keep what they hold in Italy except by tyranny and force, gnawing the vitals and drinking the blood of the poor, as they do; so we cannot tranquillise ourselves until rid of this plague; and may God forgive those who have let them commit so many impieties (*pie* (*sic*) [*impietà?*]; we are doomed to mourn the sins of others; *Patres nostri comederunt uvas acerbas, et dentes filiorum obstapescunt;* but we will not fail to do our duty, *viderint deinde alij, quid eis conducet.* We well know that when a neighbour's house is on fire every man must look to his own, lest the flames reach it; and we know that the Republics of Greece, each looking with delight on the conflagration of the other, without doing what it ought to have done, they were all consumed. Here there is no occasion to await greater or more manifest signs of their avidity, and desire to seize this city, and consequently the rest. Besides the sack of Rome, of which Charles denies having been the cause, and says he knew nothing of it, although his having kept the Pope and cardinals for 11 months in the castle of St. Angelo deprives him of this excuse; did he not, when he returned from Africa by way of Sicily, come to this city to make himself master of it? but Paul III. armed cautiously, and moreover succeeded in thwarting the design of Charles, who then contented himself with proclaiming his challenge to the King of France in Consistory, and having made it appear that he came for this purpose, he departed; having ever since, with the same intention of occupying the Papal States, supported those little traitor-curs of his (*quelli suoi cagnoletti traditorelli*), of whom we have rid ourselves; which touches him to the quick, as by securing ourselves hereabout (*d'intorno*) we deprive him of this accursed hope. Our predecessors have spent rivers of gold to exalt their bastards and nephews, and on other things, which displeased both God and man, and then brought ruin on their families. Would to God that the money had been expended in securing the Papal States and this city, on which we are intent; we a poor, decrepid old man, and compelled as we are to incur such great expense for soldiers, we are intent on fortifying the Castle and Borgo, and by God's assistance, and through the diligence of Camillo Orsini, who is a great captain, and skilled above all things in military architecture, we shall be in a state of defence, but by earth-works, which in the course of time it is our intention to face with masonry (*s'incamiserà*) the plans being already made for fortifying Trastevere likewise, and the whole city; so it may be said that there will be three fortresses connected one with the other. For this fortification the Romans contribute willingly as it is their safeguard, and from thence will ensue the enlargement of the city, which when strong will have a dense population; this being a government which resembles that of the Republic, where those who have certain means, and lead a good life, may be sure of enjoying them; for if a Pope does some mischief occasionally, the one who comes after him conducts himself well, if but for the sake of doing the reverse of his predecessor; nor in the next place is there anyone, let him be of what country or condition he may, but can have great hopes in

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Rome; besides the convenience of the site, and its vicinity to the sea; and as the population increases, the revenue both public and private will augment, as exemplified by your Venice; and we were told of yore when there, and we believe the amount at present to be greater, that the city alone yielded six hundred thousand crowns, whilst the entire kingdom of Naples, when not manipulated (*quando non era maneggiato*), produced no more, and therefore paid the church a tribute (*censo*) of 60,000, which was the tithes; but now they make it give more than two millions, and pay a hackney and seven thousand crowns per annum, in virtue of that dispensation of Leo [X. A.D. 1519] allowing it to be united to the Empire, contrary to the order of our most holy predecessors, who had great foresight. From this so much mischief ensued that it may be said, *Dominumque potentem imposuit.* Hence came the ruin of Italy, and the miserable sack of Rome. Now to tell you the whole, we shall continue to secure this city against being the prey of whoever may choose to come to it; about which, when speaking with Cardinal S. Giacomo, he told me that this fortification, precisely as we are constructing it, was predicted by the most blessed widow St. Brigida, to whom our Lord Jesus Christ vouchsafed to turn his face, as you must have seen by the crucifix in St. Paul's, which turns its face and eyes towards the place where that blessed woman stood in the act of adoration. Her visions were acknowledged, Cardinal Torre Cremata having been appointed to investigate them.* On hearing this from Cardinal S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], we determined to see the revelations, and sent for the book with the chapter marked."

Talking thus, he took it up, and keeping the book closed, he said, "Before you read the paragraph we will tell you, *in verbo veritatis*, that had we read it previously, we should perhaps not have entertained this thought, lest the world might say that we realized it in order to be considered the Pope who is foretold in that passage; but as the work has been commenced and is so far advanced, and this fortification being so necessary, we will continue it, for the sake also of not slighting the favour of God, for to confess the truth to you, after reading this, we were much satisfied and comforted, seeing the fortification described precisely as we intended constructing it."

With these words the Pope opened the book and gave it me, that I might read the paragraph, of which—indicating so clearly as it does the present fortification, which any person who knows the situation of "Borgo" will comprehend, and also to increase his Holiness' satisfaction—I asked him for a copy, to send (as I do with this despatch) to your Serenity. The Pope sent immediately for writing materials, and told my secretary to copy the passage, during

* The crucifix in relief, to which Paul IV. alludes, was carved by Pietro Cavallini, a painter, sculptor, and mosaic worker, born at Rome in 1259, and who had Giotto for his master. According to the vulgar tradition the crucifix "*spoke*" to Saint Brigida in the year 1370, a quarter of a century after Cavallini's death. This Saint Brigida, who is said to have been a princess of Sweden, must not be confounded with Saint Brigita, the Irish Abbess of Kildare in the 5th century. The "Revelations" of Saint Brigida, after being sanctioned by the Spanish cardinal, Torquemado (*alias* Torre Cremata), who died at Rome in 1468, were *published* at Nuremberg in 1521, and at Rome in 1557, which last edition was probably suggested by the fortifications described in this letter.

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which operation he asked me how the plague went at Venice, evincing great wish for the city to be quite rid of it. I told him things remained as they were, and that the fear of plague was perhaps greater than the disease itself, and that I hoped in God it would soon disappear. The Pope replied, "May He, the glorious and blessed, grant this of His goodness, and for the welfare of all Italy!"

When the paragraph was copied the Pope had it read to him, and said, "We will not omit to tell you that the houses which Saint Brigida says will be round the walls, have been already destined by Camillo Orsini for the soldiers, so that by remaining apart they may not inconvenience the city;" and after I had taken leave he added, "Offer the Signory our heart, replete with love and paternal good-will for her;" and when I asked him whether the Duke of Alva's envoy would remain long here, he said, "He will await our reply, which we shall give him in due season, and after mature consideration, although what he said to us was of very little importance."

Rome, 28th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

589. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Pirro dell' Offredo, whose arrival I mentioned in my letter of yesterday, went to audience on Thursday, accompanied by some 30 Roman horsemen, sent by the Pope as a mark of honour. He waited until 7 p.m., when the congregation of the Inquisition adjourned, and was then admitted to his Holiness, with whom he was heard to speak boldly, and they raised their voices to such a pitch that Misser Paulo* was obliged to close the wooden doors that they might not be heard outside. This gentleman was seen to depart much exhausted and enraged, and when one of the Roman cavaliers, his friend who had accompanied him, asked whether he brought peace or war, he replied, "Whichever the Pope pleases."

The letter from the Duke of Alva to the Pope, which was brought by Don Pirro, narrates very diffusely all the things done and said by his Holiness against the Emperor and King Philip, commencing with the time when he was Cardinal down to the present hour, showing that the Pope had no cause to do so; and that neither his Princes nor he, have the slightest thought of waging war on the See Apostolic or on his Holiness; but owing to this distrust, and seeing the Pope arm so stoutly, he prepared for defence, but with the intention (should means be found for trustworthy quiet, about which he referred himself to the Potentates of Italy, and principally to your Serenity and to the College of Cardinals) of giving entire satisfaction to his Holiness. I am also told that Don Pirro has another letter for delivery to the College of Cardinals, with orders to visit them, and that he has already been to the Cardinal "Decano."

* Misser Paulo Barona, *alias* Consiglieri, was "Maestro di Camera" of Paul IV., and one of the most virtuous men of his Court. In March 1557, the Pope gave the red hat to his brother Giovanni Battista de' Consiglieri "di Casa Barona," as appears in a despatch from Navagero, dated Rome, 20th March in that year.

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The French have at length sent a messenger with news of the resolve formed by the King of Spain about the affairs of Piacenza, which Cardinal St. Angelo [Ranuccio Farnese] announced yesterday evening to the Duke of Paliano, praying him to make it known to the Pope in the best form he could. The Duke said he dared not, but this afternoon he made the announcement, which enraged the Pope beyond measure; but the Duke sent to Cardinal St. Angelo, who seemed in great distress, telling him to be of good cheer, as his Holiness holds him guiltless in this matter, but implies that his brothers are in the worst possible odour. Here this step is considered of very great importance on many accounts, most especially as it is expected to increase the difficulty of effecting any adjustment of the present disputes.* It is said that King Philip restores Piacenza, but retains the citadel, giving back Navara† to the Duke, and Monreale to Cardinal [Alessandro] Farnese; he keeps the Duke's son as hostage, and allows the Duke to outlaw the murderers of his father from his dominions; but chooses them to enjoy their revenues there until Duke Octavio make them compensation through the revenues of Madama [Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V., and consort of Duke Octavio] in the kingdom of Naples, and certain feudatory fortresses in the Parmesan territory are to be destroyed.

Rome, 29th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

590. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday at about the vesper-hour, the Emperor's departure took place in a litter, for a palace distant a league and half from the sea, on his way towards Zealand. Almost the whole court went forth to accompany his Majesty, including the King, who is still with his Majesty, he having sent back all the others into this town, whose deputies, before he went away, made him a present of twenty-five thousand crowns for the voyage, many of the inhabitants having wished previously to kiss his hand as also did the members of the privy-council, the last of whom to perform which act was the Bishop of Arras, he throwing himself on his knees in the street before the litter, his countenance evincing great sorrow for this departure, as manifested indiscriminately by the discourse of all the ministers, everybody saying, as Don Ruy Gomez and Don Bernardino de Mendoza said to me, that they found no other reason that could induce his Majesty thus to do, except his having said he would do so; concerning which expression Don Ruy Gomez told me again that he had great hopes that perhaps the Almighty will not choose him to go, that the weather may become foul, or his Majesty have a sharp fit of the gout. He also said that this voyage was contrary to the wish of the King; and that without

* The date of the treaty whereby Philip II. made over Piacenza to his brother-in-law, Duke Octavio, is not given by the Venetian ambassador; but by the "Foreign Calendar, Mary," p. 271, it appears that the surrender of Piacenza was made in the third week of October 1556.

† Marquisate of Navara, see p. 603.

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transacting business the Emperor might well remain in these parts, where he would have been able to render great assistance to his most serene son by authority and counsel.

Yesterday the Nuncio received a courier with a brief from the Pope, desiring him to take leave of their Majesties and to return with all speed to Rome. He performed the office enjoined him with the King alone, and will depart in a week, having circulated a report that the Pope would send some one else in his stead, which, however, is not stated in the brief, but he says he had it in private letters, though no one believes this; and it is generally said that the Pope chose to recall him independently of other respects, seeing that he wrote and negotiated in a form the reverse of what his Holiness would have wished; and he complained to me of the bad character given him as being too staunch an Imperialist, vowing that in his letters all he aimed at was to preserve the peace.

Ghent, 29th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

591. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

Demands his recall, and assigns the reasons which entitle him to it.

Ghent, 29th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Senato Terra, vol. 40, p. 127. Venetian Archives.

592. Embassy in England.

Twenty-eight months have elapsed since our beloved noble Zuan Michiel has been ambassador with the Queen of England.

Put to the ballot, that election be made of another nobleman as successor to the said Ser Zuane.

To be eligible from any place and office, and the person elected may not refuse, under all the penalties contained in the Act of 1536 against those who refuse embassies to crowned heads; and besides the four months' salary in advance, which will be given him here, as usual, by the cashier of our Council of X, be there given to the agents left here by the said ambassador 180 golden ducats per month, so that our Signory may not incur any loss on this account by reason of the exchange; and be he bound to depart within the term appointed by the last act of this [Council] and the Grand Council which regulates the election of ambassadors; and with such commission as shall seem fit to this Council.

Ayes, 41.

Read to the College on the 25th May 1556. Read again on the 21st June. Read for the third time on the 3rd July. Read for the fourth time on the 28th August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

593. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The most Christian King, wishing to carry into effect the promise given by him to Cardinal Caraffa, has desired the agents of the Guadagni firm at Lyons, who trade under the name of Caponi and

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Rinuccini, to provide 290,000 crowns to make the deposit in Venice, sending them the securities (*li assegnamenti*), with interest at the rate of 16 per cent. as usual; and the residue required to complete the sum of 350,000 crowns promised by the King is to be placed to the account of the 60,000 crowns, which the Pope has already had for his necessities.

Morette, 30th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

594. Giovanni Michiel, Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The departure of the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Paget for Calais, and of the others for Dover, to meet the most serene King, which *according to the custom of this country* (*secondo lo uso di qua*), was determined on more instantaneously and hastily than the need required, failed subsequently to take effect, and has moreover so cooled as to be no longer mentioned and is scarcely thought of; and although by his last of the 27th ulto. the King confirms his wish to come, he nevertheless in what he writes to Cardinal Pole neither promises nor announces any intention of being here beyond that of coming as soon as he can get away, after the Emperor's embarkation and departure, without specifying either day or time, neither commending the Legate's journey to Canterbury to meet him nor consenting to it, in order, he says, not to remove him from the Queen, to whom his presence is so useful, as also that he the King may not be delayed or hindered when passing through that city. From these and other indications, no person of any grade, however inferior, having yet arrived on account of the King, or of any member of his court, although he must be preceded by many officials to provide necessaries, few of the English think he will come, or they expect his coming to be tardy, and without the court, merely to show himself (*per dar una volta solamente*), and for a few days only.

The payment of the loan was appointed to be made during the present month into the hands of the Queen's comptroller, which increases the suspicion and resentment* (querela) *of the people* (di costoro), *its exaction not having been assigned, like the other public taxes, to the Lord High Treasurer* (Tesoriere Generale),† *they being of opinion that this was done in order that the Crown might less scrupulously avail itself of the money through the hands of so very confidential a minister and creature of Her Majesty than through those of the Treasurer, who is a public official of the kingdom.*

Ecclesiastics of all grades, whether prelates or others, were not exempt from the loan, which was exacted irrespectively from all persons supposed to have the means of payment, whether citizens, merchants, or burgesses, though no one was taxed above 100*l.* nor under 20*l.* In addition separate loans have been obtained from private individuals, and the like will be done by all the chief cities, towns, and boroughs of the kingdom, London having a few days ago

* Sir Robert Rochester, Comptroller of the Household.
† William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester.

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contributed to the amount of 8,000*l.*, independently of what will be paid by the most wealthy of the City companies, who are rated for larger sums; so that the entire loan is expected to yield 400,000*l.*, or four times the original estimate.

Viscount Fitz-Walter, the new Lord Deputy (*Vicerè novo*) of Ireland, has gained a victory over the wild Irish (*quelli salvatici*), who, with the assistance of a number of Scots, had rebelled, and were ravaging the country. Lord Fitz-Walter in person attacked them with a large force, drove the Scots out of the island with great slaughter, and subdued the Irish, with the loss of only three or four of his own people; and thus for the present all is peaceable in that kingdom.

Sir John Masone, the ambassador of this Crown with the Emperor, having taken leave entirely, has returned from that court, an ambassador being no longer needed with his Imperial Majesty, who lately sent for from hence, to take with him to Spain, his former confessor Father Soto, who was public lecturer in theology in the university of Oxford, his departure paining the Queen, by reason of the service she received from him there, and yet more the Cardinal, who loved him most dearly above all the other (*sopra tutti gli altri*) [Spaniards?] by reason of his goodness and many virtues. He received handsome presents from both one and the other, and Cardinal Pole at his own cost had him accompanied across the Channel beyond the English territory.

London, 2nd September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

595. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday his most Christian Majesty told me the Emperor was to have embarked on the 28th ult., and that before he left Ghent he sent for the French Ambassador, and told him he had determined on going to Spain, and felt certain he should never return, wherefore he requested him to write to King Henry that as his son remained the heir of all his realms, he wished him to succeed to the goodwill borne by his Imperial Majesty towards the most Christian King, whom he prayed to return it to him in like manner, and the ambassador made a suitable reply and took leave. The ambassador also writes that his Majesty is in very bad condition, his pronunciation being impeded, and his hands and feet crippled; notwithstanding his mind was evidently very sound, although his memory seemed rather feeble. His most Christian Majesty added that, as I must have heard, the King of Bohemia had been to the Imperial court, and went away dissatisfied, and one day, when the French Ambassador was visiting him, his Majesty, with a very loud voice, so that many persons in the chamber heard him, did not abstain from openly expressing this his dissatisfaction to the Ambassador, to whom it seeming strange that he should speak in so loud a tone, he made him a certain sign, inviting him to lower his voice, which the King

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perceiving, his Majesty said, "No, no; I choose to speak loud, as here there are no Spaniards, nor will I have any of them; these being my Germans, with whom I choose always to proceed without reserve;" and, continuing his discourse, he said that he had never chosen to allude to the Emperor either about the things which belonged to him by right nor yet respecting favours, as he knew that had he demanded anything whatever, the Emperor would instantly have commenced about the renunciation of the Empire, to which the King of Bohemia would by no means condescend (*la quale in modo alcuno non voleva fare*), but that the Queen his wife had negociated, she demanding of his Majesty wherewithal to subsist, by giving her what belonged to her, and what he had promised her heretofore; which having moved the Emperor, he promised her for herself and her children (*dandogli quello che gli apparteneva, et altre fiate gli havea promesso; dal che mossa la M^ta^ Sua Cesarea, gli havea promesso per lei et soi figlioli*) 50,000 crowns annual revenue on the kingdom of Aragon, 50,000 on the kingdom of Naples, and 50,000 from another source not specified. *The King of Bohemia told the Ambassador, in conclusion, that he understood his most Christian Majesty purposed approaching the frontiers, in which case he wished for an interview with him, requesting the King to send one of his gentlemen to meet him on the road, in the territory of the Duke of Wurtemberg; wherefore his most Christian Majesty had despatched M. de Sipierre; and when I asked him whether he knew what the King of Bohemia wanted, he said, "Certainly not," adding, with a laugh, "It cannot but be something of importance;" and then, continuing, he said, "The Marquis Albert remains in Germany well satisfied, and writes me the most loving letters in the world, continuing to assure me that should I need infantry or cavalry I am to let him know, as he will bring me more than I want."*

I also asked the King what was brought by a courier who had come in haste from Rome, and he answered me, "The Pope is in distress, these Imperialists having pushed forward, but he has 16,000 infantry, and has no cause to fear, nor, according to my promise, will I fail him, so far as possible." Thereupon I said that the Pope's need seems very imminent, so that I knew not how assistance from his Majesty could arrive in time.

The King rejoined, "I certainly cannot do more than what is possible, but will not fail him with regard to money; the deposit is already made, and his Holiness can make use of it, and now also I will place a certain sum at his disposal, either on account of the said deposit or in addition to it, at the Pope's option, as I do not choose to fail him, and I believe I am doing what is agreeable to all the Princes of Christendom." He told me besides that his Holiness had commenced laying aside the violent language habitually used by him, having answered the Duke of Alva very becomingly, "and to tell the truth" (said His Majesty) "I had this office performed with his Holiness, as that mode of proceeding did not seem to me at all praiseworthy." So I requested his Majesty to let me know what he thought would be the end of this stir, as the advices varied so

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greatly that it was impossible to form a complete opinion (*intiero giudicio*).

His Majesty replied, "Such is assuredly the case, for whenever a hot advice arrives it is followed by a colder one, and sometimes they even make me remain in suspense, *though to tell you the truth I do not believe that matters will advance very far, both because I never thought that the Imperialists having seen that I should defend the Pope, his Holiness would attack the Emperor, and still less do I believe it now, since the departure of his Imperial Majesty, who, in truth, made all these motions with his council* (si perchè non ho mai giudicato che vedendo Cesarei che volea difender il Pont^ce, che egli volesse romper la guerra con sua M^ta Cesarea, et meno io lo credo adesso che sua Cesarea Maestà è partita, la qual per il vero faceva Lei con il suo cons^o. tutti questi moti); *but at any rate they will not find the Pope unprovided, and we shall wait to see.*" *I then inquired, "In case of any rupture* (qualche disconcio) *between the Pope and the King of England, would your most Christian Majesty consider the truce broken?" He replied, "The Imperialists would fain persuade me to the contrary, but I answer them that I know not whether they would see it in this light were I to seek to overpower any of the parties mentioned in the truce as their nominees, like the Pope and his family find themselves included amongst mine."*

As his Majesty continued conversing so freely, I, in order not to lose the opportunity, asked him in what state the affairs of the Duke of Parma were. He said, "The current reports have caused me some suspicion, but as I know the Duke Ottavio to be a man of honour, and likewise his whole house, but himself in particular, I have always been hard to believe that he would forfeit his honour, and by so much the more as my treaty with him speaks very clearly, and says that he and all his brothers are to be in my service *contra quoscumque*, with the exception of the See Apostolic, nor may they ever make an agreement or compact (*compositione*) with the Emperor or his son, even should they restore Piacenza, without my consent and especial leave; and the Duke ordered Virginio Orsini, who came hither lately, to tell me he would never do anything unworthy of his honour, and that he was always staunch for my service, and he made a similar announcement to the Pope, and sent him 200 of his cavalry; but I have despatched Forenoē (*sic*) to him, from whom I have as yet no reply, but expect it in a few days; and to tell you freely what I have in my mind, I am of opinion that had the Duke wished to form some resolve he would not have so long deferred it; but we will await the end, though should he bear me ill-will he would be in the wrong, as the world has seen what I have done for him, nor have I given him any cause of complaint."

After thanking the King for so long a communication, I told him it was reported that the Ambassador from Ferrara had arrived, and he replied, "It is true, but he is in Paris with the Prince, nor have I yet seen him; the which Prince is very ill, with double quartan ague." I inquired whether the Duke had yet decided; and he replied, "I do not yet know, but we are so linked together that he cannot fail, but neither can a man's nature fail to show

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itself," alluding to his being very close (*stretto*) where his profit was concerned.

Morette, 2nd September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 4. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 6 B.

596. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday Don Pirro went to the Pope for the reply, as his commission compelled him to depart. His Holiness said that on the following Wednesday he would give it. On that same day I had a copy of the letter which he brought to the Pope in Spanish,* and the translation, together with the Spanish copy of the one written to the College of Cardinals. The contents of the letter to the Pope are in substance such as given in my last, except the paragraph about the Duke of Alva's referring himself for the adjustment of these disputes to the Italian Princes.

I subsequently received your Serenity's letters of the 28th ulto., desiring me to let his Holiness know that to preserve your friendship with all parties you had conceded passage to 4,000 Germans at the request of the King of Spain. I sent to ask for audience yesterday, which the Pope appointed for 12.30 p.m., when I found him discoursing at table. He greeted me with a joyful countenance, saying I was to go into the audience chamber, and he continued his discourse, which was one of those usually made by him against the Spanish nation, vituperating their audacity in molesting the See Apostolic without any cause, except that of plundering Rome; and addressing the Roman cavaliers, repeated what he had said to them before, thus, "These Imperialists having sacked and dishonoured you once before, think they have obtained a right to return and do the like whenever the grass has grown sufficiently to afford them a good crop by cutting it; but don't lose heart, for God is on our side, and the time will perhaps have come for taking revenge. Who knows what God will do? Persevere in fortifying this city, for it is the best thing that has been thought of for the last thousand years; should it be necessary we will come with you to carry the barrel (*barilla*), as for the honour of this Holy See, and for the liberty of this city, we are prepared to risk our life a thousand times, were it granted us to be born again a thousand times; nor do we regret the cost of so good a work, to which we will make all the Papal States contribute, it being very fair for the members to assist the head. These Imperialists (*costoro*), alas, can no longer be tolerated; remember the injuries and shame inflicted on you by them, and that will suffice to rouse you from sleep; nor shall we otherwise consider you Romans, but men of the vilest nation in the world; in my opinion the contumely (*lo stratio*) is worse than the loss." His Holiness then commenced abusing the Imperialists according to his custom, calling them heretics, schismatics, a mongrel race of Jews christened a week ago

* An English translation of this letter may be read in "Foreign Calendar, Mary," pp. 249–251.

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(*sangue misto d'Hebrei batezzati da otto giorni*), who have encouraged heresy, and are so clearly convicted that what they have already done suffices for depriving them of Empires, Realms, and States; saying that it merely remained to make the publication, adding many other things of the sort so often written by me.

On rising from table the Pope passed through the audience chamber, and having made me a sign to wait, entered the library and sent for the reverend Bozzato* and Aldobrandini, which last when following the Pope into the library was accosted by the secretary of Cardinal Cueva, who made some demand in his master's name; and Aldobrandini, drawing him towards the window where I was, said to him in a very loud voice, "Write to your Cardinal to do me the favour to tell the Duke of Alva that by what he says in his letter to the effect that the protest made by me lately in Consistory was foul, iniquitous, and rash (*brutta, iniqua, e temeraria*), he lies by the throat (*se ne mente per la gola*)." The secretary being astounded went away, and Aldobrandini, drawing yet nearer to me said, "Old as I am, would to God that I could end the disputes with this Duke with sword and tabard (*con la spada e cappa*); should the affair proceed I will let him see what I can do, and will disclose to the world his wickedness, and that of his master." He then added "I ardently desire the return of Cardinal Caraffa, and an hour's delay seems to me a thousand years." In the meanwhile the Pope had a slight attack of dysentery, which detained him so long that the Cardinals of the Inquisition were kept some time waiting; so on coming out of his chamber he sent for me, and said, "You see our occupations, some of which, moreover, are unexpected; excuse us, and be pleased either to wait or to return on Saturday, as tomorrow Consistory assembles." I replied that as I thought his Holiness would be tired after the Inquisition, I would return on Saturday, preferring his convenience to everything else.

From what I have heard through several good channels, from Cardinals well affected towards your Serenity and my friends, the Pope entered Consistory to-day in a great rage, and without giving audience to anyone, commenced saying that he was but too much harassed by these enemies of God; that at first he had held the Duke of Alva in some consideration, although he did not know him even by sight, because his grandfather had been a great man, but now deemed him the silliest person living (*il più da poco che viva*), so ignorant and inconsiderate that if he had to fight him he should anticipate certain victory by reason of his stupidity (*dapocaggine*). His Holiness said that, by Count Valentino, Alva had written certain frivolous things to him, and wishing to reply advisedly, not choosing to call Consistory daily, he appointed four Cardinals, of whom, the Pope said, "we have greatly to complain, as they never said anything; nor can we but think ill of their disposition, and that they bear but little love towards this Holy See. The Cardinals are the 'Decano' [Bellai], Carpi, Morone, and Saraceno.

* In Navagero's Report of Rome (p. 391), the name of this Neapolitan is written Bozzuto, and the Florentine braggart who accompanied him to the Pope is there called Silvestro Aldobrandini. They and a certain Monsignor della Casa were the chief firebrands who kindled the war described in this correspondence.

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"We nevertheless replied, as God inspired us, and subsequently the Duke sent Pirro (we do not know whether he is descended from the King of the Epirots) with a letter, the most accursed that ever was read; arrogant, false, without substance, and without nerve, which we believe has been seen by everybody, for we understand that it is almost in print (*perchè intendiamo ch'è quasi in stampa*); and another to the College." This last he had read, adding, "We will reply, and as these four who were appointed by us did not do their duty, we have convoked you all, that even the juniors may ponder, and suggest something in congregation, which shall be assembled by us in two or three days; confer together, and discuss the matter. In the College you have an uncle of that Duke, and one of his kinsmen, namely, S. Giacomo and Pacheco; see if there is any mode of adjusting these difficulties with dignity—we no longer say for ourselves, as the Imperialists (*costoro*) outrage us, but for the See Apostolic,—and that they guarantee us against attack; as if we disarm, they who have usually a standing army might do the like in a few days; for should means be found, we would accept any fair agreement, nor would we mind (*e non ci curaremo*) releasing the prisoners, although they deserve fire and sword; and we moreover wish you to decide whether they have now made war on us, for we are informed that in the direction of Ponte Corvo and of Tagliacozzo they have crossed into our territory to carry off cattle."

When the Pope had finished, the right reverend "Decano" [De Bellai] rose to speak, but the Pope told him to hold his tongue. His right reverend lordship prayed the College to beseech his Holiness to let him say but two words, but the Pope again enjoined silence, and after giving the bishopric of Nepi to Fra Michiele of the Inquisition, he dismissed Consistory. One of these Cardinals tells me that San Giacomo and Pacheco told him they will go and tell the Pope that if he on his part will assure the Duke of Alva that he will not molest their Sovereigns' territories, they, S. Giacomo and Pacheco, will induce the Duke to give similar assurance in such form as possible, the only three modes which occur to them being either hostages, or merchants' securities, or a promise from the Italian potentates; but they doubt obtaining any good result, as matters have proceeded too far.

Rome, 4th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

597. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Spain returned to this town two days after he had accompanied the Emperor to the place where his Imperial Majesty embarked for Zealand, in which same place the Emperor gave him his blessing, and their Majesties took leave of each other with many tears. Since then the Emperor, together with the Queens, is residing on one of the islands of Zealand, called Arnemuiden (*Dermuia*), where the harbour is, and the ships destined to take him to Spain, are in number fifty-one, and will be joined by a

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number of merchantmen; nor is anything awaited but a fair wind, the present one being foul.

The Prince of Orange is said to have been commissioned by the Emperor to give positive notice of his departure for Spain to the Electors of the Empire, and to exhort them to hold the King of the Romans in the same account as they did the Emperor in person. Some persons attribute the Prince's delay to his having been rather unwell; some to his having had an express order not to set out until quite sure that the Emperor and all the ships are at sea; the Bishop of Arras likewise being desired not to send the seal to the King of the Romans until certain that his Imperial Majesty has set sail; whereupon the Vice-Lord-Chancellor of the Empire, and the secretaries, who are already dismissed, will depart, they having declared themselves authorised by the Emperor to enact several privileges before his departure for Zealand (*fino che ella non sia partita per Zelanda*). On the King's return, the ambassadors accredited to the Emperor, with the exception of the Nuncio, who took leave, went to tell him that they had been commissioned to remain with his royal Majesty; and I also performed the like office, saying your Serenity had desired me not to leave him until the arrival of the most noble Surian already appointed to his Majesty, who told me that as the Pope had said so publicly that he would deprive him of the kingdom of Naples, he had sent orders to the Duke of Alva not only to march to the frontiers, but to enter the territory of one who sought to injure him, and that owing to the crisis in Italy, he thought of sending for the ambassador accredited by him to your Serenity to obtain some information.

The Abbot of San Saluto [Parpaglia Vincenzo] has arrived here from the Court of France, to continue his usual custom of talking about peace with one King and the other, and also because he was commissioned by Cardinal Caraffa, at the hour of his departure, to let the ministers here know that if they will be the first to suspend hostilities, the Pope will do the like, and they will settle the disputes by negotiation.

The French Ambassador, also, went immediately to the King, making a similar statement, telling him that his most Christian Majesty offered himself as mediator for this negotiation, and had given him orders not to talk about peace with Don Ruy Gomez until he heard that a commission had been sent to the Duke of Alva to suspend hostilities. King Philip answered him, and Don Ruy Gomez gave the same reply to the Abbot, that he was most anxious for peace, and that if the King of France would undertake to bring things to such a pass as not to cause apprehension about the kingdom of Naples, he was content to charge the Duke to desist from war.

The Abbot told me that he had assured Don Ruy Gomez that the Cardinal of Lorraine had given him his word that the King of France would consent to make peace with the King of Spain; placing the Duke of Savoy in the State of Milan, his Excellency renouncing the rest of Piedmont and the county of Nice; and that Savoy be given to one of the sons of the King of France, with a daughter of the King of Bohemia for wife, their heirs to be always Dukes of Savoy; and that his Majesty would give his sister to the

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present Duke, whose children were to succeed in like manner; and, in default of heirs to either one or the other, such rights as their Majesties now have to revert to them. Don Ruy Gomez answered the Abbot that when an arrangement shall be made in earnest (*da dovero*) for discussing the peace, the answers will be so reasonable that both their Majesties may be satisfied with them; nor would he proceed to farther particulars, because the French Ambassador told the King that until the affairs with the Pope are settled nothing was to be said about peace.

Three days ago a servant of Don Antonio [De Zuñiga ?] came hither to inform the King that when intending to cross into Spain his master was arrested, as an act of reprisal for the seizure there of a Frenchman, said by the Spaniards to have been detected at Fonterabia secretly making plans of that town; concerning which matter the French Ambassador was spoken to, first by Ruy Gomez, and then by the King, showing him that this was done illegally; but although Don Antonio is one of his Majesty's chief gentlemen, it is nevertheless said that according to the agreement the truce cannot be broken for the sake of one or two private individuals.

The agent of Genoa tells me that the mission thither of Don Juan de Ayala was not (as he had been given to understand) so much for the purpose of visiting the Signory there and Prince Doria, as to devise some means, when conversing with that Prince, whereby to give the fleet a real commander (*un vero capo*) in lieu of his Excellency, as Marc'Antonio dal Carretto did not command it, and Gio. Andrea, son of the late Zanettino Doria, commanded his (*le sue*) [galleys ?] imprudently; it being of consequence at the present time to have the said fleet united, either to send it to succour Oran as intended, or as assistance for the affairs of Italy in case the King of France, delaring himself in favour of the Pope, should choose to send his fleet to harass the kingdom of Naples.

Ghent, 4th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Lettere del Collegio, (*Secreta*). File No. 20.

598. The Doge and College to the Venetian Ambassador in England.

By the authority of the Senate charge him to communicate, as usual, the enclosed advices from the Levant.

Vigore partis diei 3 supti.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

599. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The advices received from Naples, dated the 1st, state that the Duke of Alva was gone out of that city, and had sent the artillery towards San Germano, the troops on the frontiers being still reinforced; so here they continue to increase their forces, and the drummers perambulate the city daily, shouting "who will take [earnest] money (*chi vuol toccar danari*); and they are diligently fortifying. As Trastevere likewise is to be enclosed, those palaces which were to have been thrown down are made to contribute

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heavily, including the habitations of the Farnese family,* of the Prior of Rome, and many others, who are paying thousands. The cavalry of Parma and Mirandola, in number 150, have entered Rome, and in like manner yesterday the infantry and 50 horse from the Duchy of Urbino made their entry; all of which are considered good troops, and have been quartered in Trastevere, the Gascons being removed from thence, their consummate insolence exceeding that of the other soldiers; as they rob, murdering the men and ravishing the women, some serious disturbance is apprehended daily.

I understand that the Pope has taken very much amiss the agreement made by the Farneses, and dissembles it, this not seeming to him the fitting moment; nor can he tolerate that, when they were about to conclude with the King of Spain or had already done so, they sent word to him by an envoy that they had not yet done, nor would they do anything without his Holiness knowing and approving of it; which instruction (*instruttione*) having been shown to him by Duke Octavio's agent, the Pope kept it for himself, as it was signed with the Duke's own hand, nor would he give it back. The same agent has now returned to give account of the conclusion, going daily for audience, and to-day I saw him in the ante-chamber, where after waiting a long while he was dismissed, being told to return.

Rome, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

600. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

When I went to-day to the audience appointed me by the Pope, his Holiness said to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, you must have heard what we did yesterday in Consistory for the sake of administering a handful of correction to the Cardinals for these proceedings of theirs, saying we have a bad opinion of them, because when there is such danger of the greatest conflagration the world ever witnessed, they seem neither to care about it nor to give it a thought. We told them, almost in form of a protest, that we wished for their opinion as to whether these enemies of Christ, by invading and plundering our territory in the direction of Ponte Corbo and Tagliacozzo, have made war, or whether we are to expect something greater, besides the famous libel sent to us by that Duke of Alva, I mean his letter, of which you must have had a copy; it being so contemptuous and asinine (*tanto trascurata et asenesca*) that we may tell you we are fortunate in having to do with a most insolent and foolish man, and a simpleton (*cum homine insolentissimo, stullissimo, con un da poco*). This morning, one of the Cardinals wrote us a letter on this subject, but it does not satisfy us. We would fain have peace, but to enable us to obtain it we will so add to our forces as to defy the enemy's attack, and by so doing we think to do our duty by this gift received from above; and on the other hand, what is due to you and the other Princes of Italy, who would be

* This mention of the Farnese palaces corroborates the contents of the note at the foot of Cardinal Pole's letter, to which I have assigned the date of 15th September 1556 (*see* p. 618).

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weaker (*li quali sareste più deboli*) were we through our stupidity to allow them to occupy this State. We have put up with the insolence of these Imperialists (*di costoro*) and will still continue to do so, from the respect we owe to this sacred office, until the whole world shall say, 'What is this silly fellow the Pope doing, that he does not avenge the injury (*che fa questa bestiola del Papa che non si risente?*)—what is he waiting for?' and then we will go at them (*et all' hora daremo dentro*), and make them know that the delay will not have been for lack of courage, and we hope in God that He will assist us against these enemies of His, *qui fidem catholicam penitus evertere cupiunt.* His Divine Majesty has chastised other similar offenders; we hope He will do the like by them also, and who knows but that He may choose it to be in our time? His Majesty knows that this is contrary to our wish, as we desire peace, and would shed our blood for it."

Thereupon I said, "Holy Father, I will hope for the best, as is also hoped by the most Serene Signory since my announcement of the return of Messer Domenico del Nero, and that a person was expected in the name of the Duke of Alva, as it is not credible that the Lord God should leave your Holiness' desire for peace ungratified. His Divine Majesty will miraculously cause your Beatitude, though your extreme prudence, to find means for the adjustment of everything." "Christ grant it!" said the Pope; "but as we have told you heretofore, however much we cudgel our brains, it is impossible for us to imagine any form or way whereby to enable us to put trust in them; it would be folly were we to negotiate with this Duke of Alva; his Princes are far away; nor can we place trust even in them, for the father never kept faith (*non hebbe mai fede*), of which the son may be supposed to have still less. On the word of the Duke of Alva we will never rely, as, were he to break it, the Imperialists (*coloro*) would say, '*Why did the Pope believe him?*' or, '*He* (*Alva*) *was his* (*the Pope's*) *minister; we know nothing farther, go to him and get redress.*'

"This is the state of the case; should they touch us—but what use is it saying, should they touch us, when they have already done so?—we will turn the whole world against them, and the conflagration will be such as to consume everybody, so that there will be need for *unusquisque consulat rebus suis,* as, seeing this opportunity, even the Turk will arm him in like manner, and perhaps come overland; should this flame be kindled, there will be no one at liberty to extinguish it."

To this I replied, "Holy Father, by so much the more have I good hopes, as, with these eyes which see everything, your Holiness ponders the infinite misery which would result from such a war." The Pope rejoined, "What would you have me do? that I should allow myself to be annihilated? we have too many examples of their impiety before our eyes; they have also demanded from the Signory passage (*il passo*) for German troops." "Yes, Holy Father," said I, "for 4,000 men, and the Signory, choosing to remain neutral, could not refuse it, and has commissioned me to inform your Holiness." "Answer them," said the Pope, "that *boni consulimus* (*sic*), as we believe that they will not fail doing the like by us."

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I replied, "Most Holy Father, the Republic will never fail to act as becomes its respect for this See Apostolic, and especially for your Holiness individually, and according to the Signory's wish to remain at peace with all parties."

The Pope said, "We choose to believe it, and if they concede these things (*et se le danno*) to the enemies of Christ and of Italy, why should they not give them to us for the defence of the religion and of this afflicted province? and were they to do otherwise, we would make ourselves heard in such a manner as becoming." And here, most Serene Prince, the Pope's countenance, and pronunciation of these words, displayed evident dissatisfaction at this passage-permit.

His Holiness added, "We pray God to inspire the Republic to direct herself well, and to do what shall be expedient in so great a conflagration as this will be; and that she may be the better able thus to do, we tell you that on the arrival of our nephew the Cardinal we shall know what will be in our power, as although the slightest offer made us by the King was that of coming in person to our assistance, as one who is a friend in deed, and not merely in word, and who has been exalted by God that he may oppose these other accursed heretics, yet are there certain things which cannot be sent through couriers or other persons, but will be announced by the Cardinal, who, through the familiarity contracted by him with the King, has discovered the heart of his Majesty, who, when he gave him leave (as told us by a person who was present, and came overland express,) wept abundantly; and we shall have the means for raising a larger and braver army than the Imperialists (*che loro*), in addition to which (although they do not expect it) they will have work to do elsewhere than here; we promise you that they will have turmoil in every quarter." And putting his hand to his heart, he said, "Believe us, for we know what we tell you." With this he dismissed me.

Rome, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

601. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

The Abbot of San Saluto tells me he went to day to complain to Don Ruy Gomez that the Bishop of Arras had had it intimated to him that he was to depart from this Court as soon as possible, informing him that otherwise he would be dismissed with little honour to himself, having come without any apparent commission, either from Cardinal Caraffa or the Cardinal of Lorraine (*nè di quello di Ghisa*), to negociate so important a matter as that of the peace; telling him that if such was the case, his Majesty chose him to depart to-day. Ruy Gomez entered the King's chamber forthwith, and coming out again immediately, answered Parpaglia, not only that such an order had never been given by his Majesty, but that he was very glad he had taken the trouble (*pigliato cura*) to come hither and treat about a matter so necessary for the advantage and honour of Christendom, saying he could not believe that the Bishop of Arras had sent to tell him things of such a nature, and charging

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him not to depart, and to suggest what he thought suitable for the conclusion of the peace. The Abbot told me that to free the King from the present suspicion about the affairs of Naples, through fear of the Duke of Paliano, and to compensate the Pope and Duke for that Duchy, he suggested giving him Sienna (the Emperor having given him authority over the affairs of that city); and that Paliano should remain under the Church, on condition that Marc' Antonio Colonna be allowed to exercise his rights. To this proposal Don Ruy Gomez replied that he was to go back to France, and tell Cardinal Caraffa that should his most Christian Majesty determine to give Mont' Alcino and other places dependent on Sienna to the Duke of Paliano, an answer would then be given him; and the Abbot told me that he was to go again to Ruy Gomez about the matter of the Duke of Savoy, as written by me yesterday, and then depart immediately for France.

To-day the King desired Don Cæsar (the brother of the Marquis of Pescara) and the Count of Landriano to hold themselves in readiness to return postwise to Milan, as he has given several orders for the benefit of that state, at the request of the said Marquis and the Cardinal of Trent, in case the King of France break the truce in order to favour the Pope. To the Count of Landriano he has given the town of Pandino with 800 crowns rental, and to Gio. Batta. Gastaldo he has conceded the favour of transferring to his son his company of men-at-arms; whilst to the Santa Fiora (Sforza) family, for their deserts, 6,000 ducats annual revenue have been given for partition amongst them; 6,000 more being divided between Marc' Antonio Colonna and his mother. Count Mansfeldt has come here on parole, having lodged security for 25,000 ducats with the Frenchman whose prisoner he was, to ask the Emperor, before his departure, for pecuniary assistance, or for some prisoner to pay his ransom with, he having been captured in the Imperial service; so his Majesty, being well satisfied with Mansfeldt, sent word to King Philip to provide for him.

The French ambassador is now negotiating the release of the Duke de Bouillon, by giving almost the same ransom as was paid by the Constable's son; but the demand made by King Philip was 80,000, which he reduced to 70,000, destined by him for the Duke of Savoy, as compensation for the expenses incurred by him heretofore when General, and for his other credits; but the ambassador would not promise farther, Madame de Valentinois, the mother-in-law of the Duke de Bouillon, having written to him that she could not exceed 40,000.

Some days ago the Duke of Savoy went to Brussels to persuade the deputies of Brabant (who had assembled there, not having chosen to come into Flanders, to avoid infringement of their privileges) to contribute a donative demanded for the King, as the other states had already done, and to treat the mode of defence of these provinces, in case of war with France. From what his Excellency writes, he found them very determined (*molto pertinaci*) not to consent to the demand, saying they have requested to see the accounts of what has been already expended, and the reform of the courts of law; for which reasons the Duke has been unable as yet to despatch this

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business, and he writes to the King that their obstinacy is such that he suspects his Majesty will be compelled to go back to Brussels if he wish to make them change their bad intention.

It is asserted by a Spaniard who has come from Zealand, being in the service of the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty was heard to say, that unless the weather now become quite fair for his voyage to Spain, he has resolved, not to come back either to Ghent or Brussels, but to proceed in preference to England to await a fair wind there; which words confirm the opinion always entertained by many persons that his Imperial Majesty purposes effecting something in that kingdom for the benefit of his son.

Ghent, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

602. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning the King heard from the Emperor that the weather gave signs of being fair for his voyage to Spain; so his Royal Majesty said that although he had taken his last leave of his Imperial Majesty, he will go postwise to-morrow to see him. The Spaniards announce that the money-bargain with the delegate from the feudatories of the Indies has been concluded in the form told me by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, as mentioned in my former letters. Yesterday the King's confessor and some other ecclesiastics were sent for into the Council of State to consult about what provision could be made in case the Pope excommunicate King Philip, lest the inhabitants of these provinces either become over-alarmed on this account, and do not yield him that obedience and those subsidies which they do at present, or else alienate themselves from the Church in such a form that it would then be difficult to make them return to the obedience of the See Apostolic; nor is it known as yet that any resolve has been formed.

The French ambassador has told Don Ruy Gomez, as he moreover tells everybody else indiscriminately, that he is commissioned by his King to let King Philip know that if he breaks with the Pope, his most Christian Majesty will not fail to give his Holiness every assistance in his power. The ambassador from Ferrara has been commissioned not to leave this Court according to his first orders, but to remain with the King until he goes to England.

Ghent, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

603. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

[First invasion of the Papal territory by the Imperialists.]

Captain Flaminio della Casa arrived this morning from Paliano express, with news that yesterday, at 6.30 p.m., Ascanio della Cornia with three cornets of horse invaded the Papal territory, stripping the company of Trentacoste-da-Camerino, capturing the captain and ensign (the company being on its march from Poffi (*sic*) to Veruli), and Poffi and another unimportant place surrendered themselves. The Duke of Alva is at Ponte Corvo. The Urbino troops

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are now marching out of Rome, and it is said that Gio. Anto. Torazzo, who in Ascoli, will be ordered to make a diversion in the Imperial territory.

Rome, 6th September 1556, 2h. 30m. p.m.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

604. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

The French ambassador, having received a courier from France, went immediately to the King, telling him that his most Christian Majesty, having heard that the Duke of Alva had got free commission to attack the Pope, suggested two things for the consideration of the King of Spain before the Duke proceeded to extremities, the one being that he offended God by offending His Vicar, the other that he thus gave cause for breaking the truce, the continuation of which seemed impossible, as the King of France chose to assist the Pope, the King of Spain, on the contrary, being determined to harass him; so he must not be surprised if in Piedmont, Corsica, and on these frontiers his King make such provision as usual on suspicion of war.

His Majesty replied that the abusive language uttered by the Pope, and what he had done against the Emperor his father and himself, had before now given cause for sending such orders to the Duke of Alva; that by now moving with reason against his Holiness he did not believe himself to be committing an offence against God; and that with regard to the truce, having sworn to it religiously, he would observe it inviolably until compelled by necessity to do the reverse, in which case he hoped, with God's assistance, to preserve his own States and injure those who sought to injure him.

The ambassador performed the same office with Don Ruy Gomez, who made him the same reply.

A courier also arrived yesterday from Spain with letters from the Princess, the Emperor's daughter [Regent of Spain], and from his sister the Queen of Portugal, purporting that the Turks and Moors had taken a citadel near Oran, of which fortress they give a bad account, as by sea it is blockaded by 40 Turkish galleys and 20 other vessels, and the Moors surround it on land.

The Queen's letter is written in very strong terms, expressing regret and surprise that neither of their Majesties should have taken to heart the transmission in due season of the necessary supplies, and that what the Catholic King conquered with so much difficulty* should be so easily lost.

These advices also announce the preparation making by M. de Vendôme on the borders of Navarre for the recovery of that kingdom, which the Spaniards consider a manifest proof of the intention of the King of France to break the truce, and since the arrest of Don Antonio de Zuñiga the French have seized four or five other honourable Spanish gentlemen.

* For an account of the taking of Oran by Cardinal Ximenes in the year 1509, see Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella" (vol. 2, chap. 21).

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Several letters brought by this same courier mention great mortality in Seville from pestilential fever, and scarcity of grain at Granada and other places in Spain, where wheat cost from 8 to 10 ducats the "*soma.*" The inhabitants of Aragon request the King to send them an Italian viceroy, not choosing any longer to be governed by a native of Castille. The Bishop of Arras has gone to Zealand, Queen Maria having sent for him. Queen Eleanor has a violent fever, and all I hear of the Emperor is that he will make the voyage with the first fair wind, and that he has sent for a good quantity of biscuit, much of the supply shipped lately being exhausted. The King will not go to him, the weather having ceased to be favourable for his passage.

Ghent, 7th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

605. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Abbot of San Saluto writes to Cardinal Pole that the affairs of the peace between the Emperor and King and his most Christian Majesty are proceeding so as to promise hope of adjustment.

The Queen, thank God, is so well that for several months she has not been better, as, besides health, her cheerful mien (which was not the case previously) shows that she is very sure of her consort's speedy return, this having been confirmed to-day by the illustrious Legate, on the authority of advices which have made both one and the other entertain this belief, though hitherto private letters, on the contrary, allude rather to delay and procrastination.

London, 8th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

606. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador from Ferrara returned to his most Christian Majesty, and so brings back word that his Duke seeing the difficulties raised by his most Christian Majesty in fulfilling the agreement conceded him, he believed it for his advantage not to exceed the terms proposed him by the King; and as his Majesty thinks it detrimental for him to execute the aforesaid agreement, he remains content.

There arrived subsequently Signor Eucherio San Vitali, sent to his most Christian Majesty by the Duke of Parma, with the agreement stipulated between the King of England and his Duke, to the effect that the King gives him Piacenza and its territory, reserving the Castle, whose garrison will be paid by the Duke; and he also restores that part of the Parmesan territory which was held by his Majesty, the Duke being bound to destroy the fortresses there, with the exception of Borgo-San-Donino, and having permission to keep any amount of garrison he pleases, both in Parma and Piacenza, the Marquisate of Novara being also restored to him, the Bishopric of Monreale to Cardinal Farnese, and all her revenues to the Duchess; his Excellency's son going to reside at Milan, with a promise that they will give him for wife one of the daughters of

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the Duke of Florence. The Signor Eucherio then added that the Duke had commenced this negotiation about a year ago, but that it was never on the point of adjustment until within the last month, as his Excellency had informed his most Christian Majesty, who might rest assured that the Duke, remembering the many benefits received from him, would never do but what was agreeable to his Majesty, and that, in this resolve, he had merely promised the King of England to be neutral.

The most Christian King answered San Vitali that the Duke by commencing this negotiation a year ago had acted contrary to the treaty with him, which stipulated that he could not commence any agreement without acquainting his Majesty with it; the treaty being in like manner vitiated by the conclusion of the agreement, which, according to the articles of the treaty, he could not effect without his Majesty's leave; that his Majesty knew that had not Hironimo da Campeggio been so seriously indisposed at the court of the King of England, the resolve would have been formed even sooner; and that with regard to the offers made by the Duke, his Majesty would not give any further reply for the present, awaiting facts. San Vitali rejoined, that as to the treaty he did not know its particulars, but respectfully besought his Majesty to remain with his mind at ease for six or eight months, until he should see what might be done by the Duke, who wished to be his servant.

San Vitali spoke afterwards with the Constable, who reproached him greatly with the many obligations which ought to have bound the house of Farnese to his Majesty, his discourse evincing some anger; and when performing similar offices with other personages of the court, Cardinal Chastillon [Odet de Coligny] spoke to him openly, and said how ungratefully the Duke had behaved to his Majesty, with many other words showing how much cause the King had to be angry; the which Cardinal being the Constable's nephew (*nepote*), and much in his confidence, it is inferred that he would not have uttered these words unless by his Excellency's will.

This resolve formed by the Duke is held in great account, and is supposed to have been principally caused by Cardinal Farnese, who for some time has not been trusted by this court, because the most Christian King having preferred the Cardinal of Ferrara to him, both for the protectorate of this kingdom, as also in the affairs of the Popedom, he evinced dissatisfaction; and the Constable has said repeatedly that his right reverend lordship is too ambitious; the Cardinal on his part having some time ago intercepted letters written by the Constable to Marshal Strozzi when he had the command in Tuscany, desiring him not to trust the said Cardinal, all which causes are supposed to have irritated him. But be this as it may, this resolve is held in great account; *and it seems that all his most Christian Majesty's designs about the affairs of Italy are impeded, as he must not only form fresh projects for those of Tuscany, which are supposed to be in danger, but also for those of Rome and Piedmont, though as yet the only visible resolve is* that shortly before the arrival of San Vitali, a courier from Ferrara

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having already brought the news, an express was despatched privily to Rome, and it is believed that the Pope will make some stir against the Farnese family, whose servants here believe it, as they say that when Cardinal Farnese quitted Rome he dropped some hint of this negotiation to the Pope, who then seemed to commend it greatly, but subsequently, on hearing that it was drawing to a close, his Holiness uttered very bitter words against those lords; *and his most Christian Majesty will perhaps even urge the Pope to form some resolve, it being believed that at any rate the King will adjust* (concorderà) *the Ferrarese treaty; and that he has, moreover, commenced treating secretly to bring over to his allegiance the Cardinal of Mantua and the Duke, and Don Ferrante likewise, but the negotiation is considered very difficult.* A secretary of the aforesaid Cardinal Farnese has come to perform the same office with the King as San Vitali, and as when his Majesty gave him the bishopric of Cahors it was said that if at any time an opportunity offered for him to get back Monreale, he was to resign Cahors to his Majesty's Keeper of the Seal, reserving a pension on it of 2,000 crowns, he has now sent to make the aforesaid resignation.

Morette, 9th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7, B.

607. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

News has arrived that the papal town of Frosinone on the borders, in a very strong position, had been occupied by the Imperialists. This fortress, in the time of Pope Clement, defended itself against the Imperial army, but its present garrison, consisting of three companies, abandoned it because they had neither ammunition nor other defensive stores, although it was abundantly supplied with victuals for upwards of a year; and the troops withdrew to Paliano.

On hearing this intelligence, the Pope called congregation of all the Cardinals, before whom he made Pirro Offredo appear, and state his commission, which was in conformity with the letters brought by him, and sent by me to your Serenity. On going out from congregation, whilst descending the stairs, he was arrested and taken into the Castle. In Consistory the Pope announced the arrival of the Duke of Alva at Ponte Corvo, the stripping of the company of Trentasette, and the capture of Frosinone. He said that it was no longer time to talk of peace, but to provide for war, to which effect they were to arrange to give him all the assistance they could as in duty bound, most especially horses and arms. The Cardinals replied, that they would not fail to spend all they had, for his Holiness' service; and when congregation was dismissed, Cardinal S. Giacomo remained in the palace with the Pope, and Pacheco with the Duke of Paliano, to discuss the possibility of devising some form of adjustment, they promising to exert themselves with the Duke to obtain amends from him for what took place; but it does not seem that means were found for

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doing any good. In the mountains of Abruzzi, the Imperialists also took all the cattle belonging to the Romans, which were there in very great number, upon trust; the Romans purchasing the right of pasturage there, and the venders guaranteeing the animals. The troops who took Frosinone, after leaving a sufficient guard there, and taking some other insignificant little places, went under Veruli, where they made an assault, which was repulsed with the loss of some of their men; but subsequently, the garrison not having the necessary stores, and their small stock of powder being exhausted, they surrendered on condition of their lives being spared; and their captain, who is considered a good soldier, by name Bargello, being made prisoner, the soldiers were locked up in a church, and after being disarmed received permission to depart; nor were the people of the town molested in any way. Persons acquainted with Frosinone and Veruli, say that had they been suitably provisioned they would have held out. The Urbino troops have been recalled into Rome by the Duke of Paliano, who sent some other companies in their stead to Anagni,* which place has been entered by Torquato Conti, a Roman gentleman who distinguished himself on the borders of Picardy when in the service of France; but not being sufficiently supplied with powder, lead, &c., its defence is considered doubtful.

Cardinal Caraffa arrived at Civitavecchia on the 7th instant, and came post-wise to Rome in the evening, when he went in his boots to kiss the Pope's foot. His Holiness evinced very great satisfaction, and embraced and kissed him a thousand times; and the Cardinal said that at a more convenient moment he would narrate to his Holiness the goodwill of the King of France towards this See Apostolic, and all the other necessary particulars. He came in two days from Antibes to Rome, with twenty galleys, and was accompanied by Marshal Strozzi (who is indisposed), M. de Lansac, the soldier Monluc (*Monluch il Soldato*), and by many French gentlemen, with eight companies of Gascons, said to be 1,500 in number. It is believed that Monluc will go and take the command of the fortresses held by the King in Tuscany; but the gentlemen will serve the Pope, as men-at-arms.

The Cardinal of Pisa has also arrived, he having accompanied Cardinal Caraffa from Lyons.

Rome, 11th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

608. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day at 10h. 30m. a.m., immediately on my entering the chamber, his Holiness said to me, "Will you now give us some credit? will you at length comprehend that what we told you about the treachery of the Imperialists (*di costoro*) is true? Is it indeed manifest to the world that they have made war on the See Apostolic? and you continue laughing at it, and allow yourselves

* There are many notices of Anagni in the Foreign Calendar, Mary, and their exactness is fully confirmed by Navagero's despatches.

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to be cajoled by them, and do not perceive your ruin, which is at hand! They demand passage for Germans, to annihilate you, and you grant it them." I said, "Holy Father, the most serene Signory could not do less, wishing to maintain the friendly terms on which she is with all parties, that being her object; in addition to which, it would be impossible to prohibit it, owing to the roads they have in many places and in the Republic's territory, a fact of which your Holiness is aware from experience."

This argument convinced and pacified him completely, and he then continued, "These enemies of God have commenced a war to destroy the Catholic faith and the liberty of Italy, anticipating tyrannical dominion over the whole of this wretched province; these are projects formed 40 years ago, and people are found who ridicule them. We will do what we can to prevent the attainment of this their accursed will, and we trust in God, who can assist us more than all others. The fact is, that perceiving such great carelessness on your part, and that of others, for the common weal and the impending danger, and that you remain contemplating your neighbour's misfortune, we suspect that God purposes punishing Italy for some sin committed heretofore; as when His Majesty wills to chastise anyone, He first of all deprives them of their reason. This we choose to have told you, because to you in great part poor Italy will attribute the injury received by her; and we leave this upon record, *Deo, cœlo, elementis, et hominibus.*

"We speak to you thus, not for our own interest (as we will patch (*reppezzaremo*) that as well as we can), but for the common weal. These Imperialists bear you greater hatred than they do us. You, indeed, know what part of your territory they claim, and what we told you about the answer given by us to them, thus, that you are Venetians, and hold by right the province of Venice. Believe us, they intend to make the whole of Italy one colony, and they commence with the weakest part, because were they to commence with you they would encounter greater difficulty and general resentment on behalf of the other Powers; but should they be able to seize the Papal States, they will attack you immediately, and whatever mischief they might do you, you would deserve yet greater. Pardon us for speaking to you in this manner, magnifico ambassador, as it proceeds from the love we bear you, and from your impending peril, and when in the midst of it you will regret not having believed us. Do you not perceive how much they possess in Italy? the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Tuscany, the greater part of Lombardy, Liguria—what else do they want but our State and yours, in which are the remains of the majesty and dignity of this afflicted province! You are in a corner, with a ray of hope from the sea, like the frogs, who, when pursued by land, jump into the water.

"We know for certain that *canimus surdis*, but choose to justify ourselves by having said it; speaking with you who represent the entire body, and will, we think, write it. God knows that we love the Republic, like the State itself of the See Apostolic, and wish the Signory to rule itself well; praying God, indeed, not to permit that when thinking to benefit ourselves you make some mistake, fraught

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with your own destruction and ours, and that by putting your own head in the fire you make us also do the like. Who does not know that they have plenty of fine words, and that if you chose they would promise you whatever you could demand? You are now good and fair in their eyes, but when they have done their business, by God! they will make you pay scot ten times over (*per Dio che vi faran pagar il scoto a dieci doppie*). You well know their treachery, if you choose to know it. We will pass over the leagues of Cambrai, and other old stories; cannot the affair of Prevesa enlighten you? Remember how that 'White Moor' (*quel moro bianco*) treated your most powerful armada,* and then to what extremity of famine they reduced you, by refusing the promised exportation of grain,† which enormous iniquity, at the time it was perpetrated, broke our heart. Can you forget the breach of faith about Castel-Nuovo?‡ which took place by the will of God, as it led those rascally Spaniards to that miserable end which they made."

At this point the Pope, stopping short in the middle of the chamber, said, with great vehemence, "Is it possible that they will not rouse themselves, and comprehend by facts the ill-will of these . . . . . ." (repeating the terms used by him to me on other occasions), "as for what other purpose did they permit the increase of Luther's heresy, unless it were to depress this See Apostolic, and thus make themselves masters of Italy? and the Signory remains aloof, laughing at this (*et se ne stanno a rider*); and there are persons who believe them, and apologise for what they are doing, yet is it manifest to the world that they—and not we, as they wish to have it believed—moved the war (*hanno volto la guerra*), doing so, moreover, treacherously, as whilst giving us words here through Pirro dell' Offredo (whom we have had put in the Castle) they pushed forward and occupied the towns of the Church, as you know, by which injury they have conferred on us the benefit of showing the world that we were not anxious for the war, but that they wage it on us without any just cause. We will endeavour to defend ourselves and to hold the important places, as to attempt the protection of each village would require 100,000 infantry. We know not what end God will put to these affairs, but we indeed pray His Majesty not to allow us to deviate from His holy will, as we desire nothing else, and are then prepared to receive from His powerful hand whatever it shall please Him to send us, hoping that His infinite goodness will not choose to hold *virgam pecca-*

* On the 8th February 1538, a league against Sultan Soliman was formed between the Pope, the Emperor, and Venice. On the 29th September in that year the allied fleets attacked Prevesa, but the Imperial Admiral, Andrea Doria, rendered the expedition fruitless. (See Andrea Morosini, vol. 2.)

† This suppression of the export-permits for grain from Sicily and Naples is also recorded by Paruta, part 1, p. 432.

‡ The Spaniards would not consign Castel Nuovo to the Republic until it was at the last extremity; the Venetians then refused it, and the Spanish garrison surrendered to Haridan Barbarossa in August 1539. Great part of the commanders and soldiers, who were all either killed or sent to the galleys, were present at the sack of Rome in 1527, and therefore both Paul IV. and the historian were of opinion that the Turk avenged the injuries done to Clement VII. and his subjects twelve years previously. (*See* Andrea Morosini, vol. 2, p. 105.)

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torum super sortem justorum." I then said, "Holy Father, no better hope than this can be given us, nor will the Lord God abandon your Holiness."

The Pope then said that the Duke of Alva continued talking of peace, his Holiness adding, "as they did by means of that Offredo; they speak of peace, and wage war on us; but it is no wonder, this being the peculiar and natural conduct of these traitors, *nullum non lapidem moverunt*, even such as relate personally to ourselves, —you see the affair of the Farneses and of Ascanio della Cornia."

Knowing that the Cardinal S. Jacomo was waiting for audience, I then said that Cardinal S. Jacomo, the Duke of Alva's uncle, might produce some good effect, and comfort everybody. The Pope replied, "He can do nothing, although he seems a good friend, as the Duke acts by order of his Princes; we know it, and have had a copy of their consultations; we tell you that they intend to occupy the whole of Italy, because it does not seem to them to hold (*perchè non li par tenir*) that part which *tyrannice possident*, unless they set foot on the neck of everyone." And then, stamping on the ground, he continued, "We deeply lament that this ill-will being so manifest, it should not be credited, and therefore we fear some judgment from God, which you who by the law of nature are destined to survive us will witness, and then confess that we told you the truth." After saying that I prayed God to preserve his Holiness for many years, I asked him whether the Imperial army was brought together, and if any stir was heard of in Tuscany. He replied, "They are still mustering, and the Duke of Florence has raised certain troops, and garrisoned his places on the borders; for although *addictus* to the Imperialists (*a costoro*), he does what everybody who has territory and wishes to preserve it ought to do, by making provision in so horrible a conflagration as is kindled by these enemies of God."

Rome, 11th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

609. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Such a panic prevails in this city that everybody is endeavouring to escape, but great vigilance is used at the gates to prevent the departure of anyone. Besides the soldiers, artisans likewise are sent to work at the bastions; the monastery *del Popolo* is tottering (*è ridotto in pontelli per andar giù*), and the poor friars are also in fear for the church. The Roman Government (*questi Signori*) content themselves with holding, in the direction of the kingdom of Naples, Velletri under the command of the Duke of Soma, and Paliano, which is held by Giulio Orsini, both of whom demand succour of troops and ammunition. Last night they made the Gascons, who accompanied Cardinal Caraffa come, into Rome, and they are quartered in Borgo. Matteo Stendardo, late the Pope's seneschal, and who it is now said will have charge of the cavalry, has been to the stables of the Cardinals and marked such as he thought good ones, a proclamation having been issued for all who have horses to present them within three days under penalty of

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100 crowns to the aforesaid Signor, that he may mark such as are good and desire their owners to keep them in condition, so that when wanted they may be fit and fresh (*belli et freschi*). It is said that the best will be given to the French gentlemen who came with Cardinal Caraffa, they having to serve as men-at-arms, and the others will be for the mounted harquebusiers, of wnom 500 must be raised.

They are attending to pecuniary supply, and have made a list of prelates and wealthy merchants, to each of whom according to their means they have assigned two or three knighthoods of the Lily, the revenues of which to be derived from an increase of the gabels, and, however unwillingly, they are compelled to purchase them, in addition to which a loan of thousands of crowns is demanded from the richest of them, there being also a talk of depriving everybody of their silver utensils, and the treasurer has assured me that before touching the sum deposited in the Castle the Pope will have recourse to every possible expedient. Yesterday, the Romans having been requested to raise a certain sum of money, they in council imposed a tax of one quatrino on every pound of meat in Rome for three years, for which they will contract, and hope to derive a considerable amount. Here they are paying many more soldiers, perhaps twice as many, than those really in existence; the grade of captain is given to men who never were in action, and others who never saw a pike or a harquebuse pass for soldiers.

Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Paliano, Marshal Strozzi, the French Ambassador, and M. de Lansac, have frequent consultations, which are held in Cardinal Caraffa's apartments in the chamber of the Marshal, whose double tertian ague continues.

I have been to visit the Cardinals Caraffa and Pisa, by both of whom I was greatly caressed, and after offering his services both public and private, Caraffa told me of the French King's good-will towards the See Apostolic, whose eldest son he might be styled; mentioning also the great honours received by him from his most Christian Majesty, and that from time to time he had communicated the events there to your Serenity's ambassador, whom he found very affable and discreet. Pisa, after the usual compliments, told me he regretted extremely having been unable to go and speak with King Philip, as he had relied on rendering him as friendly and affectionate towards the Pope as any sovereign whatever, but that he comforted himself with having obeyed the commands of his superior.

Four days ago the secretary of Marquis Sarria, the Emperor's Ambassador, was arrested.* The cause is unknown. The Marquis left him here when he went to Sienna, and according to report letters from him to the secretary were intercepted at the Porta del Popolo, some persons saying that the secretary (who at the suit of the Cardinal San Giacomo was released this evening) had been compelled to give up his cipher.

The day before yesterday the Pope sent for Cardinal St. Angelo [Alessandro Farnese], who, leaving his attendants in distress, obeyed

* This arrest is mentioned by Sir Edward Carne (who says the secretary was tortured), date, 17 September. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 234.)

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the order with great fear of being put in the Castle, but his Holiness having demanded possession of Castro, the Cardinal replied that it was not in his power to give it, as he had neither the countersign nor any authority in that State, but that he would write and send a messenger express to pray and persuade his mother and those who have charge of it to obey his Holiness, who, anticipating a refusal from them, has sent the Bishop of Pola to Duke Octavio.

The Pope's nephew, Gioan Carlo Camponesio, who slept in his chamber, has died, to the grief of the whole Court; he was learned, virtuous, and affable; his Holiness' tears were witness to the love he bore him, and as yet the vacant place is filled by Don Alfonso Caraffa, son of the Marquis de Montebello.

Cardinal S. Giacomo having spoken to the Pope after my audience of yesterday, some hopes of peace were again entertained, and a Cardinal much in his confidence, who is also my friend and anxious for quiet, sent me word that were they less obstinate here, and but for the facility with which the Imperialists see that they take everything, being also informed of the slight remedies applied here and the little provision made, which causes them to hope for much more than they intend (*non li facesse sperar di conseguir molto più di quello dissegnano*), matters might still be adjusted, nor can words express how much this is desired by everybody. In accordance with your Serenity's most prudent order I have not failed on every occasion to remind his Holiness of this peace and quiet, to which I hear on very good authority that the French ministers here exhort the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, pointing out the forces of the enemy, their own scanty provisions, and the delay of the assistance of the men-at-arms to be expected from France; concerning which matter I will also mention that to-day Cardinal Pacheco was with Cardinal Caraffa about this affair of peace, and told a person very much in his confidence, who repeated it to me, that contrary to Caraffa's wont and to his own expectation, he found him much disposed towards peace, and that he exhorted Pacheco to speak to the Pope, as he, Caraffa, would persuade his Holiness in favour of quiet; so Pacheco determined to go to his Holiness to-morrow and urge him as strongly as he could in favour of it.

Rome, 12th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

610. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 10th instant the Emperor had the effects required for daily use on shore by everybody put on ship-board, keeping for himself his bed alone and his clocks, perceiving that the weather gave signs of being fair for his voyage to Spain, but the wind having again turned contrary, he has not yet left Zealand, where he does nothing all day but superintend the making of various little conveniences of life (*varie cosette per commodità della vita*).

The Bishop of Arras has returned from Zealand; he does not say why Queen Maria sent for him, but according to report it was for her own private service, and also for that of the Bishop himself, who wishes to be favoured at the election to the see of Cambrai on

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the death of the present bishop, in lieu of whom the Provost of Ersa (*sic*) [Anversa ?] has been already elected. It is also said that, as counsellor of the United Provinces, the Bishop of Arras went in the King's name to ask the Emperor's advice about the course to be taken with the deputies of Brabant, who, as the Duke of Savoy told the King on his return from Brussels, will by no means consent to contribute their share to the subsidy demanded, and on the contrary require exemption from certain ordinary taxes, using also bad language. I heard besides that he was ordered to acquaint the Emperor with all that has passed between the Pope and the King since his Imperial Majesty left this town, asking him whether, owing to what has been heard from Rome about suspending hostilities and settling matters with the Pope by negotiation, the King should repeal the commission given to the Duke of Alva to march with the army to attack him, or, continuing still to consent to talk about an agreement, remain on the defensive.

According to report the Emperor's reply was that the King must bear with those brains of Brabant, which are too obstinate (*quei troppo ostinati cervelli di Brabant*), and by diminishing the demand end the business as well as he can ; and as to the affairs of the Pope, he commended the suspension of hostilities (*deponer l'armi*), warning him, however, not to be duped by cunning.

The decision given by the King to the Abbot of San Saluto purported that he was either to go back to Cardinal Caraffa, or send him a reply to the effect that his Majesty was very content to treat the suspension of hostilities (*di deponer l'armi*), security to be given by one side and the other, and that he would write to the Duke of Alva to exert himself with the Pope's ministers to find means to that effect ; and that respecting the peace with his most Christian Majesty, he would not reply to the particulars told him by the Cardinal of Lorraine, though he indeed assured him of this, that should he truly determine to send personages so that the peace might be treated, he will find greater advantage in its settlement than by giving assistance to the Pope through the breaking of the truce ; the King having said the like to the French ambassador. With this resolve the Abbot departed postwise last night, and with him the Nuncio's secretary, who is subsequently to be despatched to Rome from the Court of France.

To-day one of the chief ministers of the Duke of Savoy came to see me, assuring me in strong terms (*con efficaci parole*) that he heard from the said Abbot that King Philip has told him in writing (*gli ha detto in scrittura*) that he is content that he should talk with the Cardinal of Lorraine, and also with the King of France, about making the said Duke of Savoy Duke of Milan, but on such terms as will be (to use his own words) to the taste of King Philip (*secondo il gusto di S.M.R.*)

After much conversation with me about the Duke's advantage, the satisfaction and especial convenience of your Serenity, and the quiet of Italy, he then said that now that King Philip has taken so great a step, were the State to perform such offices as her great authority and prudence would enable her to do, the matter would be supported, and not fall to the ground, as he feared would be the

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case in the end, because, owing to the league between the King of France and the Pope, and the fashion adopted (*et li modi usati*) by his most Christian Majesty in pushing forward his forces, he feared that King Philip would at length lose Milan, the Duke of Savoy being thus deprived of all hope of ever obtaining compensation for what he had lost, and your Serenity likewise experiencing greater regret from having the French nearer to you than the Spaniards. He exhorted me to write to you on this subject as from myself, and not to give this intelligence as having come from him ; saying, besides, that he knew that the Duke, within two days, would send to invite me to dine with his Excellency, to talk to me about this, but that being too timid, from fear of making the King suspicious of him, he would not speak to me so freely as he could wish, thinking that if I wrote on the subject it might be known at this Court.

My replies were loving and general, demonstrating in particular that your Serenity would wish the Duke, not only this, but yet greater good fortune, and thus will I regulate myself should his Excellency send to invite me.

Don Cæsar, the brother of the Marquis of Pescara, departed to-day for Milan with the decision about various matters demanded by the Marquis, both with regard to his ordinary charge of military matters, and for what may be necessary in case of war with his Holiness, and should the truce with the King of France be broken ; and he was told, in short, that Don Bernardino de Mendoza will be sent to Antwerp to raise a good supply of money for transmission to his Excellency.

To-morrow the departure will also take place of the Count of Landriano and Paolo Santo Fiore, who will be followed by the agents of Gio. Batt. Gastaldo and of Count del Bagno, all well satisfied with some fresh rewards received from the King, who also yesterday gave his maggiordomo, the Marquis de las Navas, 12,000 crowns, and the grade of maggiordomo of the Princess his sister. These acts of liberality are much more commended than usual, because part of the personages in question received no present from the Emperor, nor in like manner, on this his departure, did he give anything to several of his household servants (*diversi servitori della casa*), and none of the ambassadors received the usual present of chains. The Duke de Bouillon is at the point of death, which the Duke of Savoy greatly laments, from fear of losing the ransom conceded him by the King for his credits, and as reward, his Majesty not having chosen to release Bouillon for 50,000 crowns offered by the French ambassador, of whom he demanded the other day 70,000.

Ghent, 13th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

611. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

I was sent for this afternoon by the King, who, on my arrival, said that in pursuance of his desire to maintain a sincere and close friendship with your Serenity (which I had assured him was reciprocated) by communicating events of importance, he wished me to

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know the settlement of the business which he told me heretofore was pending with the Duke of Parma, who, having sent him a doctor of laws with the form of agreement which he wished to make, his Majesty had conceded him, besides all the other things received formerly by the Farnese family from the Emperor, the city of Piacenza, with the exception of the citadel, which fortress he had retained, more for some good reason, suggested by others, than from his own will; adding that the Duke's agent wished nothing to be said about this until the result was known of another affair which the said Duke was treating through another agent with the King of France.

After returning due thanks for this confidential communication, I said he might rely on my saying nothing about it to anybody, but that I had long ago heard the matter talked about, and since the coming of the Duke's agent, telling the King that I mentioned this merely as my own apology in case his Majesty might hear that the news had been divulged. He rejoined that he believed the matter to have been long discussed, but that the truth was that only to-day had the business been concluded, and that he had not yet signed the agreement. He then added that he would always continue to let me know many of his affairs as they occurred, in testimony of the goodwill he had to bind himself yet more closely in friendship with your Serenity, and to form a confederacy with you.

After these matters, I commenced talking with his Majesty about the state of the weather, which seemed to promise fair for the Emperor's passage; he told me it was so good that he thought his Imperial Majesty would soon put to sea, and that to-morrow morning he purposed going to kiss his hand once more before the departure, and to see those islands of Zealand where he had not yet been, and that he should be back in four days.

I then remained with Don Ruy Gomez, from whom I heard that yesterday the French ambassador told the King in the name of his most Christian Majesty that he again offered to be mediator to treat the peace between the Pope and him if he considered his most Christian Majesty good for that purpose; to which the King answered him freely, that as the King of France confessed to having a league with the Pope, he knew not how he could accept such an offer, but that nevertheless if he proposed conditions to him he would listen to them very willingly. He also told me that letters had come from the Duke of Alva to the effect that the Pope had uttered words and shown signs of wishing for a suspension of hostilities, but that his Holiness did not give indication of proceeding sincerely, not having given back to the fiscal advocate the writings received from him depriving the King of the kingdom of Naples, and the Emperor of the Empire.

In conclusion he told me that, as I might have comprehended on former occasions from his conversation and that of the King, he wished there to be an understanding and true love (*vero amore*) between his royal Majesty and your Serenity, not about things in general, but with regard to particular matters; and then, looking me full in the face with a kindly expression of countenance, he

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stopped. I answered his lordship that he might always keep his mind at ease with regard to this, that your Serenity would for ever bear his royal Majesty affection and great honour, and wished him every happiness.

To this Don Ruy Gomez replied in the following precise terms: "Lord Ambassador, I am frank by nature, and as it seems to me that I am speaking with a nobleman who is sincere and will take my words in good part, I shall say that I very well know the Signory's mode of proceeding to be in truth most prudent and wise: they see four of the chief powers of the world at discord, and wish to stand well with each of them—with my King, with the King of France, with the Pope, and with Sultan Soliman; but of necessity and according to reason the Signory prefers one to the other, and knows which is best adapted to the Republic's interests; and I know that should any need ever arise, and that the Signory had to select a friend, it would be none other than the present King of Spain, both on account of the vicinity of his territories and of his own natural goodness"; and laughing greatly, he added, "You must pardon me: I have sometimes wished for an opportunity which might subject the Signory to some trouble, in order that the result may prove whether my opinion is well founded. My King must necessarily be the perpetual enemy of the Turk, from whom the Signory has more to fear than from the others, and may always have his Majesty ready with her to give assistance in case of attack. I will not speak of the Popes, because theirs is a state liable to so many changes that no true reliance can be placed in it. With regard to the Kings of France, statesmen conversant with the affairs of the world may well know that they should be held in greater suspicion than the Kings of Spain, and, leaving aside a variety of reasons, principally for this, that in like manner as the Kings of Spain are under the necessity of defending themselves against the Moors and of obtaining provinces (if possible) both in Africa and the Indies, so must the Kings of France, to gratify their wish for aggrandizement, penetrate farther into the states of Italy or of Spain."

Our conversation lasted for two hours, during which Don Ruy Gomez added many other particulars connected with those already mentioned, and also said that as I knew his statement to be true he prayed me earnestly to perform warm offices *(caldamente mi pregava a far caldi officij)* in favour of this alliance at present, as hereafter, should it come to pass that his King make peace with the King of France by means of some matrimonial alliance, either with or without the Milanese, it might happen to your Serenity to receive molestation such as his King would never cause you, and some accident might also arise to induce the Turk to act in like manner, so that his royal Majesty having until then received no favour from your Serenity, he could merely reciprocate by general words. He requested me to ponder this matter maturely, and to be pleased to tell him, as from myself, what the King could do for the gratification of your Serenity, so that the friendship might be knitted in another manner, his words and gestures showing that he was very well acquainted with your

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Serenity's strength and prudence; and amongst his other conceits he used the following, that he had now come to this conviction, that the friendships which his King might have with other Princes were of little consideration as compared with that of your Serenity.

After having listened to his lordship, to his complete satisfaction, I commended as seemed fit to me his noble intellect and the tenour of his discourse, his singular devotion to the King, and his love for the matters intrusted to his extreme good faith and great ability, telling him that his remembrance of past events might well convince him how great and sincere were the friendship and respect maintained since so many years by your Serenity with the Emperor, and then the very loving offices performed in conformity with the King so long ago as on his first passage from Spain into Italy, when I was sent by your Serenity as ambassador,* to say nothing of what you have done in these present troublous times, his lordship himself having told me some time ago that you refused to league with others, notwithstanding the requests made and the advantages offered you; I on my part having told him what you did and are doing with the Pope, in favour of peace, from regard for his Majesty's affairs; the King himself, wishing to be friends with everybody, having just now informed me that he has given Piacenza to Duke Ottavio; and that your Serenity moreover loved peace from choice, owing to your experience derived through so many wars between Christians and Infidels, and from those which yourself had been compelled to wage with both one and the other; wherefore you were also moved, by means of the Ambassador Vargas and Martino Alonso, and by writing to me in like manner, to exhort the Emperor and his royal Majesty to incline their minds towards this peace, of which there was no reason to despair, owing to the signs which he had told me were given by the Pope and the King of France; and would to God that it were already made, as I differed from the opinion professed by his lordship with regard to what might befall your Serenity with the King of France and Sultan Soliman, because —omitting the fact of your having known how to defend yourself against one and the other in war and to attack them, whilst peace had been justly maintained, by you—I believed that were peace made between his royal Majesty, the most Christian King, and the Pope, the Turk would not think of troubling any prince of Christendom, still less your Serenity, against whom there would in like manner be no just reason for the King of France to take up arms; and that by the grace of God your Serenity's forces were such and so many, both by sea and land, and your prudence in directing them so great, and your mind so constantly bent on doing Christian deeds, that I considered it certain that not only would neither one nor the other nor anybody else attack you, but rather wish you well, as an object truly worthy as you were to be universally loved and appreciated.

To my reply Don Ruy Gomez rejoined, with a cheerful countenance and kind words, that he would request two things of me, the

* Federico Badoer met the Prince of Spain at Genoa (where he landed from Barcelona on the 27th November 1548), and accompanied him through the Venetian territory to Trent. (*See* Andreo Morosini, vol. 2, p. 181.)

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one that I would think about giving him the means whereby to do something agreeable to your Serenity, that you might be better acquainted with the King's good disposition, and consequently render the friendship closer; the other, to believe that his royal Majesty had so good an opinion of my sincere mode of proceeding in having always performed excellent offices, believing also that I would continue so to do for the future, that he wished for an opportunity to do something that might be agreeable to me; so, in conclusion, I said to his lordship that to do what was acceptable to your Serenity, and a real favour to me, I knew not either what else to suggest nor what else to wish for, except that he should be the instrument for despatching for me, and all your other ambassadors who from time to time may present themselves, such business as may be committed to them, with readiness and efficacy on the part of all the ministers, thus demonstrating true knowledge of his Majesty's excellent disposition and of the great wish evinced to me by his lordship for your Serenity's gratification.

Ghent, 14th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

612. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Signor Eucherio San Vitali, who came from the Duke of Parma, took leave of the King lately, and in the act of departure, his Majesty spoke very kindly to him, desiring him to tell the Farnese Lords that as they considered the recovery of Piacenza so advantageous for them, he was pacified (*ne restava quieta*); and so far as can be heard, the King wrote in great haste to the Pope, praying him not to do any fresh act of hostility against the said Lords, this being apparently induced by the request of the Signor Eucherio that his Majesty would wait their proceedings during six or eight months, being aware that it was not for his interests that the Farneses should declare themselves entirely the servants of the King of England. Notwithstanding it is rumoured *that both his most Christian Majesty and all these Lords are dissatisfied with this Farnese family; the whole Court speaking disrespectfully of the Italians, not merely on this account, but by reason of the stubbornness* (durezza) *of the Duke of Ferrara, who is heard to be treating with the King of England, to give his son the Prince of Ferrara in marriage to King Philip's widow sister, the Regent of Spain.* Yesterday, I had a good opportunity for holding a long conversation with the Constable, and his Excellency, discussing various matters very familiarly, alluded to the disputes between these two crowns about the boundaries of the Monferrat territory, and when I asked if they were settled, he said no, but that these delays were beneficial for his most Christian Majesty; adding, "The King of England has proposed referring these disputes to the Signory;" *and his Excellency being then silent, I, making it appear that what I heard was new to me, said, "How could his Serenity* [*the Doge*] *interfere in these matters? for to me it seems that with difficulty could he find the way." The Constable replied, "Those Lords are very sage, and*

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know that those who interfere between two parties who are not friends, can with great difficulty succeed."

Sens, 14th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 14. MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. pp. 180 recto & verso.

613. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Although he still hopes that God of His goodness will not allow the rupture between the Pope and King Philip to proceed farther, being convinced of the good and holy disposition of one side and the other; yet nevertheless, should divine providence for the punishment of the sins of mankind have determined otherwise, Morone can easily imagine the trouble and confusion in which Pole would find himself, not knowing well what to do with regard to the constant questions which must arise between him and the King, about the spiritual and temporal government of England. In that case it would be necessary, and beyond measure acceptable, for him, through Morone, to receive notice of the Pope's will, which he cannot believe to be otherwise than excellently disposed always towards whatever may be for the comfort of King Philip and Queen Mary, and beneficial for England, whose welfare, he is very certain, the Pope has most especially at heart, and that he will always manifest this by facts. It is not to be told how much the Queen and all good and virtuous persons are distressed by the continuance of this discord; so he prays God to apply a remedy, and to grant Christendom that peace and quiet which are necessary, to enable the Pope to execute his holy projects for the service of His Divine Majesty and benefit of the Church.

Croydon, 14th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15 ? MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. pp. 69 verso & p. 70 recto and verso; no date of time or place in MS.

614. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [ALESSANDRO] FARNESE.

In reply to what Cardinal Farnese writes him in his own hand, showing how grievously offended he is with the Lord Camillo [Orsini] for having had the trees in his garden cut down, thus destroying well nigh all its beauty,* Pole assures him that when he first heard of this, it gave him more pain than he ever could have believed himself capable of feeling for such a loss, even had these trees been planted with his own hands; though he is aware of being very sensual (*assai sensuale*) with regard to delighting in gardens and trees; and his grief was caused, not only by that which he thought must with reason be felt by Cardinal Farnese, but because those trees seemed to him to embellish not merely the Farnese gardens, but the whole of Rome, in whose neighbourhood

* I do not know the precise date of the year of the Pontificate of Paul III. in which the Farnese gardens at Rome were designed, but the damage alluded to in this letter was probably sustained by them in September 1556, when Camillo Orsini was fortifying Rome; as in date 5th September 1556, Bernardo Navagero wrote to the Senate that amongst the palaces doomed to destruction were those of the Farnese family, but which seemed to have been ransomed at considerable cost, though from this letter it is evident that the trees did not escape.

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he never remembers to have seen such tall and handsome trees, so that when he was told they had been cut down by order of the Lord Camillo, it distressed him deeply, both on account of the author of the deed, and for the thing itself; and he reproached Cardinal Farnese's dependants for not having said something to him about it sooner, they knowing how much he is Farnese's servant; not that Pole supposed his friendship with Camillo Orsino could avail more than the authority of others who might have already said something to him on the subject, but he would have been gratified by doing his utmost, as he would have done, to obtain at least a little delay, during which it might have then been hoped, by having recourse to higher authority, to remedy everything. But Camillo Orsini was so expeditious in this matter, as it is his wont to be in all his other proceedings, that he gave no time to those who would have wished to obtain a contrary result to have recourse either to the fountain-head or to other means; which, by those who know his ordinary habit, can be attributed (as he has already said) but to his natural inclination to do whatever he has to do very speedily, and, in the present instance, to his having moreover chosen to be too just Being convinced that for the public good it was requisite to do this, and knowing that he could not secure the walls of Rome without great complaints from many persons of every description, (as it came to pass,) he thought fit to silence everybody by showing that for this same reason the garden of so exalted a personage as Cardinal Farnese had not been excepted.

Pole does not doubt but that this was the true and sole cause which moved Camillo Orsini to do what he has done in this matter, nor can Pole ever bring himself to believe that he was moved to this by a wish to offend Farnese, most especially as Camillo has often expressed to Pole his very great obligations to the late Pope Paul, and consequently to Cardinal Farnese and to the whole of his most illustrious family. It would be too difficult for Pole to suppose that he was of so ungrateful and base (and to sum up all in one single word) and of so unchristian a disposition, though possibly he may have erred in this matter as on some former occasions, thinking to do his duty regardless of displeasing those whom he otherwise would not have wished to offend; but Pole can never believe that he would have done anything for the purpose of offending Farnese, who, should he ever have heard the apology made by Camillo to Pole when he told him that by this act he had given cause to Farnese to think ill of his sentiment towards him, together with Camillo's testimony of the obligation felt by him to serve Farnese, and his justification of those acts which had a somewhat contrary appearance, Pole is convinced that from the goodness of Farnese's disposition he likewise would be induced to admit Camillo's apology, especially after reading his inclosed letter written on the subject by Pole's advice, and which, having been written so speedily and in such a form, is a sure proof, in addition to the others, that he was never otherwise disposed than becomes the affection and service due from him to Cardinal Farnese.

It now remains for Pole to request Farnese that as his letter caused him great sorrow by reason of the anger it evinced towards

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Camillo, so will he now on the other hand comfort Pole by saying that he is averse to deprive himself of such fruit as might be expected from the good will of one, who considers himself so much indebted to the Cardinal, as to the person from whom he acknowledges the commencement of his honourable career and the repute now enjoyed by him in the world, on which account he offers his most ready services to Cardinal Farnese, from whose graciousness Pole expects this consolation through his next letter, and humbly kisses his hand.

[London, 15th September 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

615. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On the return of a courier despatched last week it will be ascertained whether the Queen's hope of her consort's return after the Emperor's departure, will prove vain, as anticipated by everybody else in the palace, or not, even Cardinal Pole beginning to be incredulous, as he told me himself two days ago. He also imparted to me his great consolation, because when some days ago 24 of the pirates lately captured were condemned to death at Southampton, inasmuch as at first, like fierce and desperate characters, they showed themselves utterly averse to have recourse to any Catholic and Christian act, by means of a Franciscan friar they subsequently repented, and died after confessing and communicating, all of them in public having not only justified (*approbata*) the present religion, exhorting and praying everybody to believe and persevere in it, but condemned the past (*la passata*), to which they attributed their death, as punishment for the licentious and execrable life led by them, without knowledge or fear of God; which has marvellously edified the whole of Hampshire (*tutto quel paese*), and greatly rejoiced the Queen and all good men.

London, 15th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

616. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The cannonading of Anagni was heard from certain heights in this city; after which, yesterday, the Imperalists made two assaults upon it, and were repulsed, with the loss of some of their men; but the Signor Torquato [Conte], seeing that they could not withstand the third, made his retreat from another part of the town, and is said to have saved himself in Paliano with the entire garrison. To-day the Imperialists are reported to have occupied Viguar (*sic*, Vicovaro?), an important place very near Tivoli.* Last night the Count di Luino, who is in Montefortino, made a foray with a few horse as far as Frascati, where there was a company of horse of the Captain Ludovico Rasponi, which on discovering the enemy, retreated to Rome; and simultaneously it

* Vicovaro was four leagues to S.E. of Tivoli.

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was heard that they had occupied Cavi, Valmontone (*sic*), and that they had sent to mark the quarters at Palestrina; which news so increased the panic in this city, that all persons sent their families away; the Government gave leave for the women readily, but do not choose the men to depart, nor that property of any sort be sent out of the city. A few nights ago, the government held the people armed, and in the morning they were reviewed. Cardinal Caraffa also inspected the paid troops who are in Rome, and at the muster they numbered 6,000 Italians and 3,000 Gascons, though many of them are supposed to have been passengers (*passagieri*), that is to say, persons who appear at the muster at the request of the Captains, without performing farther service. Fifteen hundred men, Germans and Gascons, are expected, they having been taken out of the most Christian King's fortresses in Tuscany, and replaced by Italians. They have had an inventory taken of all the arms in the houses of the Spaniards, both offensive and defensive, and they say they shall disarm them, but the Cardinals S. Giacomo and Pacheco complained of this to the Pope, saying that should they be disarmed they run the risk, in case of the slightest disturbance, or should any rascal bent on robbery utter the least word, of being cut to pieces; so they demanded either that their weapons should be left them, or that they be given leave to quit Rome, and his Holiness replied that he would think about it. The Pope and Cardinal Caraffa lay the blame of the disorders which have taken place hitherto, and of the loss of so much territory, to the Duke of Paliano, to whom they spoke so harshly about it, that his quartan-ague has increased, the poor nobleman running some risk of having a dangerous illness. The Cardinal, also, is rather distressed, and the Pope greatly agitated.

These important events have caused his Holiness to give audience to the envoy from Duke Ottavio [Farnese], and to send him back with fair words, without showing any mark of resentment. The Cardinals S. Giacomo and Pacheco have not failed urging the Pope daily to make peace, so that his Holiness was content that S. Giacomo should send the Dominican friar Tomaso Mansich* (*sic*) (a very learned and authoritative person, related both to the Cardinal and to the Duke of Alva,) to the camp,to hear the Duke's demands; and he is also the bearer of a letter from the Cardinal "Decano" [de Bellai] addressed to the Duke in the name of the College; and although there has been neither Congregation nor Consistory, this is supposed to have been done with the Pope's knowledge and consent; and a person who has seen the letter tells me it is to the effect that, the College having heard that the Imperial captains administer to the places taken by them the oath of allegiance to the College of Cardinals, they cannot pass this fact over unnoticed, as their silence would imply consent, and they would render themselves schismatic, they having a most holy head (*havendo un capo S^mo. come hanno*), as is the fact; wherefore they wish to hear from his Excellency whether similar acts are done by his will.

This friar departed yesterday morning postwise, and it remains

* Manrique? (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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to be seen what he will bring back, many persons anticipating much difficulty about the terms, which become more advantageous daily for the Imperialists; and it will be difficult for this side to obtain what might have been had heretofore; whilst on the other hand, unless an agreement be made speedily, inevitable mischief is evident, and besides many other misfortunes, as the Imperialists are masters of the open country, it will be impossible to sow for next year, so they run manifest risk of faring very badly. Last evening, the Reverend Commendone, Bishop of Zante, came to me by the Pope's order, to say that his Holiness was sending him to Urbino, Ferrara, Venice, and Parma, to perform the same office as frequently performed by his Holiness with me, justifying his cause; showing that the Imperialists moved the war; that they sent him defamatory libels; and that whilst talking of peace to find favour with the world, they are intent on occupying the Papal territory; demonstrating the danger to which all Italy would be exposed, were this State (which God forbid) occupied; exhorting and praying the [Italian?] Princes, and above all your Serenity as the most powerful, and who had defended the religion on other occasions, to ponder the matter, and provide in time against so great a peril, not only as Christians, but as personages so greatly interested in the matter; and the said Reverend Commendone told me that he has orders to write hither what he can elicit from your Serenity. I replied that his lordship would receive good greeting from your Serenity, both on account of the Pope as also for his own personal merits, and wished him a good journey; and thus did he depart to day at noon, postwise.

Rome, 16th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

617. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

At this very hour, 8h. 15m. p.m., news has come that this morning at 8h. 40m. the Emperor embarked; so it is believed that although the King departed hence very early and with great speed he will not have arrived in time to see his Imperial Majesty on shipboard. The Emperor did not choose anyone to go in his own vessel, except M. de la Chaulx* with 36 servants for necessary purposes (*con trentasei persone, che serveno all' uso delle cose necessarie*), and for his own amusement a Fleming, by name Malineo, who reads a variety of things to him, (*et per suo trattenimento un Fiamengo nominato Malineo, che li legge diverse cose,*†) and Master Gianello of Cremona,‡ with the clocks which he made for him heretofore; and the two Queens go together in another ship.

The day before yesterday the courier Francesco Piamontese came to the King from the Queen his consort, and was sent back secretly a few hours afterwards without taking letters for anyone; and I am

* Jean Poupet, Seigneur de la Chaulx.

† The real name of the Emperor's reader was Guillaume Van Male, about whom, see "The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth," by William Stirling (3rd ed., pp. 69, 292).

‡ *Alias* Giovanni Torriani, *alias* Dalla Torre.

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told by an English captain that he came to inform his Majesty that payment of the 200,000 crowns obtained by her from the English merchants being now due, should the disbursement of the money prove inconvenient to him at present, it is necessary to find means to prolong the term of the said bills of exchange; acquainting him with the great difficulty she had experienced in getting money from several private individuals, and with the loud complaints and foul language current on this account, it being supposed that she does this for the purpose of giving the money to his Majesty, thus impoverishing the country; or to make use of it herself to favour the design attributed to the Emperor of going to England, and together with her, either by persuasion or force, to crown the King (*o per via di persuasione, o con la forza, incoronar S.M.R.*); or else to induce the Parliament to wage war on France, which it does not seem inclined to do (*il qual parlamento non mostra volersi ridurre*). He told me besides that the Earl of Pembroke, who is the most powerful personage in England, and who has always shown himself inclined to serve King Philip, goes daily more and more estranging himself both mentally and also personally (*si va di giorno in giorno più allontanando, et con l'animo, et ancho con la persona*); adding that the Queen had again written very earnestly to the Pope, not only to pray and exhort him to abstain from disturbing his Majesty's affairs, but to let him know that the people of England, from this cause, are greatly encouraged to resume Lutheran opinions (*ma per farle sapere, che i popoli da ciò prendono grande ardire di ritornare nelle Lutterane opinioni*).

The Princess of Spain has sent a courier to the King with letters from the Count de Alcaudete, giving her account of what the Turks and Moors are doing at the siege of Oran, and saying what extreme need the place has of succour, declaring that unless he sent it in a few days, the place will fall into the hands of the enemy; whilst to his Majesty he writes that he will never be the bearer of such news, but that from others he will at one and the same time hear of the loss of that fortress and of his (the Count's) own life; adding that as he perceived such great delay on the part of the ministers in providing what was necessary, he had placed his hope in two things solely, the one in certain movements of troops made on those borders by the Sceriff (*il Sariffo*), who did not choose the Turks to go on prospering there; the other in a certain fear which had seized the said Turks and Moors, they having made a trench at the harbour to secure themselves, either on account of the Sceriff (*de'l Sariffo*) as above mentioned, or from doubt of some considerable succour which might come from Spain.

The Spaniards say that the cause of the delay about the supplies proceeded from the trust had by the King in the many offers made heretofore by the Cardinal of Toledo to undertake that expedition at his own cost, but which he failed to do subsequently because the King either could not or would not comply with the demands which were made of him by his right reverend lordship for exemptions and other things; so his Majesty has at length been compelled to order a levy in the kingdom of Murcia of 4,000 infantry and a certain amount of cavalry; in addition to which

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supplies, the said Princess writes that the King of Portugal, at the suit of the Queen his wife, the Emperor's sister, in order not to witness the loss of Oran, has given hopes of sending the 12 caravels, 2 galeasses, and a galleon, provided King Philip can simultaneously send a certain amount of galleys to succour that kingdom; so for this purpose they last evening sent off to Barcelona a courier, who has offered to go in seven days, with letters to be sent on by a frigate to urge the immediate despatch for this purpose of Prince Doria's galleys, which are bound for Spain (*a sollecitar quelle galee dal* (sic) *Principe Doria, che sono destinate a dover passar in Spagna a tale effetto*).

The same courier brings news that in Navarre some persons had been discovered who favoured the designs on that kingdom of M. de Vendôme, some outlaws, also, who went thither for that purpose having been taken, and they were all hanged. One of the chief ministers says he heard from the King's own lips that he intends going in a few days to Antwerp, thinking that his personal attendance will enable him more certainly and in less time to conclude the contracts which he purposes making with the merchants, in consequence of the decision he came to with the delegate from the feudatories of Peru. At the intercession of the French ambassador, the Duke de Bouillon, in this his very serious illness, has been removed from the castle of this town and placed in an abbey with a guard of 10 halberdiers, his ransom also being diminished by 10,000 crowns; and he (*Lei*) has limited the ransom of the Count of Velasco, the brother-in-law of the Grand Constable, to 20,000 crowns; and when performing this office the said ambassador told the King, as of himself, that he hoped the disturbances of Italy with the Pope would be settled by negotiation, and his Majesty replied that he wished it, and that in like manner as he heretofore gave the Duke of Alva liberty to move war on the Pope, so had he subsequently sent him authority to treat about agreement on fair terms.

Immediately on the King's return I will execute the commission enjoined me by your Serenity's letters of the 29th ulto. concerning the damages done in the waters of Cyprus by the three galliots fitted out at Messina, and will perform the office in so earnest a manner as to give me hope of obtaining the result desired by your Serenity.

Ghent, 16th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

618. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

By my last of the 14th I wrote to your Serenity what his most Christian Majesty said to San Vitali, when he took leave of him to return to the Duke of Parma, as also what the King wrote to the Pope, requesting him not to proceed to any fresh act against the Farnese family, all which was subsequently confirmed to me, with this in addition, that his Majesty also dismissed Cardinal Farnese's secretary, with the same words in substance as uttered by him to San Vitali; and as to the renunciation which the Cardinal wished to make of the bishopric of Cahors, and other benefices in this

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kingdom given him by the King, he was told that there was no need to make any change for the present, as, should the Farneses on their part not fail him, his Majesty will continue performing every office and demonstration of goodwill towards their family. In order, however, not to diminish his firm and friendly relations in Italy, the King sent for the Prince of Ferrara, who, having almost recovered his health, came immediately to the Court, and according to report his Majesty will entirely adjust with his Excellency the difficulties which have hitherto prevailed with the Duke his father, who, although (as written by me) he seemed to be content with an annual pension of 50,000 crowns, to be spent as seemed best to him for his territory, and with the pay for 100 men-at-arms, yet, after this resolve formed by the Duke of Parma, his Excellency has again announced that he would then have been satisfied with that stipend, the State of Parma being as it were a bulwark for his territory, whereas now he required more substantial defence, and that, should his Majesty come to a decision, it would be necessary for him to pay the guard of 2,000 infantry, as promised him by the treaty; and from what I have heard on good authority the King will grant him the aforesaid treaty in full without difficulty, giving his Excellency what he disbursed for the garrison of Parma, which, together with the Duke's salary and that of his son, will amount to 15,000 crowns, and they will again send back his Excellency's ambassador.

The Abbot of San Saluto is at the Court of the King of England, and had communicated to Don Ruy Gomez the words uttered to him by Cardinal Caraffa about the agreement between his Holiness and the King of England, to which Ruy Gomez replied that he could not believe that Cardinal Caraffa really wished for peace; and although the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine took it rather amiss that Parpaglia should have gone away without any notice, Lorraine nevertheless has been heard to say that knowing his integrity and goodwill, he does not believe him to have gone save for some good work in favour of peace, and that they expect to hear something of importance, knowing that King Philip wishes for peace. Although Ruy Gomez uttered the aforesaid words to the Abbot, he nevertheless told the French Ambassador that his King was by no means inclined to break the truce, and that those troops who had done so in the kingdom of Naples did not purpose to offend the Pope, but to hold their own; and that as King Philip's goodwill is real, so he wished his most Christian Majesty to let the Pope know this, to quiet his mind, and possibly to find some way for laying down arms, concerning which Lorraine said that his most Christian Majesty had written to the Pope.

Morette, 16th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

619. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days before the Abbot of San Saluto departed hence, when talking with me about what seemed to him the most reasonable

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means whereby to induce his most Christian Majesty and the King of England to make peace, he said to me, that although the French ministry had often told him largely (largamente) *that his most Christian Majesty would accept Savoy and Piedmont for the Duke of Orleans, renouncing his claim to the State of Milan, on condition that the King of England should give it to the Duke of Savoy, by which means, the other disputes being settled, a good peace might be effected; yet knowing how much the French had the upper hand, they might be suspected of making it appear that they were content with this, rather because they thought the treaty would never be concluded, or if concluded, never be realised, (as was the case at the Conference of Soissons,) than because they in fact desired it. He therefore thought they would prefer holding in security what they had, preserving the affection of their subjects instead of leaving them in doubt about their nationality, and that they would not promise to give what they have in hand with the uncertain hope of receiving what shall be promised them. In addition to this, they gave it to be understood that although his Majesty wished to give State* (di dar Stato) *to the Duke of Orleans, yet, nevertheless, remembering the many inconveniences to which this Crown had been subjected by the ambition of younger sons, they did not care to exalt him so greatly as to let him suppose hereafter that he could do without this Crown.*

On the other hand the Abbot said that as he knew the King of England to be in a state of great decadence, both from the Emperor's having become a useless personage (già ridutta la persona dell' Imperator inutile), *and from his Majesty's small experience of the affairs of the world, as also because the persons about him were not of such a quality as to have firm reliance placed on them for what related either to peace or war; in addition to which, all the revenues of Spain are already alienated for ever, whilst those of Milan are pledged for five years, and the Neapolitan taxes for seven, and the means of finding money elsewhere for a war being scanty, Parpaglia inferred that King Philip would be compelled to make peace with the King of France, chiefly to quiet the affairs of Italy, and that if King Henry refused it him, the King of England must then make friends with the Princes of Italy, compelling them to prevent France from making himself master of Milan, and consequently of Naples also, and perhaps of the greater part of Italy, for the accomplishment of which he saw no better way than that the King of England should in fact divest himself of the State of Milan; he therefore purposed going to his Court and discussing all these things with the King of England and his ministers, and to see whether they really intended renouncing this State of Milan as they said they would; in which case he would confirm the King in his opinion, and should he perceive any hesitation endeavour by argument to persuade his Majesty to yield to the necessities of the times, laying before him, how through this resolve he might raise a considerable sum of money with which he might better adjust his other affairs, which greatly needed it. On the formation of this resolve, which he seemed to consider almost certain, he purposed proposing to the King that in case his most Christian Majesty proceeded slowly about the treaty*

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of the peace, he should let him know freely that he was determined to give the State of Milan; and if his most Christian Majesty would make peace, that he would give it to the Duke of Savoy, leaving the whole of Piedmont and Savoy to the Duke of Savoy, both sides renouncing their claims and rights; but should his most Christian Majesty show himself averse, he was then to let him know that even without making peace he, the King of England, purposed divesting himself of the said State, and therefore, on his most Christian Majesty's rejection of the aforesaid terms, that he would give the State of Milan to some person most to the satisfaction of the Princes of Italy, endeavouring to do it in such a way that the said Princes should be compelled to defend the new Duke.

The Abbot next explained the means whereby through this cession the King of England would be able to raise money thus: to your Serenity he might sell Cremona and the Ghiarad'adda; to the Genoese, Asti, and the neighbouring places; and give Piacenza to Duke Ottavio, in the best way he could; nor, even should peace be made, could the King of France complain of this, whilst the Duke of Savoy being deprived of everything would content himself with what he could get, and the Princes of Italy be more and more satisfied should the Duke of Milan be less powerful. Parpaglia then said that if France rejected peace, he would exhort the King of England to make the aforesaid sales (venditioni), *giving the rest of the State either to the Duke of Savoy or to the Archduke Ferdinand, at the option of the Princes of Italy, by which means it would behove them to league together, not merely for the defence of the new Duke, that he may maintain his position, but also for the safe custody of what each of them shall have purchased; and although this second project presented much greater difficulties than the first, he said he would nevertheless not fail to propose the whole, so that the best arrangement possible might be made; telling me, in conclusion, that he greatly hoped these ideas might come to a good end (being tolerably well acquainted with the disposition of the King of England), unless the negotiation be impeded by the King of France on his hearing of the aforesaid sales.*

Morette, 16th September 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 19. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

620. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Fra Tomaso Manrich (*sic*), has returned from the camp with two letters from the Duke of Alva, one to the Pope, and the other in reply to what was written to him by the Cardinal "Decano" [de Bellai], as by enclosed copies.* The contents of the letter written to the Cardinals enraged the Pope greatly, and in the Congregation of the Inquisition he uttered his usual violent abuse of the Emperor, nor would he receive the letter addressed to himself, but Congregation being ended, Cardinal S. Giacomo remained with his Holiness,

* These copies do not exist in the Venetian Archives, but their substance may be read in Foreign Calendar, Mary, pp. 253, 254.

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though he despaired of doing any good; notwithstanding which, with the assistance of Cardinal Caraffa, he at length induced his Holiness to receive the letter and to appoint a committee of four Cardinals, namely, S. Giacomo, Trani [Bernardino Scoto], Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], and Caraffa, who on that same night at 11 p.m. sent back the Friar to the Duke of Alva, and this evening [of the 18th ?] he returned, bringing with him, in the Duke's name, to negociate the peace, Don Francisco Pacheco; and at 8 p.m., on coming away from audience of his Holiness, I saw the Friar enter the Pope's chamber. The Florentine Ambassador says that should the Pope not be obstinate, and if he will somewhat modify his intense vigour, the peace might be made, as he the ambassador has received intelligence from his Duke, with orders to confirm it to the Pope, that the Emperor and his son do not wish for any territory belonging to the Church, but merely to hold their own.

On Thursday morning, something having been heard to the effect that the Roman people did not intend to defend themselves, and that should the army advance to this city they purposed making terms, Cardinal Caraffa went to their council hall at Campidoglio, and told them that they had no reason to fear for this city, by reason of the great provision made, and that, to convince them of this, he would reside in Rome in any place they chose, so as to run all chances with them, both good and bad, wherefore they should determine to defend themselves and show that they were truly Romans. The Cardinal was told in reply that to give courage, not to them who had plenty of it, but to the populace, it would be well for his right reverend lordship to come into the palace of St. Mark in Rome,* and that with regard to defending themselves, in the evening they would give their answer, which purported that they will always resist, provided Rome be sufficiently supplied with infantry and ammunition, which the Government (*questi Signori*) says it is abundantly; and the Cardinal will perhaps come to reside in St. Mark's to-morrow.

On that same day the alarm was given in this city, either from some false discovery made by the sentries, or possibly by order of the government (*questi Signori*) to see how the soldiers and the populace behaved themselves, which caused great confusion and terror to the majority, some women having miscarried, and the aspect of the whole city being piteous, women running dishevelled through the streets with infants at the breast, everybody being intent on saving themselves and their property. Cardinal Caraffa sent the Archbishop of Cosenza to tell the Pope not to be disturbed, as the report had been raised by accident, and not because there was any danger. The paid soldiers, especially the Gascons, were found obedient to the cry, "To arms!" speedily in battle array, and ready for defence. The like was not the case with the battalions of the people (*del Populo*), for the heads of districts (*li Caporioni*) were very ill followed. This tumult has caused many persons to quit

* The Palace of St. Mark, built by the Venetian Pope Paul II. (Pietro Barbo), in the latter half of the 15th century, was given to the Republic of Venice in the year 1564 by Pope Pius IV. (*See* Andrea Morosini, vol. 2, p. 331.)

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Rome, whilst others have sent their effects into the "Borgo" for greater security.

Marc' Antonio Colonna with the cavalry has ravaged his whole territory; and to-day two squadrons came as far as the aqueducts, and in the direction of St. Sebastian, within two miles of the walls of this city, carrying off all the cattle. On receiving this intelligence from a light-horseman who had been sent out to reconnoitre, Cardinal Caraffa sent to tell the Pope to be under no apprehension, as it was nothing of importance, and his right reverend lordship rode in that direction because the Duke of Paliano was confined to his bed by quartan-ague, sending in advance 150 helmets, and having 300 harquebusiers for his own escort as a reinforcement; but the enemy, having made their booty, retired, and when these troops went out of the gates of Rome they were already at a great distance. It is said that one squadron went towards Marino, and the other in the direction of Frascati. The Friar, when asked about this foray, replies, that on his way to the camp the guides mistook the road, so that he arrived too late, the cavalry having been already sent out for that purpose; and he also says that on his way hither with Don Francisco Pacheco, the postillion abandoned them in a wood, carrying off the cloak-bags (*valigie*) containing Don Francisco's clothes; nor will I omit to mention what the said Friar told some of his friends, as follows: Ascanio della Cornia inquired of him how his (Cornia's) heir was (meaning the Signor Mattheo Stendardo),* and when the Friar replied that he was well, Cornia continued, "Tell him to take good care of the property"; and when the Friar asked to see Marc' Antonio Colonna, Cornia said, "Care not about him, lest you be excommunicated." The Friar also says that the soldiers were sorry to see him depart on his pacific mission.

Rome, 19th September 4 a.m.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

621. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers of the most Christian King, and above all, Marshal Strozzi, knowing that his Majesty, beyond the assistance of men and money given by him hitherto for the defence of the Pope, either could not or would not give anything more, strongly dissuaded his Holiness from giving cause to the Imperialists to move war, and they now exhort him to make an agreement; but here they encounter great difficulty, as the slightest word from France, and any hope given from that quarter, inspires the utmost confidence; though now they might be perfectly convinced, having received two advices, the one contradicting the other, according to the custom of the Constable [Montmorency], whose wont it is to promise largely in the first place, so that, the opportunity presenting itself, the parties concerned may make advantageous use of his letters; but immediately afterwards, he sends account of the matter as it stands, and what the result will be.

Thus has he done at present in reply to the courier sent by the

* When Ascanio della Cornia betrayed him, the Pope confiscated his property, and gave it to his own kinsman Mattheo Stendardo.

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Pope after the departure from the court of Cardinal Caraffa, and who met his right reverend lordship at a distance of two posts from Lyons; whereby his Holiness requested the King to break with the Emperor.

His Majesty despatched M. de Vinovo (*sic*), promising to raise 6,000 Switzers, to send 500 men-at-arms and 500 light horse with M. de Termes, and to make other provision; but two days afterwards the Constable wrote by an express that there were many difficulties about carrying into effect the projects transmitted through M. de Vinovo, including amongst other things the affair of the Farneses, complaining of Duke Ottavio; and saying that the Switzers must pass through the territory of the Grisons, who would refuse the passage unless some of them also were levied, to do which would disturb everything, they being sorry, disobedient troops, as seen lately in Tuscany; and, in short, he came to the conclusion that nothing more can be done, and that to act hastily is disadvantageous. Some persons also say that Duke Ottavio having notified his agreement to the King of France, his Majesty did not disapprove of it. The letter to the Pope is very bland, but to the ministers he writes very clearly that they must endeavour to make peace, as nothing more will be done.

This enraged the Pope greatly, and it was fortunate that the express arrived before M. de Vinovo, as otherwise his Holiness would have blustered more (*saria stata più su'l bravo*); and my informant says that possibly despair of being able to get what they desire from France may make these lords (*questi signori*) condescend to the agreement, and the more, as they are compelled to garrison Rome, because the enemy can come whenever they please from two quarters, without fear lest Velletri or Paliano either prevent them or cut off their victuals. The one is by taking Hostia—which at the sight of a cannon would surrender—and coasting the river, come and quarter themselves at S. Paulo, protecting their flanks with two forts, and procuring victuals by sea, by means of caravans of lighters (*caravane di barche*) towed by galleys along the channel of the Tiber, as far as S. Paulo; nor could they by any means be prevented from doing this; and even should the sea remain stormy for a week, the small places in the "Campagna," which are abundantly supplied, will prevent any scarcity of provisions. The other way is in the direction of the Porta del Popolo, where, moreover, Rome is weaker, should they choose to take it by storm, after making themselves masters of Tivoli, which is unable to stand battery; and then encamp at Ponte Molle, obtaining victuals from the Papal territory thereabouts, the whole of which would be in their power, except Paliano and Velletri, which places, however, should the Imperialists choose to obtain their supplies from the kingdom of Naples, could not prevent it, as they have no cavalry, whereas the enemy can leave a squadron thereabouts, with foot-soldiers from the Abruzzi to escort the sutlers.

He said besides, that he does not think the Imperialists will attempt Paliano or Velletri, as the first is impregnable unless by siege, but that it is provisioned for a year and more; and with regard to the second, it would not answer them to toil for its capture, as besides giving them much trouble, it would be of no use

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at all when taken—Sermoneta, a strong place, being at a short distance from it, and better suited for the interception of victuals than Velletri, being nearer the road by which they would have to pass; though this person does not think they will avail themselves of provisions from the kingdom of Naples, by reason of the great distance, and because they can get them from the Papal States; and even should they choose to be supplied from the Kingdom, it will be by sea as aforesaid. Without my saying anything more, your Serenity's prudence can comprehend of what importance it would be, on several accounts, were this conversation to be made public, so I should beseech you to enjoin the closest secrecy.

Rome, 19th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

622. The SAME to the SAME.

To-day at audience, the Pope said to me, "We shall now have little trouble in giving you news, as the affairs of these schismatics are but too manifest; it is thus clearly seen how they treat us, and you can be convinced of what we have so often told you about their malignity, and our great scruple not to be the first to make war, although we saw our advantage, but this sacred place compelled us to prove our candour to the world by tolerance, on which we dwelt so much as to neglect self-defence. We have often told you of the malignity of the Imperialists (*di costoro*) and of their desire to occupy this State, that they may then seize yours likewise, as nothing else of importance remains in Italy; but, like Cassandra, *nunquam credita Teucris*, we have never been believed. To-morrow, or next day, we shall depart this life; and you will remain, and in the ruins will remember this poor old man, and lament not having chosen to provide in time against our downfall (*li danni nostri*). We protest to you as ambassador, that our forces are but scanty (*che noi non habbiamo più forze che tante*), and we have determined to recommend ourselves to Christ and say as He said to the Father Eternal, and as so many of our predecessors have said, *Fiat voluntas tua.* We cannot know the judgment of God, nor why he blinds those, *quorum interest*, that they may not see their destruction. It is indeed very marvellous that you should remain looking on at the loss of this State without caring about it in the least, and that you do not perceive that unless you bestir yourselves speedily, this festival will be the eve of yours. Think not by means of your fortified towns to resist single-handed the tyrannical force of those people (*di costoro*), for he who has the plane has the hill; neither suppose that you can retain the mainland; and place no trust in them, for they will do by you as they did by Paul III., who, by the assistance which he gave him, rendered the Emperor master of Germany, and he to reward the Pope had his son assassinated, and robbed him of a city (*et esso per mercede li fece amazzar il figliolo, et li rubbò una citta*).* Had Paul

* Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza (which he received from his father Paul III. on the 12th August 1545), was assassinated at Piacenza on the 10th September 1547. (*See* L'Art de Verifier les Dates, p. 845. Ed. Paris, 1770.)

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taken our advice, there would, perhaps, not have been war in Italy; and we should have Germany Catholic, for they believe what suits them with regard to their annual incomes and freedom of living, so that, had they been negotiated with, a good understanding being formed to guarantee them against oppression, they would have done anything; nor, when this enemy of God is reproached with having encouraged the Lutherans and excuses himself on the plea of having waged war against them, does he speak otherwise than falsely, for, on the contrary, there were more Lutherans in his army than in the Landgrave's; but *nomine* the war was against the Lutherans, and *re* against Germany, in order to subjugate it; and to a Roman, his prisoner, after asking him what they were doing at Rome, most especially the Pope, the Landgrave said, 'We have not so much difference with the Roman church as to prevent our adjusting it speedily; but the difficulty is with the Emperor, who seeks to deprive us of our liberty.' In short, the Imperialists aim at universal monarchy, and as this shadow of religion on which they have turned their backs remains, they seek to debase it. You know the injuries done to the Spanish clergy, the usurpation of the territory (*del stato*) annexed to the Archbishopric of Toledo. Besides, we have complaints from the clergy of Milan and Naples; we also know the resolve formed by the Imperial Council when the Lutheran sect first sprang up, that it should be encouraged, because it would render the Emperor master of Rome. Why is credit denied to facts, manifest daily? And having been unable to entangle us by relationship through female bastards as they did Paul,* and to put their foot [on our neck] as they did on the neck of Julius by bullying (*per braura*), on us they have made open war; and you allow yourselves to be lulled by them; they demand troops, saying the strangest things in the world—that we chose to make war on them!! With what armies, with what fleets? For the love of God believe us that this blandishment is most pernicious both for you and the others."

To this I replied, "Holy Father, with regard to this very point I am commissioned to tell your Holiness that the Duke of Alva has sent a messenger to give account of his proceedings; that what he was about to do would be for the purpose of carrying the war—of which he was apprehensive—into the enemy's country (*in casa d'altri*); but that he would not fail to make peace readily, whenever your Holiness chose; and he prayed the Signory to intercede with you for the quiet desired by all; nor can I but hope for the best, as I see Fra Tomaso going backwards and forwards, and know your Holiness' pious intention, as so often heard from your own lips, and written by me to the State."

The Pope replied, "To prove our hearty wish for peace, we have placed it in the hands of Cardinal S. Giacomo, the Duke of Alva's uncle, but mark well that these words of theirs are uttered to put us to sleep and do their own business, and that they will keep

* The marriage of Margaret of Austria, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V., to Ottavio Farnese, took place in the year 1538, she being then the widow of Alessandro de Medici, Duke of Florence.

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advancing and demanding terms which cannot be conceded, and thus endeavour to detain you and the others from their duty, for the defence of the See Apostolic, and for the sake of Christ and their own interest. Believe me, they are very cunning, and know how to restrain you from action; they send you these messengers, having done the like by the Dukes of Urbino, Ferrara, and Parma. They have no need to send to Florence, as he is theirs, and as Parma likewise speedily will be, because they choose to have the Duke's children in their hands. We tell you that these are delays, and that they only desire peace in order to command us. As we are not credited, it will suffice us to have done our duty; we shall not be the first Pontiff persecuted and martyrised by tyrants; but you will come next and be the first oppressed; and then the King of France, who thinks that he can stay the shot. By God! you will find yourselves deceived. Why do you not make yourselves heard, that you will not permit our persecution? *Vivit Dominus!* the time will come when, at your very great cost, you will wish to apply a remedy, and will be unable to do so; we tell it you plainly, and make you this protest, both in virtue of the post we fill, and by reason of the love and affection we bear the Republic, for God knows how much her misfortune will pain us; we will not bear the blame of this either in the face of the world or before God." I answered in suitable terms, and then took leave.

Rome, 19th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

623. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

From certain merchants who came along the coast from these neighbouring French towns, it has been heard that the Emperor had already passed Nieuport near Calais, and was continuing the voyage with a very fair wind; so the sailors here are of opinion that should his Imperial Majesty not touch England, he will in seven days arrive in Spain, in Asturia, at the harbour of Laredo, where he is expected to land, and will find the attendants, horses, and baggage waggons (*cariaggi*) which he sent through France. The Spaniards say that he will send a part of those ships to join the Portuguese caravels, and to go with the Spanish fleet to succour Oran. His first journey by land will be to Valladolid, to see the Princess his daughter, and the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos] his grandson, whom he had never yet seen; and after endeavouring to obtain a donative for King Philip, he will go to the Hieronomite monastery of San Yuste (*San Giusto*) near Plasencia, where he says he has destined to end his days, the place, for its healthy climate and the delightfulness of the country, being considered the most beautiful in Spain.

This evening the King is expected to return from Zealand, where he had an opportunity of paying his respects to the Emperor, who, although he had departed, was compelled by contrary winds to put back twice. Gonzalo Perez, the King's chief secretary, says his Majesty will certainly go to Antwerp in a few days, and proceed to inspect all these frontiers, accompanied by the Duke of Savoy and

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Don Alvarez de Sando (*sic*), late quartermaster-general (*maestro di campo*) in the Milanese, to whom he has given the command of the Spanish infantry and of all the frontiers garrisoned by Spaniards. I hear that the King purposes sending a gentleman to visit his brother-in-law the Duke of Parma and his sister,* to congratulate them on the close of the negotiation for the benefit and satisfaction of all parties. The Duke's agent, who went off to-day with the signed agreement, says his master will come shortly to kiss the King's hand, and that his Excellency's son the [Prince of Parma] will go to wait on Don Carlos in Spain.

The French ambassador and some other persons here, say publicly that there is a secret clause between the King and the Duke, stipulating that after a certain time his Excellency be bound to accept compensation for Piacenza, and to give it back to his Majesty; and the aforesaid ambassador abuses the Duke in the grossest terms that can possibly be imagined.

They are expecting here this evening Count Giovanni Angusciola, one of the conspirators who murdered his Excellency's father, it being said that the King sent for him to reward him, and that they will do the like by the others, to try and arrange matters with the Duke, lest from despair they restore that city to the Church, or give it to France. After despatching the Duke's agent, the ministers here sent for the agent of Don Ferrante, and told him that of the 180,000 crowns claimed by his Excellency they had liquidated 75,000, assigning payment on the mines and other things in Spain, Sicily, and Milan. The deputies of Brabant, contrary to what they said they would do, have come hither, but (as they say) not to settle with his Majesty about the demand for money.

Ghent, 19th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

624. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Last evening, the Abbot of San Saluto, returning from Ghent, came to me here, on his way to the Court at Val Luisant (Valosant, *Vauluisant?*)† *and apologizing for having left Paris without any hint about going to Flanders, he told me that, wishing both to elicit some good decision on the part of the King of England with regard to his mind about the Pope, and also with a view to advance the negotiation of peace between these two Princes, he came to the conclusion that his letters alone would not suffice, but that by going in person he might do something more; and not choosing to acquaint the Constable with his departure, thinking that although his Excellency might approve he would not say so to him, to avoid showing himself anxious for these negotiations, and that he would rather*

* Margaret of Austria, illegitimate daughter of Charles V., born at Valladolid in the summer of 1523; her mother, one of the daughters of Girolamo Nogarola, an outlawed Venetian subject, received a marriage portion of 20,000 crowns from the Emperor at Burgos, in May 1524, and then became the lawful wife of one Van Geste. The birth of Margaret of Austria is dated in the despatches of Gasparo Contarini, and by Sanuto's Diaries it appears that her mother was a Venetian gentlewoman, by name Michiel.

† See Foreign Calendar, Mary (8 October 1556, p. 261).

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dissuade him, he determined on giving no hint about it to his Excellency or to any other person, but to depart suddenly. On arriving at the Court in Flanders he addressed himself to Don Ruy Gomez, and through his means to the King of England, to whom he repeated the words uttered to him by Cardinal Caraffa about the wish evinced by his right reverend lordship with regard to laying down arms provided the Imperialists proceeded with the same goodwill. He told me that after speaking with the Cardinal of Lorraine (who keeps this scheme alive), and then with his most Christian Majesty and the Constable, he would let me know King Philip's reply and what took place subsequently; but wishing to give your Serenity immediate advice of the whole, I so plied him, that at length, this morning, after requesting me earnestly not to name him, he said that the reply which he received from the King of England was that the French ambassador had already performed the like office with his Majesty, offering the mediation of the most Christian King, and that the ambassador was to return [to King Philip] on the morrow for the answer; so after leaving the King, Parpaglia spoke to him, and he confessing everything, the Abbot greatly commended his following up this undertaking. The ambassador, being ill of quartan ague, delayed going to the King of England, and, letting his Majesty know that he was indisposed, withdrew from the negotiation; but the cause was, that in the meanwhile he had received orders from France to that effect.

The Abbot, notwithstanding this, returned to Ruy Gomez, who, after many words, ended by telling him that his King was disposed to be at rest (di abbracciare la quiete) *with all parties, and therefore that if the most Christian King wished the adjustment of the disputes with the Pope to be treated first, the King of England was content; and if on the contrary his most Christian Majesty wished the treaty of peace between the two Crowns to take precedence of it, the King of England would condescend* (condescenderebbe) *to that likewise. The Abbot then requested me to bear with his not telling me at present what he knew about this affair of the peace, hinting, however, that it was something of importance relating to the conversation he held with me, about which I wrote to your Serenity on the 16th inst., as he wished at any rate to speak about it first with the Constable; but that as to the negotiation with the Pope, Don Ruy Gomez had offered him three conditions* (partiti): *that His Holiness should raze the fortresses, or else place them in the hands of the College of Cardinals, whereupon it should be investigated according to law whether the acts passed against the Colonnas were passed canonically or not; or in case his Holiness would not accept either the first or second of these proposals, whether as a third alternative he would give back his territory to Marc' Antonio Colonna in the same state as when he deprived him of it, in which case the King of England would give other territory as recompense, which would be no less agreeable to the Count of Montorio than Paliano was. With regard to the two first proposals the Abbot replied that he already knew clearly that the Pope would accept neither the one nor the other, because in truth he could not do so decorously; and as to the third, Parpaglia viewed it in the*

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same light, because the Pope would never be satisfied with having a State in King Philip's realms, as he might always doubt the security of his kinsfolk, but that should his Majesty choose to make some other independent compensation such as it would not be difficult to find better hope might be entertained; and the Abbot proposed giving him Sienna, to which Ruy Gomez replied that the Duke of Paliano had often had this hinted to him, and that he believed that provided the most Christian King likewise on his part would give him the fortresses held for France in Tuscany, the King of England would also transfer the rest to the Duke of Paliano, provided the Pope reinstated Marco Antonio Colonna. After taking leave, Parpaglia put the whole of this conversation to writing, both about the willingness of the King of England to negotiate the agreement with the Pope, either firstly or secondly, at the option of his most Christian Majesty, as also respecting these three proposals, and he took the writing to Don Ruy Gomez, who, having read and approved of it the Abbot said that with his permission he would give it to the French ambassador, to which his Excellency apparently assenting, Parpaglia gave it accordingly, and the ambassador having sent it hither, as heard by me on good authority, it was forwarded to Rome by the express who took charge of my last letters to your Serenity.

Then on the morrow the Abbot returned to Ruy Gomez, and when discussing this particular, having said that the Count of Montorio might well be content with the city of Sienna and the whole of that State, his Excellency told him instantly that the King of England did not intend to give the city of Sienna, though he would cede the rest of what he holds in the Siennese territory; and although the Abbot rejoined that Ruy Gomez had told him he would give the whole, and that he, Parpaglia, showed him the writing to that effect, and then with his permission gave it to the French ambassador, he could not move him from this (no lo potè mover da questo), *that the King reserved the city of Sienna, but would give all the rest of its territory. The Abbot returned with this intelligence to the ambassador, who answered him that he understood the ambassador of the Duke of Florence had remonstrated strongly about the matter in question, and that at his suit Don Ruy Gomez raised this difficulty; whereupon Parpaglia, after taking leave of the King of England, left the Court, and on arriving here, as mentioned by me, went to make his report to the French Ministry.*

Morette, 19th September 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 19. **625.** Copy of the Articles stipulated between the King of England and Duke Ottavio Farnese concerning the Restitution of Piacenza.

The King of England restores Piacenza and its territory (*il Piacentino*) to Duke Ottavio, reserving for himself the fortresses, the garrisons of which to be paid by the Duke.

He gives him back Novara, and its territory (*il Novarese*), keeping for himself the fortress.

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He also restores to him the estate (*stato*) in the kingdom of Naples, and that of Madame [Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma, the Emperor's natural daughter], and Monreale to Cardinal Farnese, but on condition that nothing be said about the past fruits.

The King of England also chooses the Duke to promise him that he will allow the heirs of the deceased conspirators to enjoy their property, and that for six months he will not molest the conspirators now alive (*ch'alli heredi de' congiurati morti si lasci godere i lor beni e ch'alli vivi non si dia molestia per sei mesi*), allowing them to sell what they have in the territory of Piacenza; and should the King please to recompense them in the Duke's States in the kingdom of Naples, or by means of the revenues of Novara, he may be at liberty to do so.

The King recommends to the Duke, the Count of San Secondo, and Gio. Francesco Sanseverino, whom, should they show themselves good vassals, he is to treat well, and if not, to punish them.

The Duke is also to dismantle Fontanella, Roccabianca, and Toricella, and the King gives him Borgo San Donino, fortified as it stands.

The King also chooses that, at the time when Piacenza is restored, the Duke do send his son the Lord Don Alessandro to remain for some days at Milan.

[*Document enclosed in the foregoing despatch of Giacomo Soranzo, without any date of time or place.*]

Sept. 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

626. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The four Cardinals who were appointed to treat the agreement, namely, S. Giacomo, Trani, Pisa, and Caraffa, met in the house of S. Giacomo, who was unable to move owing to gouty pains; and to these four were added Morone, Carpi, and Pacheco, to whom the Duke of Alva had announced his wish for them to confer with his envoy Don Francisco Pacheco, which they declined, saying they had nothing to do with the Duke of Alva, and that they depended on the Pope, until his Holiness desired them to attend the conference, at which Don Francisco Pacheco represented that the Duke of Alva, from his wish for peace in conformity with the intention of the King his lord, besides what he wrote, and according to the request made by him of the Pope, had sent him, Don Francisco, in order to try and carry this his good will into effect; and he then specified the conditions, as your Serenity will perceive by the enclosed copy.* He was answered that they were too hard, and that the Cardinals supposed that the Duke being so well disposed as he said, had given him other fairer conditions apart.

Don Francisco rejoined that he had no other commission than what he had stated, and that he was also desired not to delay his departure beyond 2 p.m. on the morrow, whereupon the conference

* Not found.

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broke up, telling him that Cardinal Caraffa would report to the Pope, and that he should have his Holiness' reply on the morrow. I understand that, on hearing the terms, the Pope got into a rage, saying they could not ask more were he their prisoner in the Castle at Naples; so the conference having assembled again yesterday, Cardinal Caraffa said, "The Pope has not chosen to reply, because he knows that peace is demanded verbally, but that practically they wish for war, though he charged me to tell these right reverend cardinals to consult all together, and see if they can devise any fair form of adjustment, as he would never reject it." Many things were said, but the conclusion they came to was, that if the Pope approved of it, Cardinal Caraffa should have an interview with the Duke of Alva, who, Don Francisco Pacheco said, would accept it; and they exhorted Cardinal S. Giacomo to go likewise, although he is indisposed not only from gout but also from a slight attack of fever, as it is not a very long journey, and he can perform it in a litter, which he very readily offered to do. Then to-day the aforesaid Cardinals met again together with Don Francisco Pacheco in the presence of the Pope to hear his decision about this interview.

His Holiness commenced by abusing the Emperor and his son, as he often has done, and perhaps more vehemently than ever; saying that he (the Pope) was armed, and chose at any rate to chastise the rebels of God, and of this Church, and the iniquitous ministers of these schismatic Princes, so that it was expected the conference would break up thus; but nevertheless by degrees the Cardinals S. Giacomo and Caraffa induced him to determine to confer with the Duke, he saying to them, "But do not, however, cause anything to be done of such a sort as we never imagined;" after which words the Cardinals Carpi and Trani, having withdrawn into a private chamber, wrote a letter to the Duke of Alva, announcing the resolve of the committee about the interview; and the Government (*questi Signori*) being thus requested, allowed Don Francisco Pacheco to see the prisoners in the Castle, and principally Don Garcilasso de la Vega, to be able to report him alive and well, and perhaps not so ill-treated as was stated. Don Francisco will depart to-night to fix the site and time of the interview.

The gossips here (*qui quelli che discorrono*) believe that should any agreement be made, Cardinal Caraffa and all this family will declare themselves Imperialists, which they say might easily come to pass, as they have been deceived in the high hopes entertained by them of assistance and favour from the most Christian King. There is a general fear, or rather panic, amongst the few persons now remaining in Rome; so the desire for the adjustment of this difficulty is incredible.

Rome, 22nd September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

627. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The return of Francesco Piamontese has greatly increased the Queen's hope of the King's coming, he being the bearer of autograph

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letters from his Majesty to the effect that after the Emperor's departure he would set out as soon as possible, and attend to the despatch of his business with all haste and diligence. Her hope was subsequently redoubled by news received from her Admiral [Lord Howard of Effingham] on Saturday the 19th, that on the morning of the day before, the 18th, the Emperor, with the Queens [Eleanor of France and Maria of Hungary], passed between Dover and Calais with the whole fleet of about 50 sail; and (to give the contents of the whole news-letter) the Admiral, on presenting himself to his Majesty to accompany him with his squadron, as he did, when he went on board the Emperor's own ship to pay his respects, found him seated at table for dinner, not the least sea-sick (*senza punto di perturbatione posta a tavola per desinare*), and he saw the Queen of Hungary in the same state, very brisk indeed (*gagliardissima*), never having been sick, which was not the case with the Queen of France, who suffered greatly.

Next day, Sunday, the 20th, news also arrived of the progress of the fleets; that on that same Saturday, the 19th, they had passed the Isle of Wight, being well nigh beyond the shoals (*intrichi*) and perils of this Channel; and it was supposed that as the wind changed afterwards, and became contrary, they will therefore ride at anchor (*intertenersi*) at the extremity of the island, either off Falmouth or Dartmouth, and that having already done the most by getting out of the Channel, the slightest breath of wind, with the help of the tide, will suffice for the continuation of the voyage.

Owing to such good news, the Queen, in a transport of delight, wished instantly to send the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel and Lord Paget towards the seaside, and also to march thither the archers of the guard, had not Cardinal Pole, to whom, through other channels, information is given orally and by letter, with less reserve, concerning the causes and impediments whereby the King is detained, and which will perhaps detain him some days longer, persuaded her Majesty to await further intelligence before despatching these lords or anybody else, and in the meanwhile to send back another courier to the King with the news of the Emperor's passage (although he will have heard it already, a messenger having of course been despatched from the fleet immediately); the Queen with this opportunity reminding and entreating him, as he has now no longer any legitimate cause for absence, to fulfil his obligation and promise without delay, knowing the great importance and need of his return.

Cardinal Pole and the Regent [Don Juan de Figueroa] have been occupied with this despatch for two consecutive days, indicating thus that they have perhaps also given account of other secret matters now in course of negotiation between them; but as to the coming of the King, with the exception of the Queen, who feeds herself with these vain hopes, being desirous and too apt to believe, the Cardinal and all the others, owing to these last advices, notwithstanding the Emperor's departure, consider it more remote than they anticipated.

They have commenced regulating the expenses of the court, retrenching such as are superfluous, and to save as much as possible,

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having already broken the 50 gentlemen pensioners of the axe (*pensionarij gentilhomini dell' azza*), after the French fashion, each of whom had an annual salary of 50 pounds sterling, besides their liveries and board at the court (*le lor livree et la tavola in corte*), and with them also the other 50 yeomen of the guard (*gientilomini serventi*), who had half that stipend; and they have at length recalled the ambassador Vannes, resident with your Serenity, it being their intention for the King's ambassador to suffice for the Queen likewise, having already sent the necessary credentials, previously signed by Her Majesty, to the King, that he may countersign them. There is also a talk of recalling the ambassador in France, that the one from King Philip may represent both crowns.

Three days ago the Queen returned to London, Michaelmas term being at hand, but yet more because, according to her belief, her consort's return is proximate. On coming back, she embarked on the other side of the river at Lambeth, the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury and personal residence of Cardinal Pole, opposite to Her Majesty's (*opposito a quello di sua Maestà*),* and not only chose to enter it, but, ascending the stairs, had herself conducted by his most illustrious lordship into his own chamber, and through the gardens, and everywhere, staying for luncheon, with infinite familiarity and kindness, asking two or three times for Monsignor Priuli, who failed to present himself.

London, 22nd September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

628. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day I wrote my last of the 19th, the Court received a courier with the news of the capture of Frosinone and Pontecorvo, and that the Colonnas had advanced as far as Tivoli, 14 miles from Rome, carrying off men and cattle. Letters from Corsica also inform the King that the Genoese had taken a fort in which were 16 French soldiers, whom they cut to pieces, and then with four guns attacked a place called Belgodere, but failed in the attempt; and the Lord Giordano† writes that the enemy had landed troops three times, and it was said they purposed making an expedition against the island, appointing Antonio Doria commander-in-chief, *and that he, Giordano, had neither troops nor ammunition, so that unless his most Christian Majesty sent him fresh supplies speedily, the affairs of that island seemed to be in great danger.*

Intelligence has likewise been received of a plot which was discovered at Metz, and which had been made by the Spaniards with the townspeople, but Cui (*sic*) made a counterplot, which was also discovered by those outside the town; so some Spanish regiments which were within four leagues of the place retreated.

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* Alluding to St. James's, as in Machyn's Diary, p. 114, thus, "The xix day of September dyd the Quene's grace remove from Croydun, the Bysshope of Canthurbere's plasse, unto Sant James-in-the-Feld be-yond Charyng-crosse, her own plasse, with my Lord Cardenall and . . ." (unfinished.)

† Giordano Orsini, French Lieutenant in Corsica. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 147.)

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It has in like manner been heard from Germany that 6,000 Germans were being engaged for the King of England to be sent to Italy, although some persons say they were to have been employed for the above-mentioned plot against Metz.

Immediately on receipt of this intelligence his most Christian Majesty sent for the Cardinal of Lorraine (who was with the Queen of Scotland) [Mary Stuart], she not having yet recovered her health) and for the Marshals de Brissac [Charles de Cossé] and St. André [Jacques d'Albon], in order that together with the Constable and the Duke de Guise, who were with him, they might discuss the steps to be taken, and they are now sitting in consultation, but as yet no one knows the result, though it is expected that the decision will leave the rupture of the truce doubtful, as should the King choose to dissemble they will say it is not broken, and if he is determined on war they will unanimously say the truce has been violated.

In the meanwhile the Abbot of San Saluto arrived at the Court, and the first thing the Constable asked him was, whether Cardinal Caraffa had given him an express order to go to Flanders, or whether he went of his own accord, and in reply Parpaglia assigned the causes as in my last, telling him what he had negotiated with Don Ruy Gomez, and his three proposals for agreement with the Pope. With regard to the general peace he said he urged Ruy Gomez to state distinctly the terms on which he wished this matter to proceed, and he replied that this was not the time to tell him anything more, but that should his most Christian Majesty act (ma che incamminandose sua M^{tà} X^{ma}) *he would be convinced of the goodwill of King Philip, who would give him cause to be his good friend and to be well disposed towards his realms and States, and that any adjustment made might be corroborated by marriages and by anything else most to King Henry's satisfaction. When Parpaglia told Ruy Gomez that until he condescended to greater details the French on their part would be equally reserved, he rejoined, "Prithee, let the most Christian King be content not to give law to our King about our affairs, in like manner as the King of England does not seek to dictate to his most Christian Majesty about those of France, and whenever he may wish to treat either by messenger or letters, or through ministers, he will always find my King disposed, and we shall then be able to enter into such details as necessary." After the Abbot had made this statement, which he also delivered in writing, the Constable replied that he was to return to the Court in three days, as in the meanwhile he would show the paper to the King and then give Parpaglia the answer. The Abbot then communicated to him the stir* (li moti) *at Rome, to which his Excellency did not seem to attach much importance, as evinced by him also to others who spoke to him on the same subject. Parpaglia next told me apart that he held some conversation with Don Ruy Gomez about the arrangement written in my last with regard to alienating a portion of the Milanese, which he seemed to listen to complacently, and said that the present was not the moment for these considerations, but that he would nevertheless not fail to impart them to his King.*

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The Constable wrote to me yesterday that on the morning of the 17th the Emperor set sail with a fair wind, and that on the preceding evening his most serene son went on board to visit him and the most serene Queens.

I enclose a copy of the agreement (*capitolatione*) between the King of Spain and Duke Ottavio.

Morette, 23rd September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

629. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

The French ambassador had audience of the King to-day, complaining in his master's name that, having frequently heard by King Philip's letters and from what he told the Abbot of San Saluto about his greatly wishing for peace, his most Christian Majesty had subsequently heard that these assurances were contradicted by the proceedings of the Duke of Alva, who had already taken several places belonging to the Church; wherefore he again let him know that he had already promised to assist the Pope by all possible means, and was now determined to do so; but nevertheless, in order that the truce might last, and for the benefit of affairs in Italy, he would first tell King Philip that it would be well for him to send stringent orders to the Duke of Alva not to continue the war, because otherwise in like manner as the most Christian King had heard with great regret what has taken place hitherto, so in a few days will his royal Majesty hear news which will distress him yet more. King Philip replied that the words uttered by him to the ambassador and to the Abbot of San Saluto about wishing for peace were really in conformity with his intention, and that an intimation to this effect having been made by him to his Holiness, the Pope in his last speech took occasion to say that he would give the reply when he had got together an army of 30,000 men;* so, considering it certain that these words signified nothing but a desire for war, the Duke for the benefit of his affairs had now commenced it, but that notwithstanding this, he, the King, would still not discontinue treating about peace, not only with his Holiness but also with his most Christian Majesty. The ambassador rejoined that he would write accordingly to his King, who, however, had no intention of discussing peace until this fire against the Church was extinguished.

By the ambassador's account he then spoke to his Majesty about the usual affairs of the frontiers, and of the prisoners, and of the Emperor's voyage, about which the King told him he had that moment received news by an express from the Queen his consort that his Imperial Majesty had anchored off Portland, because of the contrary wind, and although the Admiral requested him to enter the harbour, he nevertheless had not chosen to do so, it seeming to him unnecessary, nor would he in any way retard his voyage;

* Che all' hora li faria la risposta quando si havesse ritrovato in essere trenta mille persone.

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and as the Emperor had already set sail and would keep the French coast, the King requested the ambassador to have account sent him of the weather, and from every place, on his Imperial Majesty's passage. This French ambassador asserts in public that he understands Don Bernardino de Mendoza to have said that in like manner as he always counselled his Majesty not so long to put off the war with the Pope, so had he suggested to him that on taking Rome he should place a garrison of Spaniards in Castle St. Angelo, or build a fortress in some place to enable him for the future to keep the Popes in order (*che potesse nello avenire contenir in officio i Pontefici*); which caused the ambassador to remark that rather than allow such words to take effect his most Christian Majesty would risk his kingdom.

Amongst the causes which induced the Cardinal of Trent to send hither from Milan his agent Trissino, was that of assuring King Philip that the Duke of Ferrara is not so ill-disposed towards him as he is supposed to be, and that he, the Cardinal, knows him to be the King's servant, and that he wishes and offers to form relationship in some way with the House of Austria, which to all his Majesty's chief ministers has seemed a very strange and novel thing to hear; and they lay the blame either on his right reverend lordship's ignorance of the said Duke's mind, or on the too close friendship maintained by him since a long while with his Excellency. Yesterday the Count Thadeo Manfredi told as a secret to a person from whom I heard it, that he will soon be despatched to Milan, and receive assistance to go and recover certain places belonging to him now held by the aforesaid Duke but under the name of others; the King having received authority to this effect from the Emperor before his departure, in execution of the award made in his favour in the Imperial Diet, but never enforced from regard for his Excellency, which respect it is no longer chosen to have for him if he takes part in the present war.* A courier will be sent this evening to the said Cardinal of Trent and to the Marquis of Pescara with news of the protest made by the French ambassador, and with orders to be prepared in case of an attack in Piedmont.

An express has this moment brought news of the death of the Elector of Cologne, very much to the regret of this Court, as he was the best disposed prince of any in Germany towards all the interests of the Emperor and King Philip; and the life of the Bishop of Liege is also in great danger. This morning the King went in procession to return thanks to the Lord God for the victory obtained against the Infidels. To-morrow I shall receive the letters from the King for the Viceroy of Sicily, and will send them by the ordinary post.†

Ghent, 24th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Thadeo Manfredi was the lineal descendant of the ancient barons of Faenza and other places in Romagna over which the German Empire claimed jurisdiction.

† In a despatch dated 22nd September, the ambassador writes that orders had been sent to Genoa for the recall of the ships sent to succour Oran, so I infer that the thanksgiving was for some victory gained by the Count of Alcaudete; and by the same letter it appears that Ruy Gomez had complied with Badoer's demands concerning the galleys from Messina which had molested the Venetians in the waters of Cyprus.

1556.
Sept. 26.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

630. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Francisco Pacheco has departed for the camp with the decision about the interview, accompanied by a papal courier to bring back the Duke of Alva's reply. The courier returned the next night with letters from the Duke purporting that at 11 a.m. on the day after he would be at Grottaferrata, an abbacy belonging to Cardinal De Monte, some ten miles hence, where he would await the cardinals S. Giacomo and Caraffa, and next morning a gentleman arrived with the safe-conduct. Although Cardinal San Giacomo had passed a restless night from gout and fever, he determined, for so holy a purpose as peace, to go at any rate, and had already had his litter arranged with everything necessary, whilst Cardinal Caraffa breakfasted rather early to be ready for departure.

The Pope on rising sent immediately for Cardinal Caraffa, who, after they had been a long while together, returned to his apartments (in the Palazzo di San Marco) in suspense and very thoughtful, and dismissed the prelates and gentlemen who were waiting for him, booted and spurred, saying the day was too far advanced to allow of their going and returning that same night to Rome, and that it would be unsafe to sleep abroad. On that day no one was allowed to go out of Rome, even although provided with a permit, until after 6 p.m., when a servant of Cardinal S. Giacomo went to the camp with a writing addressed by Cardinal Caraffa to his right reverend lordship, regretting having been unable to go to the Duke, as he wished, but that he did not despair of seeing him soon, and perhaps even at Rome, to the satisfaction of one side and the other.

Then, two nights ago, a trumpet came hither from the Duke with a letter addressed to Cardinal Carpi (he being the person who had written the first to his Excellency), dated Grottaferrata, saying that he had proceeded himself thither at 11 a.m., as he wrote, and remained there until 4; so not having seen anyone he did not choose to omit the performance of this last complimentary office to let him know that he was on his departure to join the army, which he should march in such direction as might seem to him most for his Majesty's service. Cardinal Carpi, who had also a fit of the gout, sent this letter to Cardinal Caraffa, saying that should his right reverend lordship choose him to answer it, he was to send him a draft of what he was to write.

At 2 a.m. a gentleman from Cardinal Caraffa took him a draft, purporting in substance that his not going to the interview was owing to the safe-conduct's having arrived late, and also because they were of opinion that the conference should be held in the open country, with a limited number of persons (as usual), and also nearer Rome, by reason of the indisposition of Cardinal San Giacomo, but that the Pope and his familiars continue well disposed to accept a good and secure peace should it be offered them ; and thus wrote the Cardinal of Carpi, sending the letter to the Duke of Alva by his own trumpet.

Various reasons are assigned for their not having gone to this conference ; some say that the place was not safe, as there were woods and ravines round about favourable for an ambuscade ; others

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that the safe-conduct was less clearly worded than becoming. Many declare that the French, fearing lest the result of this interview might deprive them of the Cardinal and the Caraffa family, thwarted it, and gave great hopes of assistance. What I know for certain is, that the day after it had been settled to go, the French Ambassador and Marshal Strozzi held a long conference with the Pope. But it is muttered by the majority that those in command here (*questi Signori*) are disinclined towards peace, perhaps because, in addition to their natural enmity with the Imperialists, they understand there is some scarcity of money and provisions in the camp, and that the army is not so formidable as they thought.

A trustworthy person tells me that the Pope, when talking with Camillo Orsini about this interview, having said that the safe-conduct was fraudulent, Orsini replied that he could not think the Duke of Alva would break his word in a matter so important and manifest; and when his Holiness rejoined that similar Moriscos (*Marani*) could not be trusted, the Lord Camillo said that the interview could not be otherwise than advantageous, if but to try and effect some adjustment, and yet more to justify his cause before the world, most especially as affairs here were in the state known to his Holiness, and the assistance which might be expected at so great a distance. When the Pope told him that he had to do with a feeble army, without victuals and without money, and therefore discontented, Camillo said that he knew not how an army, master of a fertile territory, with a kingdom completely its own in the rear, and master of the sea, could be in want of victuals, and that even were the case such as represented by his Holiness, an army of that sort, famished and desperate, was much to be feared. The Pope then became enraged, saying, "We took you for another man," and, turning his back upon him, went into another room; but after this, yesterday, with many caresses, and embracing him repeatedly, he endeavoured to soothe him by extolling him above all captains, ancient and modern.

Here, as the determination to hold a conference caused incredible satisfaction and joy, so has this subsequent innovation caused pain and astonishment, a similar mode of negotiating having been seldom, and perhaps never witnessed; and Friar Manrich (*sic*) complaining of this, said that for 20 days at least the Pope ought not to listen to any of his counsellors. The same friar, on the day appointed for the interview, was by the Pope's order detained in his ante-chamber, being told that the Pope wished to speak to him.

Rome, 26th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B. (Second Letter.)

631. The SAME to the SAME.

The servant of Cardinal S. Giacomo, who went to the camp, returned last night with a letter from the Duke of Alva to his right reverend lordship, telling him that he was about to decamp from Val Montone and go with the army where he thought he might be able to do his King service, and that as to seeing Cardinal Caraffa he should always be glad to do so in his present attire, as he

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had known him for an honourable gentleman in other garb.* It is heard that this Imperial army receives reinforcements daily and now numbers some 10,000 infantry, and I have been told on good authority that it does not suffer from the scarcity reported here, with the exception of the innumerable light horse, who are slightly inconvenienced owing to their constant forays, which prevent them from getting into good quarters. The Duke has despatched fresh captains to raise infantry and cavalry besides those levied in Tuscany under the command of Martio Santa Fiora, the Cardinal's brother,† who it is said will go to Velletri, the Roman Government having sent thither Adrian Baglione in order that the Duke of Somma may come to Rome, though others expect Santafiora to come to Tivoli, so as to get nearer to this city, nor is there any doubt of his obtaining the place, as it is not fortified, although to facilitate a retreat it has been half destroyed, and orders have been given for the total destruction of all the mills there, and that the place is to be abandoned if necessary. The enemy's cavalry and infantry scour the country daily, always occupying new places though hitherto none of them are of any importance, and they proceed freely, not fearing any encounter, although some Papal light horse in a hostel near Grottaferrata captured 14 Spaniards and brought them here to-day along the Bankers' Street (*via de Banchi*) as it were in triumph.

The lords here do not fail making what provision they can, and on the day before yesterday they harnessed the Jews to some pieces of artillery, which were thus dragged to the bastions at the gates towards the "Campagna;" taking thither also powder and ball, billeting the infantry and cavalry in the houses and vineyards of private individuals regardless of their being Cardinals or personages of any grade however exalted, and taking away a mattress from each of the public prostitutes, for the accommodation of the soldiery. They make the populace and the priests and friars work at the bastions, in virtue of a proclamation from Camillo Orsini, under penalty of 25 crowns each and of being sent to the galleys, and to-day Cardinal Caraffa appointed the Archbishop of Cosenza as their superintendent, desiring them to obey him as if he were the Pope in person. All private coaches are made to carry the fascines for the bastions, and there is a talk of pulling down the churches of S. Paulo and Santa Croce in Hierusalem, which are two of the seven most famous churches, and which have so many devotees. Some of these measures are considered but of little utility, and cause much comment. Nothing more can be known about the amount of money to be derived from the toll on ground corn, as since the war broke out the population has diminished by about two thirds; so the conservators of Rome have issued a decree for the men who accompanied the women and

* Cardinal Carlo Caraffa commenced life as a soldier and quitted the Imperial service in consequence of a dispute about a prisoner of war taken by him when under the command of the Duke of Alva. Carlo Caraffa challenged his comrade who had possession of the prisoner, and when on his way to Italy for the duel, was arrested by the Emperor's order, and confined during some months at Trent. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 337.)

† Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal of Santafiora, whose imprisonment in Castelsantangelo has been already recorded, was a staunch Imperialist.

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children to return within five days under penalty of losing their property moveable and immovable, and of being eternally dishonoured and considered infamous.

In ordinary times Rome consumes annually 110,000 *rubbij* of grain,* amounting to 9,000 per month, so that the ground-grain toll of two crowns per *rubbio* ought to yield monthly 18,000 crowns, and although it was said the Pope would levy this toll and spend it on the fortifications, a report nevertheless circulated of fresh taxes on wine, salt, and oil. The other day a Roman gentleman, one Bernardino Caffarello, when the Pope was at dinner, offered him the property, blood, and souls of all the Romans, which somewhat soothed his Holiness, who in part estranged himself from them owing to their lack of courage. Amongst the Romans and the merchants the government has distributed some 90 of the "Knighthoods of the Lily," receiving in payment so much wheat at the rate of 48 "*giulij*" per "*rubbio*," which will perhaps be sold to the bakers at a higher price, and thus will the "Chamber" obtain the money for them. This morning Cardinal Caraffa and the Reverend Vitellozzo, with some Romans were appointed for the purpose of making a depôt of grain, wine, vinegar, and grease (*grassa*), of which things there is greater need than was supposed.

The Government acts with great severity against property taken out of Rome without a permit, and in like manner against those persons who have failed to bring their grain into this city according to the orders given, on which account a few days ago some light horse were sent to sack a hamlet (*casale*) belonging to Messer Camillo Capranica.

During the last few days Cardinal Caraffa has been seen to enter the Pope's chamber alone, leaving the Duke of Paliano in the antechamber, which is said to proceed from the dissatisfaction which his rule has caused both to the Pope and Cardinal. Yesterday, which was the bad day of his Excellency's quartan-ague, he had so severe a paroxysm that when the Cardinal his brother went to visit him he was met by a groom of the chambers, who prayed him to allow his lordship to repose.

It is also said that the Pope has complained to the Cardinal of his having written from France more than the King said to him, which his Holiness comprehended both by what the French ministers have told him here as also by the scanty provision made by his Majesty for his assistance; but the Cardinal declares that he never wrote anything but what was told him, and that if at present they either cannot or will not keep their promise, he is not to blame for it. They have nevertheless great hope, and are therefore anxiously expecting a courier from France in reply to their letters of the 7th and 9th announcing the rupture, and on the evening before last they despatched secretary Bucchia to the most Christian King to give him account of what has taken place hitherto.

Yesterday evening the German troops from Mont' Alcino entered

* According to Boerio's Venetian Dictionary, the "*rubbio*" weighed twenty-one pounds avoirdupois.

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Rome; they are fine troops and well armed, forming two regiments (*insegne*), but they are not supposed to amount to more than 400 men, although at the commencement it was said they would be 1,500, and then 800. Cardinal Caraffa went to reside in the palace of St. Mark as written by me, but it is scarcely supposed he can remain there, having at every hour of the day to transact business with his Holiness.

The Portuguese Ambassador informs me that the siege of Oran in Africa has been raised with the assistance of King Philip's fleet, which was sent thither at the request of the Princess of Spain.*

Rome, 26th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

632. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

The courier destined for Milan has been delayed owing to letters addressed by the Marquis of Pescara to the King, informing him that should the truce with France be broken in Piedmont there is great risk of his Majesty's losing some fortress there, from the despair of the soldiers, who, he says, are creditors for 14 arrears of pay (*di quatordeci paghe*); so before despatching the courier they will treat about pecuniary supply, and also about sending some for the soldiers on these frontiers, who are creditors for an equal amount, it being suspected, owing to the protest of the King of France, and from the account received from King Philip's ambassador at his Court that 6,000 Switzers are to go to assist the Pope, that from day to day there will be a rupture on these frontiers, and since the news of the capture of the Papal places by the Duke of Alva's troops, many of the chief personages of this Court are very apprehensive that your Serenity move to the Pope's assistance in case the Duke continue making progress. The deputies of Brabant give some indication to the King (with whom they negotiate daily) of consenting in part to his demand for money, but they insist either on his returning to Brussels or that he go to some other town in that duchy; and these people here of Flanders, from fear of his returning to keep the Court there, have made an offer for this town alone to pay 600 crowns per month to the Duke of Savoy to remain here; and an agent arrived to-day from the Queen of England to transact with his Excellency the usual necessary business between that kingdom and these provinces.†

King Philip has sent Don Juan de Mendoza de Riviriera (*sic*) as ambassador to Portugal, and Don Juan de Figueroa as warder of Milan in lieu of Don Juan de Luna, giving him an additional 1,000 crowns annual revenue.

Ghent, 26th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Joanna of Austria, widow of John, Prince of Portugal and Regent of Spain.

† This agent seems to have been Mr. Anthony Hussey, Governor of the English merchants at Antwerp, and agent in Flanders; and in Foreign Calendar, Mary, date Ghent, 26th September 1556, there is mention of credentials given him by the Duke of Savoy, acknowledging a letter from Queen Mary relative to his return.

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Sept. 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

633. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday the Spanish Ambassador went to his most Christian Majesty, and in his King's name laid before him that he, owing to the Pope's proceedings, having been compelled to arm for the defence of his interests (*delle cose sue*), his ministers, without his order, had pushed forward, but that King Philip, desiring the quiet of Christendom, and also that the world might know the respect borne by him to the See Apostolic, had written a letter to the Duke of Alva, whereby he charged him to halt, and not to proceed farther, the copy of which the Ambassador showed his most Christian Majesty, adding that if he would pledge his word to King Philip that the Pope would not molest the kingdom of Naples, King Philip would desist entirely from hostilities (*che leveria del tutto le arme*).

To this his most Christian Majesty replied that with regret had he heard of these disturbances, because it was the duty (*officio*) of every Christian to pay respect to the Pope, and even should any misunderstanding arise, means ought to be found for adjusting it pacifically, and that if King Philip did not desist from his hostilities against the Pope, he, King Henry, was compelled to defend him, but that he would acquaint his Holiness with the performance of this office, and not fail to employ all means for the entire cessation of hostilities.

His most Christian Majesty has therefore been in constant consultation, the Constable advising him to dissemble, and not to break the truce, but to assist the Pope with money, and by negociation induce him to make peace, whilst the house of Guise and M. de Brissac demonstrate the necessity, in case the King of England continue the war, that his most Christian Majesty should do the like, but everything will be decided on the arrival of the next courier from Rome.

The deposit on the part of his most Christian Majesty is quite settled, Messer Albizzi, of the bank (*del bene*) (*sic*), under the name of the Guadagni of Lyons, having bound himself to disburse 150,000 crowns, and a German has agreed for as many more, which money will be paid to the Bishop of Lodève, in Venice, thus:—100,000 crowns on the 15th October, 100,000 on the 15th November, and 100,000 on the 15th December next, and the sums assigned in repayment (*li assignamenti*), which yield interest at the rate of 16 per cent., will be due in two years, one half to be paid annually.

M. de Scipier [Philibert de Marcilly, Seigneur de Sipierre],* who was sent by his most Christian Majesty to the King of Bohemia, has returned, and brings back word that he found him at Ingolstadt. He is understood to have obtained mere general expressions of goodwill towards the King of France, and assurance of his wish to continue in good friendship with him, *and moreover, on some other occasion, to confer and form an intimacy with him* (di abboccarsi et stringersi con lei), *but that at present, being compelled to go to Vienna, he could neither stop nor say when he could realise his wish.* As this compliment (*officio*) does not seem quite in accordance

* See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.

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with the words uttered by him to the French Ambassador at Brussels, as his most Christian Majesty told me (and as I wrote to your Serenity),* it is inferred that the irritation which then possessed him has perhaps subsided.

The Duke de Guise, with his brothers the Cardinal de Guise and the Marquis d'Elbœuf, went lately into Lorraine and conferred with M. de Vaudemont,† informing him that his most Christian Majesty wished to replace the Duke of Lorraine in his State, as besides his being already of an age to exercise his authority in person (*di poter esser patrone del suo*), he wished to remove the opinion in circulation that he, the King, kept the Duke with him, as it were, in prison, and that when established in his duchy his Majesty would conclude the marriage between him and his second daughter, by which means he thought also to gratify the Count de Vaudemont by relieving him from the cares of government. In reply, his Excellency returned many thanks to the King for the goodwill evinced by him towards the Duke, both by replacing him in his State, as also by giving him his daughter for wife, but with regard to his own removal from the government Vaudemont answered very coldly; and I hear that having discovered how with this opportunity afforded by his removal the King purposed replacing him by some member of this Guise family, he, the Count, will not consent, and indeed he has made valid provision for the defence of the strongholds in Lorraine, in some of which he has put victuals and ammunition for three years, which being heard here, this scheme has been consigned to silence for the moment; and although it was said publicly that at Michaelmas his Majesty would confer his order of St. Michael on the Dauphin and the Duke of Lorraine, this likewise is deferred till another time.

M. de Selve is being sent by the King as his Ambassador resident at Rome, and M. d'Avanson (*sic*) will return, it being said that in case of the death of the keeper of the seals, who is at the extremity of life, they will give him that office, as also the generalship of the finances of the whole kingdom, all this proceeding from the many favours bestowed on him by Madame de Valentinois [Diane de Poitiers]. The King has arrived in this city, but not the Dauphin, who is a short way off, but unwell with quartan ague.

Paris, 27th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

634. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier was sent hither last week express from Flanders, it being supposed he would find the Emperor detained in some English harbour, to let him know that the siege of Oran had been raised, but before his arrival, the wind having again changed to fair, and still continuing so, the sailors here were of opinion that the fleet was

* See before, despatch dated Morette, 2nd September 1556.

† Nicholas de Lorraine, Comte de Vaudemont, Duc de Mercœur. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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already but at little distance from the coast of Spain; so they sent the courier back.

The Queen, thank God, continues in her good plight (*nella sua prosperità*), rejoicing to see the monks of St. Benedict return to their old abbey of Westminster, into which, the canons having been removed, they, in God's name, will make their entry to-morrow, and this will be the third monastery and order of regulars (*di religiosi osservanti*), besides one of nuns, which has been hitherto re-established, to which will be soon added the fourth, of the Carthusians [at Shene], who have already made their appearance, to return, as they will, according to the promise given them, to their ancient abode eight miles hence, although it is now occupied by the Duchess of Somerset,* who is, however, to be recompensed with something else (*perhò per esser ricompensata con altro*).

The ambassadors of whom I wrote were recalled, but should it thus please the most Serene King, and if he approve of it, a doctor called the Dr. Martin has been named for France.

London, 28th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 82. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

635. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier has arrived from Rome, with news of the capture of Anagni, and that the troops of Spain were on their march to Velletri. Thereupon, consultations were resumed, *and the Constable persisted in his opinion, which is to dissemble, whilst the house of Guise and M. de Brissac persuade the King that he cannot in honour fail to assist the Pope, and that it is no longer possible to consider the truce otherwise than broken.* His Majesty at length decided that the truce had been violated, and that they must therefore provide for the war; and it was determined to protest to the Spanish ambassador, and then send 6,000 Switzers and 6,000 Germans into Piedmont, where from 8,000 to 10,000 Italian troops are to be raised, 400 spears being also sent thither to divert the forces of the King of Spain from Rome; and should this not succeed, although Parma has alienated itself from his most Christian Majesty, the Marshal de Brissac offers to march with this army into those parts. Yesterday the above-mentioned ambassador was sent for, and his Majesty told him, that hearing that the troops of his King were making daily progress against the Papal States, contrary to what he had told him was the will of King Philip, King Henry, not choosing to forfeit either his title of "Most Christian" or his promise made to the Pope to defend him and the Church, protested that the truce was to be considered broken; [that he held King Philip responsible] for all the loss and detriment thus caused to

* Anne Stanhope, by descent (in the female line), a Plantagenet, second wife of the Protector. In October 1551, at the time of her husband's arrest, she also was sent to the Tower, together with Mr. Newdigate, whom she afterwards married, but I know not in what year. On the 11th August 1553, on the accession of Queen Mary, the Duchess of Somerset was released from the Tower, and died 16th April 1587. She was buried in Westminster Abbey. (See Machyn, and Queen Jane and Queen Mary (Camden Society publications), and Collins, vol. 1, pp. 171, 172).

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the Church and to Christendom, and that he would soon cause to be felt how great were the forces of his Crown. On hearing this, the Ambassador [Simon Renard, Lieutenant d'Amont] besought his Majesty to delay doing anything for 20 days, during which term he promised that his King would make all his troops retire; this demand being made by him solely that he might have time to let his King know what his most Christian Majesty had said to him, and that King Philip might be able to send an express to Italy. To this King Henry replied, that not being desirous of any fresh stir of arms, he was content to give him the aforesaid term, but that on its expiration, he would deem the truce to be broken. The commissions have nevertheless been despatched in every direction, with orders for all the troops to hold themselves in readiness, but not to march without fresh instructions; and although it is believed that after hearing this protest the King of Spain will not proceed farther, they will get everything ready during during this interval.

Paris, 28th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 30. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

636. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The news has arrived here that the Imperialists had occupied Tivoli, which is some 20 miles hence, the country being quite level as far as this city; M. De Montluc went hence with some Gascons to destroy the mills, and had scarcely time to save himself and withdraw the two companies in garrison there. The townspeople are supposed to have called the army to prevent the destruction of the mills and buildings, on which their livelihood depends, most especially as the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa had already given them permission to adjust their affairs with the enemy.

Tivoli is said to contain some 5,000 "*rubij*" of grain, much wine, oil, and barley, and of the 20 mills only six were injured (*guastati*), so this occupation will be convenient for the Imperialists; besides which, in their rear they have the Abruzzo, which may be said to border on Tivoli.

Here the Government is greatly blamed for placing troops in untenable places, and for leaving the enemy to avail themselves of so much food and so many conveniences.

The army is encamped (*allogia*) at Ponte Lucano, near Tivoli, on the river Anieno, now called Teverone, and they have sent horse and foot to occupy the small castles round Tivoli, so as to have none but their own places in the rear. On Monday morning the cavalry scattered itself over the "Campagna," and some of them came to a hamlet belonging to Messer Mario Bell'homo, two miles hence; others came as far as the vineyards, and took some beasts of burden loading wine for conveyance into this city, and as a bravado they came and touched the walls and the gate. Aurelio Fregoso was sent out, and at Ponte Mamolo, which crosses the Teverone, at no great distance hence, espied a very large body of cavalry, and

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skirmished a little, but it was not an affair of importance, as being unable to withstand the charge, he retreated.

At 8.30 p.m. on that night the alarm was sounded here, with the usual shrieks of terror, though it was satisfactory to see that, besides the paid soldiers, the battalions of the populace and Roman gentry mustered very bravely. The cause of this stir is reported variously, but one of the chief captains has said that it was by order of the lords in command here, to see what they can hope for.

Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Somma, who came from Velletri, rode round the city, in order not to have need of receiving information from others, and M. De Montluc is outside with horse and foot to check (if he can) the extreme audacity of the enemy in coming up to the walls, and to inspect the bed of the Tiber, and the spot where the enemy may purpose crossing it.

The majority (although many are dreading every disaster) do not think that this army can storm Rome, though everybody declares that being masters of the open country they will soon straiten this city, and cause a want of everything, more especially of wine, meat, and other provisions, which causes great apprehension, there being but little hope of adjustment, and assistance seeming so remote that whether of troops or money it cannot arrive in time, armies not being raised so speedily, nor can they fly on their march, in addition to which the winter is at hand. Nor is there any money here, all the merchants having departed, so that it was impossible to find 5,000 crowns, and to have coined money sent would be hazardous, the roads being insecure. And here I will not omit mentioning a circumstance that it may be held in such account as your Serenity shall think fit.

The ambassador from Ferrara, talking in secret about the succour which the Pope might receive from Italy and France, said that the King must not remain looking on whilst the others are dancing; let him make an attack in Piedmont, and the others will play their part. Here, as commissioners for pecuniary supply, they have appointed the right reverend Montepulciano, the Reverend Treasurer and Bishop Vitellozzi, Aldobrandini and Giovan di Nepi, to consult and report to Cardinal Caraffa, but Vitellozzo expressed himself thus, that "*ex nihilo nihil fit.*" The Pope's familiars either conceal everything, or at least do not give his Holiness the details of these reverses, in order not to sadden him. The 14 Spanish soldiers have been released, and Marquis Montebello will perhaps leave to-day for Bologna and Romagna, to engage 3,000 foot and some cavalry. The Reverend Governor of Rome was to have departed two days ago for France, and as he is going on account of this stir, he will probably remain as Nuncio with his most Christian Majesty.

The Germans who came from Mont' Alcino live according to their detestable custom, eating meat every day without distinction; and the Gascons do not desist from their acts of larceny, stripping people of their cloaks, taking bread and wine by force, and choosing to be masters of the women, although Cardinal Caraffa complained to their commanders, and threatened to punish them.

Fabricio de' Sanguini, son of Signor Ferrante, the Pope's relation, has arrived from the Emperor's Court, with a very gracious letter

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from King Philip to his father, and respectful with regard to the Pope. He says that the rupture was not known at the Court, though they were indeed expecting news of the Duke of Alva's having taken the field.

It is heard that in the direction of the Abruzzo, the Count di Populo has reinforced himself with horse and foot towards the river Tronto. Having obtained a copy of the letter written by the Duke of Alva to Cardinal S. Giacomo, I enclose it,* as besides its reported tenour as written by me, it contains some other particulars which were not then told nor are they mentioned at present, and I think them worthy of your Serenity's notice.

The Papal Government, to avail themselves of the Count of Pitigliano, have appointed him general of the cavalry; and to Matheo Stendardo they give the command of the mounted harquebusiers, the report continuing that, should they not raise the whole 500, they will at least have 300. Yesterday officials were sent in the Pope's name to take note of the number of mouths for which they have to provide, that the necessary supplies may be more authentically ascertained, it being said that the heads of districts (*caporioni*) will also be charged to give a list of all persons subject to their Prior (*haveranno cargo di dar tutti quelli del loro Priore*).

On Monday, there was Consistory, which the Pope entered in a rage, nor would he give audience to any one. He apologised for not having held Consistory sooner, because he had had, and continued to have, many and very great anxieties about his own life and that of others. He said that to this army and to its chiefs he would send juridically a monitory (*un monitorio giuridicamente*), to let them know what censures they have incurred by waging war on the Pope and the See Apostolic, although he said he did not expect it to be of any use; adding that he would take care not to fall into their hands, and that if compelled to abandon Rome, he shall go to a place where he will be received, and aided to exercise his office, which most important words, have been held in very great account. He abused the Emperor in his usual language; of the King he said less evil, but what he uttered of his ministers was boundless.

Some Consistorial business was next despatched, and his Holiness wished to issue a decree, forbidding Bishops to hold dignities in any church, such as canonries, deaneries, archpresbyterships and the like, but the Cardinals endeavoured to prove to his Holiness that there are many mere titular Bishops, and others whose revenues are very scanty, and but for similar dignities they would be unable to maintain the episcopal grade, wherefore dispensations even for parochial benefices with care of souls were usually granted them. The Pope replied that those who granted such dispensations did not journey towards that bourne whither he is journeying, and that at any rate in the next Consistory he will pass this decree, and not only for the future, but also with regard to the past.

It having been told me that there were letters from France, I caused inquiry to be made of a person who could know it, and he

* Not found.

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wrote me the enclosed memorandum,* without the day and without any signature, for a good reason. The capture of Tivoli, and the near approach of the army to this city, being of such great importance as they are, and knowing at these present times in what hourly expectation of my letters your Serenity will be, I have chosen to despatch to you Iseppo Tagliagola, who arrived from Venice to-day, (as I have but two other sick couriers here,) and I have desired him to be with your Serenity on Saturday before the dismissal of the College, in which case you will be pleased to have him paid 16 golden crowns, I having given him as many more ; and he gave me your Serenity's letters of the 26th, containing orders which shall be executed at my next audience.

Rome, 30th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. ?
MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. pp. 70 verso & 71 recto. No date of time or place in MS.

637. Cardinal Pole to the Archbishop of Granada.

Is much surprised that in his letters dated the 6th August the Archbishop makes no mention whatever of having provided for payment of the money due to Pole last St. John's day, and yet more is he astonished that after the admission of his claims by the judges appointed by the Archbishop's agents, he should persist in not paying him in golden ducats of the treasury coinage according to the tenour of the bulls, thus compelling him at each payment to make fresh protests, as he does at present, and to proceed against Granada by the usual course of censures, as he shall be forced to do, should it prove impossible by other means to make him pay in full, as the Archbishop will be obliged to do with greater inconvenience, having to pay the arrears all at once. It is needless for the Archbishop to allege his necessities for the purpose of inducing Pole to let him retain the money, as, from his grade and on all other accounts, Pole's need in this respect is much greater than the Archbishop's, and his income (*le facultà sue*) much less. Is certain that the intention of the Emperor [who made the assignment on the see of Granada] was and is that he should receive the pension in full, and without any diminution or drawback. For the rest, Pole will always be ready on every occasion to exert himself for the satisfaction of the Archbishop, nor would he hesitate to cede his rights to him, were he as much his superior in revenue as he is in station (*di carico*). Will await the Archbishop's orders in this matter after the receipt of the present letter, that he may know how to proceed.

[London, October (?) 1556.]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

638. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Last night when about to despatch the accompanying packet, I was told that between 8 and 9 p.m., a courier arrived from France, and also that Ferrante di Sanguini had been for two hours with the

* Not found.

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Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, to resume the negotiation for an agreement; so I detained the courier until to day, and thinking I might perhaps obtain some knowledge of these two important matters, I sent my secretary to the palace of St. Mark to speak to Cardinal Caraffa, whom he did not find, as he had gone out on horseback for the purpose, he said, of inspecting the walls, though it is believed to hold a secret consultation with the French ministers, who in like manner were all out riding. The secretary spoke to Aldobrandini (who may be styled the second person after the Cardinal), who, with regard to the letters from France, said he had not yet been with Cardinal Caraffa, so he knew nothing more about them, and thought that the courier was come merely from Lyons, and that as for Ferrante de' Sanguini he did not believe the Pope would listen to him, as the terms brought by him from the Emperor's Court (and which he is now endeavouring again to bring forward) purported that Paliano, not being fortified, should be held for the Church; that as compensation the King would give the Duke 14,000 crowns annual revenue in the kingdom of Naples; on the other hand, if fortified, the warder of Paliano to be a person in the King's confidence to guarantee him against its seizure by the French; which terms, imposing law on the Pope in his own territory, were rejected at the time, nor did Aldobrandini expect them to be accepted at present. All my diligence has failed to elicit anything farther, but I will write again on Saturday; and in the meanwhile to the bearer of this packet, in addition to what I write by the accompanying letter, in case he arrive on Sunday at daybreak, be your Serenity pleased to give four more crowns, as promised him by me should he reach Venice by Saturday at sunset.

Rome, 1st October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

639. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Since the protest made by the King to the Spanish ambassador, and the determinations about the Switzers and Germans, I hear that to both one place and the other the usual pay when making levies has been sent, orders being given that should the troops already raised in Germany by the King of Spain march towards Italy, these now made for France are in the like manner to move towards Piedmont, but if the Spanish levies remain stationary, those made for France are also to await farther orders; his most Christian Majesty being of opinion that if Spain keeps paid troops, it is for his dignity to do the like. In addition to this, on the expiration of the 20 days term taken by the Spanish ambassador, they are to be in complete marching order, and the like will be done by the 400 men-at-arms, but not before the 20th of this month, on which day in several places in France they make the muster-general of all the armed gendarmerie (*gente d'armaria armata*), which is a very rare proceeding, and in the meanwhile they will wait to see what takes place in Italy; though it is believed that the Spanish troops will retire, both as it is supposed that the Spanish ambassador would not have taken upon himself to promise their retreat unless commissioned

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by his King to do so, and also because the confirmed opinion here is that King Philip does not choose to go to war with France, which is yet more ratified by a positive report, in circulation of late, that his Majesty will cross over to England for a few days, and proceed thence to Spain, whither it is said that he has determined to go and reside permanently, being persuaded thus to do by his Council, and to rule the rest of his States in the best way he possibly can; *and the Abbot of San Saluto vouches for this. Therefore, notwithstanding all these disturbances, it is hoped that the negotiation for the peace will continue, most especially as it is understood that a person came hither lately about this matter from the King of England to the King of France, and went back with a reply of some sort.*

Yesterday M. de Forcovoe (*sic*) departed on his way to the Duke of Ferrara, with the fresh resolve formed by his most Christian Majesty, which is to give him the title of his Lieutenant-General in Italy, with the authority usually given to the King's sons; he will have an annual salary of 24,000 crowns, and an additional 4,000 for his Lieutenant; he will be paid for 100 men-at-arms, according to the French fashion, which in that number comprises also 150 archers, and will be at liberty to pay them in the Italian manner, rating the archers likewise for their portion as so many men-at-arms; and in like manner they will pay him for 200 light-horse and 1,000 infantry in time of peace, and 2,000 and more in time of war, besides the pension and men-at-arms conceded to the Prince his son; but as the demand made quite recently by his Excellency was to have 1,500 paid infantry in time of peace, and as the King promises him but 1,000, the conclusion is not yet settled, though I have heard his Excellency will be content with this decision; *but besides this, there is an article in the league made heretofore between the Pope, the King of France, and his Excellency, that, in case offensive war be waged, the Duke of Ferrara on his part is to make a deposit of* 300,000 *crowns.*

On Michaelmas-day the King held a chapter of his Order [of St. Michael] here in Paris, in the church of "Notre Dame," with the greatest solemnity possible, in the presence of 24 knights, not including himself, many years having elapsed since so great a number have attended. The King created three new knights, namely, M. d'Andelot, the Admiral's brother, who returned hither a few days ago on his release from prison; M. de Senarpont [Jean de Mouchy], captain of Boulogne; and the Marquis d'Elbœuf, brother of the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal. A few days ago the wife of the Duke de Bouillon, daughter of Madame de Valentinois, departed for Flanders to see her husband, whose bodily health is not good, and he is known to be of rather weak mind at intervals from melancholy owing to his imprisonment; and she will shortly return with him at liberty, his ransom having been agreed to for 60,000 crowns.

Paris, 1st October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556. Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

640. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A friend of mine who is much in the confidence of the Spanish ambassador, tells me that the said ambassador assured him that his most Christian Majesty made no protest whatever to him about breaking the truce, neither did he, the ambassador, ask the term of the 20 *days to effect the retreat of his King's forces; but that his most Christian Majesty did indeed speak to him very strongly* (assai gagliardamente) *with reference to the Pope, telling him that he regretted* (si doleva) *the course pursued by his King with his Holiness, whom he should be compelled to defend, according to the promise made to him, but that he, King Henry, nevertheless assured King Philip that he had no other league with the Pope than for his defence, and not for the purpose of attacking or invading the kingdom of Naples or any other State belonging to him. To this the ambassador replied, that whenever his most Christian Majesty should be content to treat the peace, even with the inclusion of his Holiness, King Philip offered to withdraw his forces, and to restore what had been occupied belonging to the Church, and that for this purpose Don Ruy Gomez would come here to the court, whenever it best pleased his Majesty, who answered him that he was always ready to negotiate the peace, and that Don Ruy Gomez would be always welcome; and when my friend inquired of the ambassador whether he was commissioned to offer this visit from Don Ruy Gomez, or whether he proposed it of his own accord, he replied, "I said it spontaneously, but I well know what I say."*

I subsequently spoke also with the Abbot of San Saluto, who told me that the ministers here (questi signori) *delayed giving him the answer to what he had proposed to them in the name of Don Ruy Gomez longer than they had promised him, and that the Constable, according to his usual fashion with him, spoke very harshly, complaining of the forms* (modi) *adopted by the King of England against the Pope, and that his most Christian Majesty was compelled to resent them, using other similar language; but that afterwards the Cardinal of Lorraine told him plainly that the most Christian King wished to give ear* (voleva attender) *to the negotiation of the peace, but with the inclusion of the Pope; and therefore, having considered the three forms of negotiating proposed to him, he was content, if the King of England would send hither, to send some one in like manner to his court; and if it pleased him to have a conference held between the ministers of one side and the other, he, the King of France, would be content to send his to the place appointed, but that he let King Philip know that let him send whom he pleased,—though his most Christian Majesty wished Don Ruy Gomez to be present,—he himself had determined that, on his part, this business should be treated by none but the said Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable; all which the said Abbot told me he had written to Don Ruy Gomez, and awaited a reply to it.*

Paris, 2nd October 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Oct. 2.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

641. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 1.30 p.m. I went to the Pope, and found him giving the batoon to the new Governor of Rome, the Archbishop of Sienna, of the Bandini family, who has been outlawed from that city, there being present the Cardinals Saraceno, Ariano, (*sic*) and Caraffa, and the Duke of Paliano. After dismissing them, the Pope called me, and walking up and down (*et passeggiando*), said, "You see, Magnifico Ambassador, to what we are brought by the tyranny of these heretics, whom God has accursed; they may be said to have approached to the gates of this city, and go plundering all the weak places of the Church, like iniquitous pilferers as they are (*come scelerati ladroncelli che sono*), not having the courage to touch the fortified places, such as Paliano and Veletri, but we hope in God that he will punish them, as they come against His Spouse without any cause, save because the Vicar of Christ will not be subordinate to them (*non vuol star sotto di loro*); nor were they ashamed to proclaim such great impiety by the very unfair terms which they proposed to us. We will rid ourselves of them; they are scarcely 10,000 infantry; and an inexperienced youth having by the grace of God become master of so many kingdoms, his first exploit is to take up arms against the See Apostolic, he choosing, under these auspices, to give proof of himself, and the why is, because he chooses to command us within our own territory and to prevent us from punishing one of our own vassals, an unprecedented instance of impiety, to conceal which they said that we purposed waging war on them, and that they, from fear, were arming in self defence; yet have they manifested to the world who wished the war, and who declared it.

"Think, Magnifico Ambassador, in what condition we should have found ourselves at present had we not been provided with this small force at our command! From any evil some good may be derived; through the loss incurred by us hitherto, we have gained the means of attesting our patience and great toleration (although provoked by many injuries) by not stirring, as the eyes of the whole world were upon us to see if we attacked. Now, no one will be found of such gross and vitiated intellect as not to see who moved the war, nor of such sorry judgment and ill-will as not to say that what we shall do will be done with every reason in the world."

It then seeming to me a good opportunity for executing your Serenity's commission about the office performed with the Emperor's ambassador, I said, "Holy Father, it is still possible that the Duke of Alva will come to some fair agreement, nor has the most Serene Signory failed to perform an office with the Imperial ambassador who is leaving Venice on his way to the most serene King of Spain, praying him to let his Majesty know, both by letter and by word of mouth, the extreme importance of this war, which might proceed in such a way as to render it impossible to apply a remedy when wished, beseeching his Majesty to give orders for coming speedily to some fair agreement with your Holiness"; and that your Serenity would also write accordingly to our ambassador with King Philip;

1556. the Spanish ambassador, before his departure, strongly urging the Duke of Alva to the like effect; which the said Imperial ambassador promised to do.

The Pope said, "We cannot but commend this office on the part of those most sage Signors, but know that here the Duke of Alva, although very vain and inconsiderate (*vano leggiero*), is however not so utterly empty (*voto*) as to have moved in so important a matter without a commission, in addition to which we know the determination of the Imperial Council, in which there are a pair of arrant heretics (*un par d'heretici marzi,*)* and we have discovered that that last conference which was determined on was full of fraud. Magnifico Ambassador, those lords of mine must make themselves heard in another form, because tyrants, like thieves, are naturally timid. You, by force and by making yourselves heard, made them make a Duke of Milan† (*voi li faceste far un Duca di Milano per forza et per lassarvi intender*), and we know that the fear they had of you induced them to do it. We will tell you freely, not as Pope, but as your loving friend, that should you not put your hand to this, you in this instance (*qui*) lose your honour and authority, for if Christ (who can do it) should do the work without you, you would thus incur great contumely, for you cannot say, It does not concern us. Are you not Christians? is not this a country common to all? have you not your share in it? and if this is the case, can it be said, It does not concern me? and if you see your mother cruelly treated can you, her sons, stay looking on? For how much slighter a cause, and how many times, did not your ancestors undertake their honourable expeditions?

"But besides the religion, besides the faith of Christ, besides the honour of Italy, are not the interests of your State concerned to the utmost? who is so blind as not to perceive that this is the vesper of your ruin! God forbid that they should succeed here, as they would come straight to visit you, for, as we have so often told you, there is nothing else remaining for them in Italy. Magnifico Ambassador, it is no longer the time for words; you must no longer delay; write what we tell you to those lords, for this matter concerns their profit and honour. We believe—nay, we are as sure as if we saw it—that foreseeing that we were about to effect the reform in earnest, and not fictitiously like the others, and that we had commenced eviscerating (*spolpar*) ourselves at a cost of some 300,000 crowns annual revenue, and that the rest of the Church revenues must necessarily follow (*et che a questo ne seguiria di necessità il resto*), the Devil therefore instigated his satellites to molest us with this war to turn us aside from so good a work; but the whole of hell will not have power to make us swerve from so fixed and holy a purpose, to which we are attending as we best may, and from day to day remove some of the many existing

* Query, Bernardin Antonio de Mendoza, and Antonio de Toledo. (See the list of King Philip's privy councillors in a despatch from Badoer, dated Brussels, 9th August 1556.)

† Francesco Sforza, appointed Duke of Milan by the Emperor Charles V., in the year 1529. The demand was made of him at Bologna by Gasparo Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador. (*See* Andrea Morosini, Venetian History, vol. i, p. 324.)

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abuses ; for to tell you clearly, there is nothing that remains in the forms appointed by our Holy Fathers, and indeed those who read their decrees, and consider to what they are now reduced, will not recognise them, so greatly have they been perverted."

In reply to this, when I said that the Lord God would effect the peace, to give his Holiness an opportunity for rendering so pious and eminent a service to the world, and that he displayed such vigour as to warrant hopes of his living for many years to come, he rejoined, "Magnifico Ambassador, you are too partial to us, and too desirous of our welfare, but to promise one's self life is contrary to the commandment of the Lord God ;" and he alleged the authority of the most Holy Gospel, *vigilate quia nescitis diem, neque horam ; quod vobis dico, omnibus dico ;** on which same topic his Holiness, after quoting the verse by Horace "*Omnem crede diem tibi illuxisse*† *supremum,*" commenced discoursing about the said Horace, saying he was an excellent poet and a good moral philosopher, and that had be been of Christ's faith he would have proved such a preacher as to have made the world run after him (*saria riuscito tal predicator che si haveria fatto correr dietro il mondo*) ;‡ and the Pope having then quoted several of his verses on various subjects, I, to soothe him, having added some others, commending his Holiness' recollection of things abandoned since so many years, I put him into so good a humour (*la ridussi in tal dolcezza*) that I thought I could not find a better opportunity for executing the Senate's commission about the affair of the right reverend Elect of Aquileia ;§ so availing myself of the very prudent reasons already learnt from your Serenity, and certain others suggested by his right reverend Lordship's agent Randonio, I besought the Pope to repeal the sentence of the "Rota," and send back the case *in partibus,* as it exists *in prima instantia* (et remetter la causa *in partibus* come quella che è *in prima instantia*), but that nevertheless, to gratify your Serenity so far as he could, his Holiness should be pleased to take information on the subject ; and the Pope having called the reverend President of the Chamber (*della Camera*), desired him to let the "*Decano*" of the Rota know, that after taking precise information about this case from the person whom I would send to him, he was then to go and report to his Holiness.

Thereupon I told the Pope that as the "*esecutoriali*" were already issued, and perhaps moreover near the end (*vicini alla fine*), I therefore requested him to suspend the execution until he had informed himself, lest the right reverend Patriarch designate incur some censure. The Pope endeavoured to turn the conversation, but as I insisted on this important point so earnestly committed to me by your Serenity, he told me freely that all he could do for the pre-

* Gospel according to St. Mark, chapter 13, verse 33.

† In the modern editions of Horace, this line in his epistle "ad Albium Tibullum," is printed "omnem crede diem tibi *diluxisse* supremum."

‡ Horace was born at Venosa, in the kingdom of Naples, 65 years before the Christian æra. Paul IV. thus implies that the Saviour had read Horace, who anticipated a passage in St. Mark's Gospel.

§ Daniel Barbaro, coadjutor of the patriarch Giovanni Grimani. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. 6, errata ; in the text of vol. 5, p. 333, printed erroneously "Giovanni *Querini.*")

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sent was to inform himself. I will have information given to the "Decano," and have already contrived so that the commission should be sent to him immediately, in order that, if feasible, some good may be done as soon as possible. I would also have spoken about the "*accessit*" for Brazza, had not the words uttered just before by the Pope (as above), viz., that the whole of hell should not have power to turn him aside from so fixed and holy a project as that about the reform, counselled me to delay.

I had the Turkish news-letters, contained in your missive of the 23rd ulto., read to his Holiness, who laid great stress on the forces of Sultan Soliman, as when he was not supposed to have 50 galleys out of Constantinople, he had 105 at sea, the Pope adding that with such great power it was impossible to prevent him from endangering everything; and having then been nearly two hours with his Holiness, I took leave.

Rome, 2nd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7, B.

642. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

I was lately visited by the Signor Aurelio Fregoso, who told me that one of his vassals in the service of a gentleman in the Imperial camp, made his escape from it because he had killed a Spaniard, and down to this time he reports the army as numbering 10,000 infantry, viz., 2,500 Spaniards, very fine troops, there not being a mere pikeman nor harquebusier amongst them without a steel cap, the rest being Italians, raw, and without armour (*disarmati*), but the infantry from Tuscany are expected shortly, and certain Germans and Spaniards shipped at Spezia. The cavalry amount to about 12,000, the men-at-arms and the Neapolitan gentlemen, whose service is obligatory, being in good order; but the light horse are not very good, and in no respect to compare with those of the Pope, nor do they amount to 200. He says they have a bridge more than 100 paces in length, with its pontoons, to throw over the Tiber, and that it is the intention of the Duke of Alva to come to Rome. Fregoso added that they will not storm this city, but that (to use his own words) they will take it by bread, as by raising a fort to defend their bridge they might cross the river whenever they please, and cut off their supplies from that quarter.

He said, besides, that on his return to Rome on the night when he made his last cavalry expedition (*cavalcata*), he found a guard of 50 foot soldiers at the gate, and the nearest reinforcement was more than two miles off, so that any night the enemy might force a gate before succour could arrive, which he represented to Cardinal Caraffa, and provision has been made by forming fresh bodies of guard forces to correspond one with the other, and they have divided the care of the fortification and the custody (*guardia*) of the city between Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Paliano, Marshal Strozzi, Montluc, and the said Fregoso, who also told me that he suspected that after the enemy has crossed the bridge the Duke of Florence will declare himself, to compel the Pope to come to terms before succour can reach him from any quarter. The Signor Leonardo

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della Rovere, who was with Fregoso, told me that when with the Duke of Paliano, who was visiting M. de Giuri (the colonel of the last Gascons that came with Cardinal Caraffa), he being ill in bed with a double tertian ague (*con due terzane*), he heard the said Duke apologise for the irregularities (*li desordeni*) which have occurred hitherto, and are imputed to his Excellency, by saying that at the commencement he wished to go with the greater part of the forces to Frosinone, to dispute the enemy's passage, but was dissuaded by one who was more believed than he was, adding that if his retirement into private life could adjust the present disturbances, and that he who can command permitted him, he would do so willingly.

Aldobrandini being asked by one of his confidants about the monitory which the Pope in Consistory said he would send to the army, he replied that there had been much discussion about this, and that the Pope's opinion and his was to make a declaration that these Imperialists (*che questi*) had incurred the censures contained in the bull "*In cœnâ Domini*," and the penalties of being deprived, &c., and that he, Aldobrandini, drew up one minute, another being made by those who have more experience than he has about certain clauses required for similar matters, so that they might be in order, but that it was not yet quite determined to publish the monitory; the concession being moreover discussed of the greatest "indulgences" possible to those who shall assist the See Apostolic, as conceded to those who visit the Holy Land and perform similar acts of devotion. M. de Montluc has returned from his foray (*cavalcata*), having merely burned a few boats on the banks of the river, to deprive the enemy of them, for which he is blamed, as they might have been brought to Rome, where they are needed, most especially for the conveyance of wood. The Romans, to meet the present necessities, are asking a loan from the prelates and the few wealthy merchants who have remained, promising them good security on their municipal revenues. Knighthoods of "the Lily" have been disposed of to the amount of 50,000 crowns, with which money they have purchased wheat, and also cattle from the slaughter-house; and this month they have commenced making the bakers give the Chamber (*la Camera*) from day to day what they get from the flour, amounting (the *Chierico di Camera*, Vitellozzo, says) to 15,000 crowns per month.

The Romans have asked leave of Cardinal Caraffa to send to the camp for an escort to enable them to sow, which he refused them for two reasons, the one that what was sown would be for the enemy, the other that the husbandmen would serve the army for spies.

Yesterday, on leaving the Pope, Cardinal Caraffa, feeling rather unwell, went to bed to repose, but to-day he got up to dine, and when I sent my secretary to visit him he replied that he hoped not to be ill, and on being asked whether there was any news, he said that the enemy's army was scattered over the places in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, towards Vicovaro* (*Vignar*) (*sic*), under which

* For notices of Vicovaro at this period, see despatches of Sir Edward Carne in Foreign Calendar, Mary.

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place a part of it is encamped, and the troops within made two or three sallies, and somewhat molested those outside; and the Cardinal expected the besieged to defend themselves, as the position was a very strong one. He also said that the Duke of Alva has several times had it intimated to Signor Ferrante de Sanguini that he must depart hence, and he replied that he was commissioned by the King of Spain to reside with the Pope for his Majesty's service, in addition to which he replied that he had been ill all this time, as known to everybody; so the Duke told his son Fabricio that his father had misconducted himself by not obeying, as, had he been sure to die at one mile's distance from Rome, he ought to have departed thence, and that it was the office of him, the Duke, and not of the Signor Ferrante, to interpret the King's commissions; so it is believed that he will be forced to come away.

The Signor Mattheo Stendardo has had 1,000 crowns with which to commence raising his 1,000 mounted harquebusiers; and 60 of the 100 light horse for which a commission had been given to a son of the late Signor Alessio Vitelli, arrived here lately. Yesterday, on my way to audience, in the Hall of Constantine, I met the right reverend "*Decano*" [Cardinal de Bellai], who, detaining me for a long while, said, "I have not failed to perform every good office for the peace, and just now I spoke about it to his Holiness, but it requires great address, for all that one raises up is subsequently pulled down." I told him that his right reverend lordship's good offices were known to everybody, and had therefore increased his popularity universally, because all men, in short, desire the peace as beneficial to the community, to which he replied, shrugging up his shoulders, "This consolation will remain to me, that I have done what it is in my power to do."

Had the Imperial army determined to cross the Tiber during these last two days, it would have been unable to do so, as the river is much swollen, so much so that I, who reside on its banks, have incurred some loss of wine and hay, in addition to so many other expenses which the nature of the times has subjected me to ever since the first day I assumed this legation until now, and God grant that yet greater be not in store for me; and I was compelled to stable my horses away from my habitation, but to-day the flood is subsiding, the sirocco sea wind which increased it having ceased.

It being now 12h. 30m. p.m., I hear through several channels that Vicovaro has been taken,* because the townspeople, despite the soldiers, opened a gate to the enemy, and the enclosed note has also been sent to me, purporting that it was taken from want of victuals. I cannot give your Serenity farther particulars, the hour being so late as to prevent me from sending anywhere to ascertain them, but I will not fail to do my duty in my next letter.

Rome, 3rd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir Edward Carne announces the capture of Vicovaro in a despatch dated Rome 10th October 1556. (*See* Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 265.)

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Oct. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

643. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the French ambassador gave the King his most Christian Majesty's reply about maintaining the truce or not, on account of the Duke of Alva's proceedings against the Pope, and it purported that should the Duke not go to Rome his most Christian Majesty will on his part observe the truce, but in case the Duke attempt to do that also, he chose to be at liberty to make war where he pleased, being unable and unwilling to desert the Holy See Apostolic, exhorting King Philip at great length to charge the said Duke not to proceed farther, but attempt rather to settle the disputes by way of agreement. The King replied that, he being inclined towards peace, it always pleased him to hear words tending to that end, wherefore it was satisfactory to him to learn that his most Christian Majesty would observe the truce, as by his order the Duke of Alva was not to go to Rome, as he had already told the ambassador; and that as to coming to any agreement with the Pope, his most Christian Majesty might be always very sure from what was said above on the subject how much he desired it, but that the Pope had shown himself too averse to such a thought, though the King knew that the Duke of Alva being well acquainted with his Majesty's intention would not cease speaking about it.

The ambassador then stayed to converse with Don Ruy Gomez, who spoke to him in the same terms, adding that he was determined some day or other to do what he had so often told the ambassador he would do, and go in person and confer with the Constable Montmorency, and remain four days with him in one and the same habitation (*in una medesima stantia*), as he was mentally convinced that they would effect some good adjustment. The ambassador answered him that his intention was good, but that it would be better first of all for them to treat together here about the means for subsequently bringing the peace to a good end.

The personages of the Court here in general evince very great joy at the progress made by the Duke of Alva, and praise him vastly, saying that the King of France will not break the truce, more from inability than from disinclination to do so, wherefore the Pope will be compelled to come to some agreement; and they lay much stress on the Pope's anger against the Duke of Paliano and his other kinsfolk for having shown themselves so greatly inclined to accept the advantageous proposals made to them by the Duke of Florence in King Philip's name. It is also said that the 2,000 Spainards who were mustered in the kingdom of Murcia to succour Oran will now be sent to reinforce the Duke of Alva.

The nephew of the Cardinal of Trent, Signor Federico Madruccio, has arrived here, and from his conversation I comprehend that he is come not merely to kiss the King's hand and to offer him his services after his long imprisonment, but by the Cardinal's order to ask his permission for him to come hither in person to tell him by word of mouth what he cannot communicate either by letters or agents, about the many things required for the state of Milan,

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telling me that the revenues there are forestalled until the year 1560; that the necessity for expenditure increases daily, and that had not his right reverend lordship increased the salt-duty by 49,000 crowns annually, and obtained permission to sell this fund, he would not have known how to provide for these exigencies.

The King received his nephew graciously, promising him employment, but would not consent to the Cardinal's coming hither, saying he had already sent him 200,000 crowns and every instruction by Count Landriano, who departed three days ago with an especial order for 100,000 crowns to be set apart exclusively for the fortification of several places on the frontiers towards Piedmont; and to-morrow Signor Federico will return postwise to the Cardinal.

To the Count d'Egmont the King has confirmed the commission he gave him to raise 600 horse at present according to his warrant in time of peace, and with an additional 1,000 in time of war.

The deputies of the towns of Brabant departed hence, announcing some intention to the King of performing good offices to induce their constituents to contribute to the subsidy demanded, and from the account transmitted by the Counsellor Fisnach (*sic*), who accompanied them for this purpose, they persist in not paying, and used much foul language; so it is generally reported that the King is inclined to go in person and speedily to some of those places to inflict chastisement on the ringleaders (*capi*) of those towns who acted thus, and to reward those who showed themselves favourable to him.

The Spaniards accuse the French ambassador of having been in some degree the cause of this, by inciting his landlord, who is one of the chief persons of Brussels, not to consent to this demand; and they in like manner lay to his charge that he violently urged the Ferrarese and Mantuan ambassadors to write to their masters that they do very wrong not to assist the Pope to save him from perishing.

Yesterday I went to visit the Duke of Savoy, who is somewhat indisposed and had sent to say he wished to see me, and after telling me that by his advice the King would soon go to Brabant to punish several sectarian rascals (*diversi tristi huomini settatori*),* he then commenced talking about the advices from Italy, concerning what had hitherto taken place with the Pope, uttering very earnestly the following precise words:—"Lord Ambassador, according to my belief, God and the most Serene Signory can alone avert the great disasters hanging over Italy, so it would be well for the said Signory to mediate between the Pope and King Philip, who, it may be credited, will certainly not fail to accept fair terms of agreement." This his Excellency repeated several times, showing that he spoke designedly, and not by chance, always using very respectful words in honour of the Signory, and

* The sectarianism of these "rascals" was not religious, but political, and displayed itself by their leaguing together against payment of the subsidy required from Brabant.

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rather more so than is his wont; repeating what he had told me on other occasions of his firm intention to send an ambassador to reside permanently with your Serenity, and wishing you to consider him your son and servant. I assured his Excellency that your Serenity had not omitted hitherto to perform many good offices with his Holiness and King Philip, by reason of the extreme desire for peace naturally entertained by you, and that I thought you would not fail to continue thus to do by means of your ambassadors, reciprocating his complimentary expressions, and adding that he might rely on good greeting for his ambassador, as deserved by reason of his own many most excellent qualities.

Ghent, 3rd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

644. The SAME to the SAME.

The warder of Oran has been sent to his Majesty here, by the Count of Alcaudete, to give him particular account of all that has taken place since the retreat of the Turks and Moors from the siege of that place, and to let him know that if he will give him 10,000 paid infantry for a short time, he will make the expedition against Bugia, promising on his honour that should his Majesty form this resolve he will have cause to be satisfied. The said warder has been much caressed by the King and all the chief ministers, and they assured him positively that he should be despatched speedily. It is said that in proof of the Count's exploits having been very acceptable to the King, his Majesty will confer on him the dignity of Councillor of State, and on one of his sons, who is a churchman, a bishopric yielding an annual rental of 10,000 crowns.

To-morrow the Duke of Savoy will depart for Brussels to make the last trial whether the Brabant deputies will or will not consent to the demand for money, and on receiving his reply and news of the Emperor's arrival in Spain, the King will go to some towns in Brabant.

To-day the French ambassador went to the said Duke to inform him that the Duchess of Bouillon, who has come hither to see her consort, is the bearer of 30,000 crowns in ready money for consignment to his Excellency, and to request of his courtesy that he will grant time for payment of the remaining 30,000 to complete the sum stipulated for his ransom.

Ghent, 4th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

645. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral returned with the fleet eight days ago, and being with him at the court, he told me he had accompanied the Emperor beyond the last headland of the island off Brittany (*sopra la Bertagna*), his Majesty not having chosen him to go farther, and that he left him on the 23rd ult. proceeding on his voyage with a

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fair wind, in such good health and so cheerful that he seemed to him to have become younger ; and the Admiral was of opinion that as the contrary wind had delayed his return for five days, keeping him in Southampton harbour, during which time it blew fair for his Imperial Majesty, he, in a little more than three [days], will have either made the harbour of Laredo or Logroño or of Bilbao in Biscay.

Yesterday, the festival of St. Francis, whilst the Royal Council and the Legate were accompanying the Queen to vespers in the palace, they found in the antechamber of the chapel the Dean of St. Paul's [John Feckenham], with Sir John Cheke (*il Signor Chich*), they having been sent for purposely to that place, where, having thrown themselves at her Majesty's feet, the Dean then presented Cheke to her, earnestly beseeching his release, saying that, having recanted and returned (*ridotto*) to the true sense of the religion, he was deserving of the Queen's grace and clemency. Thereupon Cheke (*il Chico*), although briefly (as was told me), expressed himself in the same terms, to the effect that, having heretofore relied more on his own judgment than on that of so many theologians and doctors, very grave and most holy men, he had allowed himself to fall into (*si era lasciato incorrer in*) certain heretical errors, and that by the words and light (*lume*) of the Legate, and of the said Dean, and of some of her Majesty's chaplains, being convinced of the said errors (*conosciuto li detti errori*), he acknowledged (*confessava*) the reality and true presence of the body and blood of our Lord in the sacrament, and the supremacy (*il Primato*) of the Pontiff and the Roman Church, entreating her Majesty that in like manner as she had been gracious to him, so would she be benign to others, who, guided by the same judgment, had fallen into similar errors (*fussero incorsi in simili errori*) ; nor did he omit certain discreet praise of her Majesty and the King (*non pretermettendo modestamente alcune laudi di sua Maestà et del serenissimo Re*) ; everybody saying that, according to their fashion (*secondo il lor costume*), he spoke very suitably and piously, and gave general satisfaction. The Queen herself answered him, repeating briefly the summary of what he had said, and telling him that if, according to his demonstration, he did all that he had said, heartily, and continued to lead the life he promised, besides her grace and the King's, he would gain that of His Divine Majesty, which mattered more ; and thus ended the case of this Sir John Cheke (*di esso Signor Chich*), he remaining now at liberty, and restored to his family and wife (*et restituito alla casa et moglie sua*).

Nothing further has been heard about the King's return, and the Queen has determined to-day to despatch Francesco Piamontese, and to make Cardinal Pole again write to his Majesty, urging him not to fail giving both the Queen and the whole country the satisfaction which he has been so long promising them, and which is seen to be so necessary.

London, 5th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Oct. 7.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

646. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night I received your Serenity's letters of the 7th desiring me instantly to inform the Pope that the magnifico secretary Capella was gone to the Duke of Alva to persuade him in your Serenity's name to make the agreement, and that I was also to let his Holiness know the reply given by you to the reverend Comendone, so I sent this morning to demand audience of the Pope, who sent me word that I was to go after his dinner, which was at 1 p.m. On my entering the chamber his Holiness dismissed Cardinal Saraceno, who was with him, and I then said, "Holy Father, the most serene Signory, both from their wish for the quiet of Christendom and of Italy especially, and from their devotion to this Holy See and to your Holiness in particular, have on every occasion performed many offices with the Emperor, with the most serene King of Spain, and with the Duke of Alva's agents (who went to Venice), for the purpose of commencing the peace on fair and reasonable terms, as by their order I from time to time informed your Holiness; and not content with the offices performed hitherto, they have determined to send one of their most distinguished secretaries to let the said Duke know by word of mouth the many evils and inconveniences attendant on wars, and those which would proceed from the present one were it to continue, and the uneasiness it would cause the Republic from their wish for the peace, praying him to come to some fair adjustment with your Holiness, who (from your natural goodness and by reason of the charge of 'Universal Father' deservedly held by you) the Signory felt certain would never reject it, were it reasonable and fitting for the benefit of Christendom."

I said that the secretary would then come to give account of his mission to his Holiness and to pray him to be pleased to concede to the world this precious boon of a good peace, his chief aim and object, as he had so often told me, adding that the reply made by the Signory to Monsignor Comendone was to that effect.

The Pope replied, "Magnifico Ambassador, we did not expect one whit less from the Signory, not only out of regard to us—for they indeed owe us something by reason of the great love we bear them—but on account of God, of religion, and of the faith of Christ; but remember that these enemies of God will do nothing whatever, but will content themselves with words, and in the meanwhile do the worst they can. We can do no more, we are well nigh exhausted; but thank God, they also are unable to do as much as they would; they are a handful of poor wretched fellows (*sono 4 scalzi*), and also in a state of semi-mutiny (*et anco mezi amutinati*), for the Italians are not on good terms with the Spaniards. Hitherto they have ravaged the open and defenceless places, being unable to do more—they did not even look at Paliano and Veletri; we outnumber them in infantry, but have fewer cavalry, and therefore hesitate to take the field. But to return to the subject: they will do nothing about the agreement; they will demand things which we will never do, as we would die rather than consent to an indignity; we will repeat what we have so often told you, because we know for certain

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that their intention is to subjugate the whole of Italy, commencing with the Papal States as the most easy.

"The sack of Rome [in 1527] tended hereto; for the same purpose the Emperor came to this city [in 1536]; and to this effect may be attributed so many of his other evil operations at various periods. What they are doing at present is with this view, and" (to use the Pope's own word) "they have ensnared a truce with that other one" [the King of France] "to enable them to accomplish it more conveniently; they are all barbarians;" ("*et hanno imbrogliato (per dir la parola di S. S^tà.) una tregua con quell' altro per poterlo far più comodamente; sono tutti barbari;*") "for we may with truth call this truce another League of Cambrai. They are indeed things so evident that even the blind perceive them, in like manner as it is also apparent that the more the States of the Church are dismembered, the more is the ruin of yours approaching. Good God! what a fine opportunity you are losing! you might in fact be the arbiters of the world and direct Italy at your pleasure; were there living amongst you some of those subtle intellects (*di quei belli spiriti*) who existed heretofore, we should assuredly rid our shoulders of this expenditure, and close this door so that they [the barbarians] would never again enter it.

"Magnifico Ambassador, there is no time for delay; write to those lords of mine to do now what they will be compelled to do a short time hence, and let them do it whilst we have the breath of life, for this is their weal and defence, as the tyranny of those who make war on us without any cause is too manifest; and whereas at first they made the inhabitants of the places occupied by them swear fealty to the College of Cardinals and to the future Pope, so at present do they make them take the oath to persons appointed by the Emperor and the King of Spain. We have comported ourselves in such a form that neither you nor others can say with truth that we have given cause for this their impiety; we will indeed tell you that from the scrupulousness of our conscience we omit the performance of certain acts to which we are bound, such as privation of fiefs, kingdoms and empires, and if you wish us to tell you why, it is because we are surrounded by Cardinals of divers factions, nor do we choose them to have it in their power to say that we by our too great rigorousness (*con la troppo rigorosità nostra*) have brought the war upon ourselves; but when we can no longer stay here we will go to a place where we shall be able to exercise our authority, and the galleys are already prepared; if necessary for the performance of our office, we will go to the end of the world (*andaremo nell' estremità del mondo se bisognerà per poter far l'officio nostro*). Rely on it that we will die rather than commit a baseness, and you will remain between the shears (*nelle forfice*), and in your distress will think of me, who told you the truth, and posterity will wonder at you for having lost so fine an opportunity."

I commended the Pope's adroit mode of proceeding, saying it was prudent to delay doing any things which can be done at any time, and which once done give many occasions for troubles. The Pope rejoined, "This is [the cause of] our forbearance (*questo è il nostro rispetto*), and we are glad you praise it; we will await this secretary

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of yours, for this office pleases us, but much more would it please us to hear that the Signory was preparing to defend her own territory. In a word, is it possible that those Signors, who of yore were so far-sighted, do not now see whither this flood tends (*ove tende questa piena*), and will not guard against it? They will wish to do so when no longer in their power, *rebus excisis et perditis*, yet would they still be in time; and in conclusion, Magnifico Ambassador, we tell you that although we know assistance to be remote, and that in the meanwhile these Imperialists (*questi*) can do us great mischief, yet will we not consent to terms unworthy of the grade held by us, we not being like the other Princes who can renounce what they have for the avoidance of greater detriment, whereas for us who maintain the cause of God, its abandonment is forbidden, and life and everything else must be sacrificed for it."

After repeating to his Holiness that the world, and Italy in particular, and above all your Serenity, could receive no greater boon from him than peace and an adjustment made on fair terms, saying to him, "*omnium oculi in te sperant, Domine*," I took leave, and having expressed a wish to see Cardinal Caraffa, the Pope replied, "You will do me great pleasure by seeing the Cardinal."

I found the Cardinal in bed, surrounded by his mother, his sister-in-law [Violante Garlonia, Duchess of Paliano], and other relatives, whom having sent away, he made me sit down by the bedside. I asked him about his malady, and he replied that it was a complaint of the stomach, which could retain nothing, accompanied by a very troublesome cough, and occasionally by fever which was then upon him, and that since many nights he had been unable to sleep, adding, "I wonder I did not die, having on my arrival found matters in the confusion they were, for it was impossible to imagine greater, and to see the Pope plundered (*che non si potriano imaginar maggior, et veder il Papa assassinato*), and led astray (*abarrato*) (*sic*) by his ministers, upwards of 2,000 crowns having been spent in raising infantry, of which not 10 were fit for service, some of the commanders being either lads, or men who had never seen war. God forgive the Lord Camillo Orsini, who has attended to nothing but fortifying Rome, commencing bastions in a thousand places, and not finishing one of them, and by destroying houses, vineyards,* and monasteries, causing a general outcry. It was well to fortify Rome, but her real strength was in making provision for Frosinone, Veruli, and Anagni, and to keep the enemy at a distance, and not to show this population the fear of war, for your Excellency will have seen the terror of the city on hearing that the enemy was so near; besides which, there was a want of every sort of victuals, though since my return I have had some 30,000 measures (*rubij*) of grain collected, and wine, and other necessary things, as also some ammunition, of which there was very great scarcity; and of this I lay the blame on the Lord Camillo, of whom I had so good an opinion by reason of what he did at Parma,

* Amongst these vineyards were, probably, the Farnese gardens, the loss of whose trees is alluded to in an undated letter of Cardinal Pole's, which I have placed under the date of 15th September 1556, my supposition being based on a paragraph in a former despatch of Navagero's about the Farnese palaces.

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that when I was in other habits, I wished for an opportunity to go to a war in which he was commander-in-chief, that I might learn; but the fact is that vigour in military matters departs with age. Though I do not acquit the Duke my brother of these disorders, yet is there some excuse for him on the plea of illness, and then (to say the truth) he is not much of a soldier (*esso non è soldato più che tanto*). The Pope has many thousands of soldiers, but I know not whom to trust to fight a battle, for there are no commanders good for anything. I remember that when I was a soldier I used to make diligent inquiry about any projected expeditions, that I might request the commanding officers to send me with them; but now, no one offers to do anything, and if sent, they know not how to act in any way; and when I wished to avail myself of the commanders who came with me [from France?] without any charge, they were never able to lead the soldiers to the attack. I made 1,000 infantry march out of Veletri to Nettuno, where the enemy had only 750 men; two Neapolitan soldiers who were amongst the 1,000, pushed on in advance and killed the first sentry, and because the second discharged a harquebuse all the others ran away; but I am expecting 7,000 foot soldiers, part from Romagna and part from La Marcha [d'Ancona], with which I hope to replace these vagabonds."

I said that the provision made by his lordship was such as expected from his valour, but that yet better for the whole of Christendom and for Italy in particular would a good peace be, towards which I knew he was inclined; and I then told him what your Serenity had done about sending the secretary Capella to the Duke of Alva, and the reply given by you to the reverend Commendone.

The Cardinal said, "God grant that some good may come of it, as always desired by me for the universal benefit, and for the especial satisfaction of the most serene Signory, and of you yourself, lord ambassador, whom I wish extremely to oblige. God knows how much I did to bring about the peace, and how disposed I was to go to the conference, although sure to die, and not merely to be made prisoner as was their intention, and I can prove it, as I am informed that they debated about arresting me under pretence of the Pope's having imprisoned Pirro dell' Offredo, but his Holiness did not consent to my going. I told these Imperialists what was for their good, and reminded them of what befell them heretofore when they chose to occupy the Papal States, instancing Lautrec, and other precedents, and alluding moreover to the peril they expose themselves to (besides the censures already incurred by them) lest the Pope make a great number of Cardinals opposed to them, so that they can never hope to have a Pope, I will not say their dependent, but not even a neutral one. Then when in the congregation (*nella congregatione*) I demonstrated the unfairness of the articles proposed by them, that they might have cause to modify them, and I showed them the discordance between the first and second and the others; for the two first were fair and suitable, the one was that of an inferior, the other of an equal; but the third and fourth, and the others were those of a superior, and imposing law on the Pope;

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and as those who favoured them made a distinction in the affair of the prisoners, between his Holiness' subjects, and public persons the vassals of the Emperor and the King of Spain, I let them know that the only public person in the business was Offredo, against whom no case is made out (*non si fa caso*), nor indeed ought he to be proceeded against, as he is in fact guiltless if he was deceived by his master, who sent him to treat peace and simultaneously waged war. I showed that Garcilasso, having finished his embassy, had taken leave of the Pope and left Rome, and then returned to plot against his Holiness and this city, and there are the letters from him confessing this. The Abbot Brisenga had been the agent of the late Viceroy of Naples [Don Pedro de Toledo], after whose death, remaining a private person (*restato privato*) like the other prelates, he was commissioned to poison a Cardinal (*hebbe maneggio di attosicar un Cardinale*), to which effect there are the letters of Don Bernardino Mendoza and of the Duke of Amalfi. Against the Signor Giulian Cesarino and the two Colonnas (Camillo and the Archbishop) there is no lack of private complaints, besides this last plot of Camillo's wife which was revealed to me by a religious (*da un religioso*), who came one night to St. Mark's to tell me that a certain woman had prayed him in the confessional (*in confession*) to let me know that in a certain house there were four individuals who were privily raising troops against his Holiness; I had the spy arrested, and they were discovered; and a young Moor (*un Moretto*) in the service of Farnese confessed everything, how he had been sent to the camp by the wife of Camillo Colonna to urge them to come to the principal gates of Rome (*alle porte maggior*) (*sic*), and in the morning, as they would be open; and when the Moor asked the lady what he was to reply in case of inquiry as to who kept guard in those parts, she answered, *Ask no more, for they well know who guards them.* In this manner everything was discovered, as also the written notes which went in and out of the Castle;* so this lady has been arrested, as also those servants of theirs who were concerned in the plot, which was the cause of my changing all the guards. In the next place, as they said that Marc' Antonio Colonna had been deprived of his state because he was the servant of the King of Spain, I told them that it was untrue, as proof existed of his having been to Paliano to persuade the peasantry there to hold out against the Pope, as he (Marc' Antonio) would soon succour them, and there are letters of his urging the Duke of Alva to march against the Pope; and as they inquired, *What has his father the Lord Ascanius done?* I let them know that he had been *deprived* by Pope Paul III., and that the mode of his restoration under Julius III. was notorious; in addition to which, after having been cited to Rome by a monitory at the suit of some of his creditors, not only did he not obey, but caused the houses of those poor suitors who had had him summoned, to be levelled with the ground; or if he was unable to appear because a prisoner, let them

* From this it may be inferred that "*porte maggior*" signified the gates of Castle St. Angelo, and not of the city of Rome. The wife of Camillo Colonna was Felicità Orsini di Bracciano. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

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allow him to do so now, when the Pope will not fail to do him justice, as he did by the Lord Paulo Giordano Orsini, who made his appearance, whereupon his state was restored to him, and he is in the Pope's service."

I thanked the Cardinal for this information, and when I asked him what the Imperial army was doing, he replied that the Italian infantry disagreed (*dissantiva*) (*sic*) with the Spanish, and that the cavalry suffered (*pativa*); that the Spaniards were quartered in Tivoli with the Duke in person, the Italians at Vicovaro (Vignar), St. Angelo, and other small castles, and the cavalry at Palestrina. When I asked in what direction he thought they would turn, he replied, "Some say to Rieti, others to Velletri, but I think they will come upon this river, and I understand that some boats to form bridges have already arrived at Nettuno. They will make the bridge in order to forage on this side the river, at least with the cavalry, to damage us and victual themselves conveniently, as although they have found great plenty of grain and other necessaries, the army nevertheless suffers, because the captains have taken possession of everything, as nowadays (*hoggi dì*) war has degenerated into trade" (*la guerra è ridotta in mercantia*).

I did not go to the Duke of Paliano, as this is his bad day (*suo giorno cattivo*).

There is no ambassador nor agent here from the King of Spain, nor from the Duke of Alva, but in order not to omit doing all that can be done, as I see is the wish of your Serenity, I will go and speak to the Cardinal S. Giacomo, the said Duke's uncle, that he may exhort his Excellency in favour of this so greatly desired and advantageous peace.

Rome, 7th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

647. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday last a Cardinal who professes great friendship for your Serenity sent for my secretary, and in a long conversation with him said, "Secretary, we are in a bad way (*siamo a mal partito*); every day we are losing fresh places, and of such a sort that if provisioned they might be called impregnable, and we shall continue losing for the future, as there is neither town nor castle that can hold out, as the inhabitants, who heretofore defended themselves spontaneously, in order to remain under the See Apostolic, now compel the soldiers to surrender, seeing that the Imperialists, so far from maltreating them, repeal the exactions with which we had long burdened them by quartering there ill-paid cavalry and infantry, who live at discretion, as you see they do here likewise; '*quid facient hostes captâ crudelius urbe?*' and if this small army has made itself master of so much that if during the winter they have time to fortify it, 20 years would not suffice for the whole Christian world to expel them thence, what will be done on the arrival of the Germans, the troops from Tuscany, and those Spaniards that they are expecting? Those who think to keep Rome when the surrounding country is taken deceive themselves, for a city in which the Pope and the Court reside canno

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stand a siege, by so much the more when it contains, as this one does, a population discontented on several accounts, both by reason of the useless destruction of public and private buildings, as also because of the imposts and the insolences of the soldiery, and from extraordinary dread of immediate famine, or next year at the latest, from being unable to sow; nor does any one dare say that the enemy will not cross the river, as they can do so whenever they please by means of the bridge they have, but even if they had it not, when the fleet is in these seas can they not go where they please? And, moreover, might they not blockade the Tiber with galleys and bridge them over (*et sopra farvi il ponte*)?

"I assert that we could not be in worse condition, both because the enemy is powerful, as also because we are very weak. We have no money, and there is no merchant remaining in Rome who could disburse 1,000 crowns, nor have we either ammunition, victuals, or a commander-in-chief, for the Duke of Paliano neither knows how to act nor can he (*non sa nè po far*); the Cardinal never had command of more than a company; the French commanders disdain to serve under others; the Lord Camillo [Orsini] attends to Rome alone, and will destroy it through the loss of the Campagna (*et c'ol perdere la Campagna la roinerà*). The command of the cavalry is in the hands of the Count of Pitigliano, who has never seen war; the infantry (according to report) having for its commander Paulo Giordano [Orsini], who to-day appeared at the muster in that capacity, he being a lad 17 years old, who never saw a sword out of its scabbard. The succours are remote, the King of France being unable to send either the Switzers or the men-at-arms across the Alps before the spring, and God knows whether he will choose to do so. Who assures us that the two crowns will not make peace together, as much to the disadvantage of Italy as they can? Is it perhaps not evident in what small account they hold us?

"But leaving aside ultramontane assistance, were the potentates of Italy to determine on assisting us at present, they could not do so in time—*utinam sim falsus vates.* In a month we shall have lost the rest. Our sole hope is in the agreement, which is very difficult, for the terms are iniquitous, and will daily become worse, and our obstinacy is very great; but we must not fail to insist and exhort, as the lesser evil. As nothing else can be done, is it yet worse to lose all temporal power and to hazard that which is spiritual than to accept such terms? God knows that I do not say this as an Imperialist, which I am not, nor ever will be such, but as a Cardinal, the Pope's servant, and as an Italian, who would not wish to see the King of Spain King of Italy, as we go the way to make him. I tell you that the Duke of Alva has given it to be understood that unless peace be made now, the time may come when it will no longer be in his power to concede it, or to prevent the mischief which accompanies war, after the arrival of the Germans and of the other troops expected by him."

After this the Cardinal, with the map before him, spoke in detail about the whole of the Papal States, showing in how short a time, and with what facility, the Imperialists can get possession of everything, saying, "What they may be unable to occupy will go into

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the hands of the French, under pretence of their being defended in the same way as in Piedmont, and during an interregnum of the Papal See each side will keep possession; and should a Pope be elected to the disapproval of either of the parties, the dissenter will hold what he has in hand, the consequence being that the Popes must of necessity declare themselves either Imperialists or French, and therefore be constantly at war. For God's sake let us not demur about points of honour, as by drums and harquebuses we have already lost what authority and dignity we had. In the German Diets these new opinions of the Protestants (*de' protestanti*) gain strength daily; and here, in the camp, and at Naples, where, to say the truth, they have incurred the censures and interdicts, they perform divine service solemnly and hear their masses. You see what account they hold us in.

"The Duke of Florence has not yet stirred, and seems to be urging the agreement, but he does so by pregnant letters (*lettere pregne*), which make me very suspicious, as he writes that the whole point consists in satisfactorily guaranteeing the Imperialists against direct or indirect molestation in their kingdoms and states, as they do not choose to remain in fear, having been but too much harassed of late years." Concerning this matter the Florentine ambassador told my secretary heretofore that the Imperialists considered it certain that the Pope had agreed with the King to make war on them in the spring; so the Duke desired his ambassador to let the Pope know this (as he had done), that his Holiness might be aware that the whole point consists in ridding them of this suspicion, which they call certainty, and that the terms demanded by them tended to this end; the ambassador adding, "Think not that my Duke would wish to see the Emperor or the King of England greater in Italy than they are, as it is not for the interest of any one, and this may be inferred from his having tolerated the revolution of Sienna, in which he never interfered until he saw the French make themselves masters of it, his Excellency's object being to preserve his state by such means as are in his power, this being fair, and thus will he do always."

In conclusion, the Cardinal said to the secretary, "Let the ambassador know what I have told you, that he may not lose any opportunity (in which respect I am informed that he has not been deficient hitherto) for exhorting the Pope to make peace, for the good of all Italy, but pray his Magnificence not to speak about this to any one, a request which I make to you also, as you know with whom we have to do, whoever does not speak in their fashion being pronounced a rebel, though whatever is said is evidently for the common weal, and especially for that of the Pope's family."

Rome, 8th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives, No. 7, B. (Second Letter.)

648. The SAME to the SAME.

Vicovaro (Vignar) (*sic*) was taken as written by me, and the army halted at Tivoli, according to Cardinal Caraffa's account.

Here it is greatly feared that, let them go where they will, they with little labour will make themselves masters of great part of the

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Papal States, by reason of the good treatment hitherto received from them by the captured places, whose inhabitants moreover are much attached to the Colonnas and other barons of the Imperial faction now humbled (*abbassati*), such as Santa Fiora [Guido Ascanio Sforza], Cesarini, and others, and it is already seen that Nepi, 20 miles from Rome, the first fortress of the Church (*prima fortezza della Chiesa*), has not chosen to admit the garrison of 200 infantry which was sent thither, and to excuse themselves the inhabitants sent ambassadors, to whom the Pope has not yet given audience. On Sunday they made the muster of the infantry and cavalry now in Rome; they made their appearance well armed, and the review took place beyond Borgo towards Belveder, at a site called "the Meadows." There were 13 standards (*stendardi*) of cavalry and 48 ensigns (*insegne*) of infantry; but the former did not amount to 600, and the latter were under 7,000, both horse and foot, including many "*passadori*," that is to say, persons who appear at the muster and do not serve; and these troops are now being paid, company by company. On that same day, at 4 p.m., some cavalry arrived here with money from Venice for account of the French to the amount of 50,000 crowns (though it is said to be much more), which have been placed in a chest in Rucellai's bank, and the Pope for his third had added 20,000, as according to report such is the agreement, namely, that for the defence of the Pope the most Christian King is to defray two thirds of the cost and his Holiness one third, the additional 10,000 crowns being in liquidation of supernumerary expenses incurred by the Pope.

These 20,000 crowns were obtained with great difficulty, persons having been sent here and there to borrow them. Great severity is used against those who delay giving the horses, of which note was taken (as written by me) for the harquebusiers; they send the sheriff (*bargello*) and the superintendent of the galley slaves (*l'aguzzino*) to seize them forcibly, and they moreover arrest the owners if by chance they fail in the least to use due despatch. It is said that the value of the horses will be placed to their credit in the Chamber (*in Camera*), but on condition that such horses as return alive shall be taken back in the state in which they may find themselves.

The Gascons continuing to kill and rob all persons found by them abroad by night, and many naked corpses having been found in the streets and floating down the Tiber, the "conservators" purposed speaking to the Pope about it, but the Marquis of Montebello, who is lieutenant of his Holiness' guards, prevented this by fair words, telling them to speak to the Cardinal and the Duke, who would make provision, without giving this trouble to his Holiness. It remains to be seen what will take place, but unless a remedy be applied some great disturbance is expected.

The new Governor, who is paying his visits to the Cardinals, was commissioned to tell each of them in courteous terms that in these present times when victuals are so scarce, it would be well that they should disburden themselves of part of their attendants, dismissing the Spaniards, Flemings (*Fiamenghi*), Walloons (*Fiandresi*), and the like; and that if they have heavy harquebuses for

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artillery practice (*archibusoni da posta*), falconets, or any other sort of heavy fire-ordnance (*arma grossa da fuoco*), they must give them for his Holiness' service; and a great Cardinal says that in reply he requested the Governor to let the Pope know in his name, with all reverence, that the expulsion of the subjects of the King of Spain will be effected by one order and their non-return by another, because [when recalled?] they will with reason think themselves authorised to say, "Go not thither, as they expelled you," and they will thus palliate (*honesteranno*) the withdrawal of their obedience; and, touching the fire-arms, he said that but little trouble was needed to ascertain what Cardinals had any, as they have such a variety of servants in their houses that they cannot keep anything whatever concealed.

This same Cardinal also said that he had seen letters from the Duke of Florence, dated the 3rd instant, purporting that Spaniards, Germans, and Italians were still embarking for the camp, so he believed the Duke of Alva had halted to await their arrival. His right reverend lordship complained bitterly of the present calamities, and of the obstinacy (*durezza*) of the Pope, whom he believes to be quite bent on war, so that he considers the ruin of this Court to be well-nigh appointed by fate. He said that Bortolo Camerario, of Benevento, who has been lately appointed commissary-general for the victualling department, told one of his most intimate friends, as a great secret, that if he wishes to supply provisions he should do so speedily, as in a few days such innovations are to be made that a morsel of meat will cost a crown, and other things in proportion, implying that everything will be taken for the Chamber (*per la Camera*). Even at present the sale of wood is prohibited, and some extravagant tax is imposed daily on every sort of food, so in a few days it is feared that we shall be reduced to a scarcity of everything.

This Cardinal added that the Imperialists have drawn up a number of processes about all that the Pope has done and said, to be able to justify themselves before the world. Your Serenity perceives how confidentially everyone speaks with your representatives and servants, by reason of the trust they have that the whole will be kept quite secret, and if by misfortune the contrary were to happen (a thing I am not afraid of, by reason of the singular prudence of the most excellent Senate) your Serenity may imagine what a loss of credit and authority it would entail, and how the channel through which authentic intelligence is obtained would be closed, to the Signory's very great detriment; so with every sort of reverence and submission, I beseech you that not only at present but at all times my letters may be kept with such secrecy as is peculiar to the most illustrious Senate of Venice.

The day after my last, the wife of the Lord Camillo Colonna was put into the castle (of St. Angelo), and although many persons assign various causes for this, I refer myself to what Cardinal Caraffa told me.

It is not to be told how much consolation has been derived by the whole of this city from the news from Venice of the mission of the secretary Capella, and how much everybody commends the

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prudence of your Serenity; and many Cardinals having sent to ask me if it is true, I answered them in the affirmative, adding that your Serenity omits no office whatever for the attainment of peace. That Bortolo Camerario, who has been appointed commissary-general, is a native of Benevento, and of yore the Emperor and his ministers made use of him in many matters, and most especially in raising money; subsequently, he got out of favour with the deceased Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, in consequence of which he departed and came to the Emperor's Court, when the most noble Messer Domenego Morosini and I were at Spires;* and as he was not despatched to his liking (*et perchè non hebbe quella espedition, che le desiderava*) he went to France, and is now here in office as written by me, and with a monthly salary of 100 crowns. He is considered a man of ability, and abounding in contrivances (*et ricco di partiti*).

Cardinal Caraffa passed the last night restlessly, and without sleep; this morning he took medicine, which although it operated copiously, yet has no great improvement taken place.

It is this moment heard that the Prince of Bisignano, with cavalry, and 12 ensigns of foot, has arrived in the Imperial camp, about which, if true, I will let your Serenity know more in detail by the first opportunity.

Rome, 8th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

649. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto has been with me a long while to-day, and discussing present events he told me he believed that the affairs of these Kings, both on one side and the other, were proceeding towards war, in such wise that if they advanced a little farther it would be more difficult to find the remedy than it was at present, because at the commencement of the negotiation it seemed that his most Christian Majesty was content to give Piedmont to his son the Duke of Orleans, the King of England giving the State of Milan to the Duke of Savoy, but that both one side and the other had retracted; whereas were it treated for each side to keep what it holds, the King of England would be content, he considering it a hardship to deprive himself of the Milanese, whilst the King of France has great hope of obtaining it speedily, both because he is so persuaded by the Marshal de Brissac, and also because he is firmly convinced of the feebleness (debolezza) *of the King of England, who, although he treats the Pope haughtily, yet does so solely for the sake of making a more advantageous peace, as for the rest he is assuredly in such a state as to be unable to make war.*

Considering, therefore, of what importance it would be to the rest of Italy were his most Christian Majesty to make himself master of the Milanese, besides having this fresh understanding which he is about to conclude with the Duke of Ferrara, the

* Domenego Morosini was with the Emperor in 1552. (See Alberi, Venetian "Relations," series 1, vol. 6, p. 67.)

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Abbot had written to Don Ruy Gomez (making a similar announcement here to the Ambassador of the King of England) that it was no longer time to remain inflexible, but, considering the interests of King Philip, devise fresh and more opportune remedies, amongst which one of the best was that his Majesty should take counsel with your Serenity for the quiet of Italy.

Parpaglia then dwelt much on the extreme importance of this understanding between his most Christian Majesty and the Duke of Ferrara with regard to hampering (per stringere) *the Milanese, and he also remarked that his Excellency* [*the Duke of Ferrara*] *could have no greater inducement than that of augmenting his State, which he might conveniently do by means of the French forces, his most Christian Majesty in the treaty made heretofore by the Cardinal of Lorraine having promised to give him Cremona and the Ghiarra-d'Adda, if they were conquered; and the Abbot told me that in the aforesaid letters written to Don Ruy Gomez he had again represented what he said to him at Ghent about giving the said places to your Serenity, by which means they would greatly slacken the resolves of the said Duke.*

The mode whereby Parpaglia proposed giving those places to your Serenity was that Cremona and the aforesaid Ghiarra-d'Adda should be mortgaged to you for such a sum as becoming, offering simultaneously to place all the money disbursed by you in deposit, so that your Serenity may place an equal amount for the defence of the Milanese, thus endeavouring to renew the league which the Emperor had with your Serenity; offering you besides, if within a certain fixed period King Philip appoint a duke of Milan, that the places mortgaged to you should remain freely yours, adding, moreover, an additional sum of money; and should his Majesty not name a Duke, that he be at liberty to return the money and to get back the aforesaid places. The Abbot also told me that the aforesaid Ambassador resident here considered this discourse much to the purpose (molto a proposito), *and immediately dispatched a courier with his letters to the said Don Ruy Gomez. All this Parpaglia chose to let me know, being aware that your Serenity, desiring the quiet of Italy more than any other Prince, would well weigh the present negotiations; and talking with me at very great length of the wish evinced by your Serenity at all times to have a Duke of Milan, he said that the present King of England was of all the sovereigns in the world the most fitting to effect this, but that nothing would influence him so much as to know that your Serenity shared his wish, which he had often evinced to his father; and continuing the conversation, he at length allowed it to escape him that he should not be surprised were King Philip himself to propose to your Serenity to appoint a Duke to his satisfaction. Having listened to the Abbot attentively, I answered him in general terms, assuring him that nothing was more desired by your Serenity than the quiet of Italy and peace between these Crowns.*

Paris, 8th October 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

650. Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After the office performed by his most Christian Majesty with the Spanish ambassador, he gave the same commission to his own ambassador in Flanders that he might make a similar announcement to King Philip, and although here they wish it to be believed that his most Christian Majesty made the protest, it was not true that in his discourse he used that word, but he indeed described it to him (ma bene gli lo descrisse) *without naming it to him, together with other words which had the same force. The reply received by the Spanish ambassador here purports that his King will be content to withdraw his forces from their attack on the Pope provided he be assured that both his Holiness and the King of France will neither injure nor molest the kingdom of Naples, and even if in the meanwhile his most Christian Majesty will not desist from his defence of the Pope, he prays him* (la prega) *that at least in all the other parts excepting that one the truce may be understood to continue in force, adding, in conclusion, that should his most Christian Majesty continue to raise troops, King Philip cannot but do the like; and with regard to the coming hither of Don Ruy Gomez, he replied that as the negotiation for an agreement has been commenced at Rome, it is superfluous for him to come hither, as he wished to do heretofore, for the sole purpose of setting on foot the aforesaid adjustment. The ambassador having made this statement to the Constable, his Excellency answered him that he knew these words were uttered with a view to keep back the most Christian King, who was nevertheless determined to assist the Pope.*

Then, last evening, Secretary Buchiero arrived from Rome with letters dated the 24th, and the advices about the Papal States; he brings word that an agreement was being treated, and that Cardinal Caraffa was to confer with the Duke of Alva, but the Pope informs his most Christian Majesty that he will not make agreement provided he receive from him the necessary assistance, or even should the King wish his Holiness to give ear to the agreement, he would not stipulate it without his goodwill and consent; but he requests a speedy reply, and reminds the King especially that having been compelled to draw to himself* (di tirar a se) *a certain amount of troops which he had in garrison at Bologna and in Romagna, his Majesty might induce the Duke of Ferrara to declare himself in his favour, and advance some forces in that direction, so as not to leave it unprovided. From what I hear, the King, on receiving these advices, bearing in mind that the Pope is in such a state that he must either incur a serious defeat or make a disgraceful agreement, which might subsequently prove prejudicial to his most Christian Majesty, considering also that the reply given by the King of England shows that he wishes rather to make use of peace for treating* (più presto volessi servire a trattatione di pace), *his most Christian Majesty chose*

* Query, Buccioro. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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instantly to despatch the Ferrarese ambassador to his Duke with orders that should he not have made up his mind completely, on receiving the agreement conveyed to him by M. de Forcovoe (sic), *that he* (*the ambassador*) *was to adjust it, as also any other difficulty, in such wise that nothing else may remain for concordance* (da concordare), *laying before the Duke the position of his Holiness, and the King's wish to assist him, persuading his Excellency to aid the Pope as much and as speedily as he thinks he can, especially by sending a certain amount of troops to garrison Bologna and Romagna, as requested by his Holiness.*

It was lately determined to confirm the engagements of the companies of infantry and cavalry in Piedmont, and as they are creditors for eight arrears of pay, four have been sent them, with a promise to provide the others on the departure of Marshal de Brissac, who it is said will certainly return to Piedmont in a fortnight, with the Signori Biraghi and Francesco Bernardino Vilmercato, and other captains now here, the government being still intent on despatching them and the other affairs of Piedmont, together with the delegates who came hither some time ago, and have been sent back quite satisfied.

I wrote to your Serenity many months ago that all the designs of the Constable were directed towards the establishment of his family, owing to the promise received by him from the King that his Majesty would give his natural daughter, the widow of Duke Horatio Farnese [Duke of Castro], to his Excellency's eldest son, who was lately released from prison, for which reason the Constable was content to pay 50,000 crowns, nor would he otherwise have disbursed so considerable a sum. On his arrival here, the King, besides giving him the order of St. Michael, appointed him governor of Paris and of the Isle of France, promising, in honour of the marriage, to create him Duke and Great Master of France; and, besides the dower, his most Christian Majesty, to gratify the Constable, had also added an estate yielding him 15,000 crowns annual rental. At the very moment when his Majesty was with his Excellency, to stipulate the contract, the said son informed his father, through his brother, M. de Damville, in the best form of words he could, that there was no occasion to proceed farther with this marriage, because he had married a maid of honour to the Queen, by name Piennes (*Pienna*), who is very noble and also extremely rich. On hearing this, the blow struck his Excellency to the heart, so that he has been away from the court in retirement for two days, a prey to intense sorrow, although the King has been to visit him daily, doing his utmost to comfort him.

The conclusion of this marriage was effected in secret by them five years ago, and whilst M. de Montmorency was a prisoner of war he continued to be of the same mind, and on his return, although aware of his father's wish and design, he chose yet more stringently to confirm the aforesaid promise, from fear that the first was not perfectly valid; so as both one and the other are constant and

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of the same will, no means have yet been found for separating them.*

Paris, 8th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

651. The SAME to the SAME.

The Ferrarese ambassador not having yet departed, I can add that the Spanish ambassador went yesterday to make the same statement to the King as was made by him yesterday to the Constable, showing that his sovereign would treat peace both with the Pope and with his most Christian Majesty provided he was sure that the kingdom of Naples should not be molested. His most Christian Majesty replied positively (formalmente) *that he would never be the first to break the truce, and that he had often heard the fair words of his King, but that he was determined not to abandon the Pope. It seeming to the ambassador that by saying he "would not be the first to break the truce," the words were doubtful, and that his Majesty did not declare whether he considered it broken or not, he said to him that, having this doubt, he wished him to declare himself better; but as the King, in reply, repeated the same words, the ambassador then took leave, and was subsequently visited by the Abbot of San Saluto, who wishes by all possible means to renew the negotiation for agreement. Parpaglia inquired of him what he thought would satisfy his King, so as to make him sure that the kingdom of Naples would not be molested. The Ambassador answered that he would tell him, as of himself, that he thought King Philip would be satisfied provided his most Christian Majesty promised him that the kingdom of Naples should not be molested because* (per causa) *of Paliano, or of the fortresses made in those places.*

All this was related by the Abbot to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who replied that neither the King nor his ministers know how to negotiate with this Ambassador, as he always professes to speak of his own accord, nor is any result in conformity with his words ever witnessed; adding that the most Christian King was determined not to abandon the Pope, and that great news would soon be heard, though he could not mention the particulars, as his most Christian Majesty had put all his counsellors under oath not to say anything about them; notwithstanding which, never having had the wish to wage war, if the King of England, no longer by the mouth of his Ambassador, but through a special envoy sent by him for this purpose to the most Christian King, would let the King of France know what he wished, he would find him of the same good mind and disposition. When the Abbot rejoined that even without sending hither, the same inti-

* In the Foreign Calendar (Mary), p. 263, there is a letter from Dr. Wotton, also dated Paris, 8th October 1556, giving account of the engagement of M. de Montmorency to Mlle. de Piennes, and at p. 303 we learn on the same authority that M. de Montmorency married the Duchess of Castro on Tuesday the 4th May 1557, although Nostradamus had prognosticated that "on that day would be made an unlucky marriage."

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mation might be made to the Pope, with whom the agreement was being treated, the Cardinal added, "It cannot but be well for his Majesty to announce what he pleases to his Holiness, but I tell you that if the King of England wishes for anything from his most Christian Majesty, he must let him know it in detail (particolarmente) *through a person sent hither by him for this purpose, because, as I have told you, we do not understand the mode of negotiating of this Ambassador;" all which the Abbot repeated to him, and this evening they are sending a despatch to King Philip to acquaint him with it.*

The talk about war, and the preparation for it, still continue, and a gentleman named Mendoza, who is always employed in ordinary to levy Switzers, is being also sent presently to Piedmont for that purpose, it having been moreover determined to send thither 20 infantry captains.

Paris, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 9. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7, B.

652. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

I went this morning to the Duke of Paliano, and having told him what your Serenity and the Senate commission me about the going of the secretary Capella to the Duke of Alva, and the reply given to the reverend Commendone, I requested him to be pleased, together with the Cardinal his brother, to exhort the Pope to make peace, although his Holiness of his own accord, as he had frequently told me, was very ready to do so; and on this I expatiated, as the importance of the matter requires. He replied that it would give him little trouble to convince me of his promptitude with regard to the agreement, as he remembered having told me heretofore, with that loyalty and sincerity which he had always used in his conversations with me, that for the service of God and of Christendom he would be content to remain without state, and deprived of life, rather than be the cause of so much disturbance in the world as perceived by him to be impending (which I wrote at the time), and that he would now tell me besides, that he would never say a word about his state [of Paliano] nor about compensation, so as to prove first of all to the Pope, and then to everybody else, that he never chooses his own private interests to prove the slightest obstacle to peace; and that he assured me that his brother the Cardinal was of the same goodwill, as they saw clearly that the war was very injurious for their family, but that for the Pope's dignity they are bound readily to risk all they have, including life itself; for the which dignity his Holiness has at all times had so much thought, that now it will never be possible to make him do anything to blemish it. He then told me that what the Imperialists said about being induced to wage the war, because the Pope, with the assistance of the King of the France, purposed attacking them in the kingdom of Naples, was known to be a decided calumny (*espressa calunnia*), his Holiness not having sufficient forces for the invasion of a territory so full of infantry and cavalry, and of victuals, and so

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well guarded; and then to say that the most Christian King would lend a hand is too heavy an accusation against his Majesty, who would thus have made the truce with the intention of breaking it so immediately; adding, "This was not the cause which induced the Duke of Alva's attack, for he had his eye solely on certain fortresses at the frontiers, and being of phlegmatic temperament (*et come quello che è di natura freddo*) did not think of assaulting, but the passions of the parties concerned, such as Marc' Antonio Colonna and Don Garcia de Toledo, and above all, Ascanio della Cornia, urged him to do so, the two first by means of their authority, and the last by imparting to him the small provision made by us, for he was present at all the consultations held here; and the Lord have mercy on the person who was the cause of our not having him in our hands."

He then told me that it had been his intention to go to Nettuno first, circulating a report that his object was to inspect those frontiers, and then proceed to Veletri to arrest him, and he continued, "but the Lord Camillo [Orsini] said it would not be to my honour; I then thought of sending thither the Duke of Somma, but the same objection was made, viz., that it would be undignified for a Prince invested with the order of a King of France to go on such a business; so I was compelled to make choice of Papirio Capizucco, knowing that he was on bad terms with the said Ascanio; I gave him autograph letters to the captains there, (not choosing to trust secretaries), ordering him also to enter the place and do the deed (*et far l'effetto*), but the poltroon, who does not deserve the bread he is eating, went with armed men, to beat of drum, which was the cause of Della Cornia's escape. I must bear this patiently, as I also did the non-provisioning of Frosinone and Anagni, which was not altogether my fault, as besides the fit of illness which seized me, I was, moreover, dissuaded by those in authority; for I wished to go and shut myself up in Frosinone with a considerable force and keep them at a distance, as I well knew that we outnumbered them in infantry, in like manner as their cavalry exceeded ours; and knowing very well what sort of infantry can be raised in the kingdom, as the recruits are all pickpockets (*ladroncelli*), who take a first instalment of pay and then abscond (*che pigliano una paga et fugono*), as chanced to the Duke of Alva, some 2,000 of whose infantry disbanded. It is true that in the town of Otranto, and in Calabria, and in the neighbourhood of Naples, some 6,000 good soldiers may be raised; but our misfortune is, and thus have my sins willed it, that the Imperialists did more than they expected, being impelled principally by Ascanio della Cornia; but my Lord Ambassador, *non est abbreviata manus Domini*. Although we might hope to recover our losses, and to make progress against the enemy, I shall always recommend peace, for the common weal and for the most serene Signory's satisfaction and yours; and I am grateful for the announcement made to me through your Magnificence of the mission of this secretary; but God grant it may take effect with these Imperialists, whom I know very well from my long experience of them, which convinces me that after gaining a finger they choose to have an arm, and then the whole body.

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Perhaps for the future they will meet with greater difficulties than they have encountered hitherto."

Having uttered these words, his son the Marquis entered the room, saying that the Cardinal would dine there, which caused the Duke to tell me that on Wednesday night his right reverend lordship's life was in danger, five days having passed without his being able to retain food, nor could he sleep at night; then came a fit which left him quite senseless, even his pulse ceasing to beat, and the fever which was not perceptible externally was at work within, so that they feared the worst; but in the morning the Duke with great difficulty made him take a little manna, which saved his life, for it purged him of so many and such malignant humours that it got him out of danger, and gave hope of his being soon well.

At 1 p.m. on that same afternoon I went to the Cardinal St. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], and after narrating to him your Serenity's wish for peace, and the offices performed on your behalf with the Emperor and his most serene son, and with the Duke of Alva, and what will always be done with the said Duke by the secretary Capella, I told him you had commissioned me, were there any ambassador or agent here of those most serene Princes, or of the Duke of Alva, to do the like with them; so, as there were no such representatives in Rome, knowing how much authority his right reverend lordship had with the Duke by reason of their close relationship, and his own great goodness and good will (*voler suo*), and knowing also how much he desired the quiet of the world, and what good offices he had performed on every occasion, and that although grievously indisposed, he had determined to attend the conference, I went to him with the certainty that he would not fail to persevere in the good offices performed by him hitherto, and moreover, multiply them by reason of the increasing need, both with the Duke of Alva and with the Pope, so that one side and the other should be content with fair terms

The Cardinal replied, that he thanked your Serenity for the good office you are performing, and me for the good opinion I had of him, saying, that if the conference took place, the peace would certainly be concluded, and that he would go to it willingly, although at the risk of his life, as God was his witness that he would gladly by death obtain this quiet for the world, adding that the Pope, whom he believed to be well disposed, stood too much on punctilios about dignity, and that he, the Cardinal, had told his Holiness that the honour of the world differed from that of God; that the honour of the world required certain vain [demonstrations of] repute (*alcune vane reputation*), and that of God, the relinquishment of part of one's own to avoid a greater evil; but that the Pope listened to him sometimes, and sometimes he did not; notwithstanding which, he, the Cardinal, would not utterly despair, and now that he began to recover from his illness, would not fail to perform the same offices as formerly, saying, he did not believe in ill-will on the part of the Imperialists, as the King of Spain was a good Christian, and in like manner the Duke of Alva, but that it had been proposed to them by their counsellors, whether it is not fitting to take the knife out of the hands of the raging father (*al*

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padre furioso) who wishes to kill his son, this being caused by the words so often uttered at table by the Pope against the Emperor and the King of Spain and the entire Spanish nation, adding that he would take the kingdom of Naples away from them, and deprive them of all their States. The Cardinal continued thus, "God knows how often I have prayed his Holiness to abstain from them, as it was not to his honour; that a Pope ought never to utter a word until he had weighed it ten times, and that those he had spoken were such as would not be said of private individuals, still less of such great Princes, and who make profession of being good Christians." In short, the Imperialists having advanced with good intentions, and solely to secure themselves, he would still hope for the best, provided this side was not wanting (*non mancava*); and having again exhorted and prayed his right reverend lordship in favour of so holy an operation, I took leave.

Rome, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

653. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

Received yesterday your Serenity's letters of the 24th ulto., with copies of the announcement made on behalf of the Senate to the Ambassador Vargas, and of what was written to the King, as also the news-letters from Constantinople; so this morning I had audience, and on entering the usual chamber was stopped by Don Ruy Gomez, who told me his Majesty was somewhat occupied, but that he would soon come, and when I told his lordship that after negotiating with the King I wished to have a long conversation with him, he requested me to say what I wanted immediately, as he had very much to do afterwards. When I commenced telling him what your Serenity had said to the Ambassador Vargas about some fair adjustment between the Pope and his Majesty to prevent the progress of hostilities and the many evils which they might produce, he interrupted me, saying he well knew that some of those most illustrious senators would fear that it was intended to take Rome; and then, with rather a troubled and angry countenance, he assured me that this was not his Majesty's intention, but rather to come to an agreement, which the Pope had hitherto failed to do, but that he hoped soon to hear of its having been effected. As he was then silent, and seemed to expect a reply, I told him that to my extreme satisfaction I understood his lordship to assure me that the King persevered in his wish for the agreement, and that his own opinion was it would take place, and that there was no fear of the Duke's going to Rome, but that I was anxious to know what I might write authentically to your Serenity on this subject, and that I therefore requested him to tell it me.

He replied that I should hear it from his Majesty, but that he would tell me confidentially that of his own accord he had thought of praying him to adopt the expedient of referring all his disputes to your Serenity; and with this he departed, telling me he would go to the King, with whom he remained a long while, so that he had time to tell him everything. When his Majesty came, after hearing from me all that your Serenity had said to his Ambassador

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Vargas about the adjustment with the See Apostolic, he replied, "As I have often told you, I do not wish for war, either with the Pope or with anyone else, nor is it in my mind to take territory from anyone, nor will I allow myself to be deprived of my own; and as the Pope wished to take the kingdom of Naples from me, not only according to the words uttered by him, which would have mattered little, but by the fact of his arming, I gave orders to the Duke of Alva to do what was best, both offensively and defensively, and he according to military science (*seguendo la ragione della militia*) has not chosen to keep the war at home (*tenere la guerra in casa*), because, had he done so he would have been prevented from availing himself of the Neapolitan revenues, provisions, and other necessary supplies; and write to the Signory that I am very ready to make peace, provided I be sure of receiving no farther molestation in my kingdom of Naples, the which peace would perhaps have taken place had not Cardinal Caraffa failed to have an interview with the Duke as was arranged."

His Majesty being then silent, I said that with that assurance conceded by him to me heretofore to speak freely, as he knew my words to reflect the sincerity of my mind, I would tell him that having often written to your Serenity that his Majesty had assured me, as confirmed by Don Ruy Gomez, that he merely desired peace and the preservation of his own territory, I found that the operations of the Duke of Alva were at variance with what I knew to be the excellent intention of his Majesty, whose great prudence made me expect that he would take into consideration the many and various evils which might befall Christendom, as already represented by me to him, since by rendering the Pope desperate so great a conflagration would be kindled that it would be impossible to extinguish it so immediately, even if desired. I therefore told him respectfully that I wished for a more precise reply, indicative of the true object (*vero fine*) of the good intention demonstrated by him, because on former occasions I had written to your Serenity the substance of what he had said to me, and almost his precise words. On his repeating that he knew not what else to tell me, I rejoined, with a joyful countenance and in earnest language, that his Majesty being no less judicious, he by a little mental exertion would find so sure an expedient, that it would produce a good pacific adjustment; and after several other things said by his Majesty and myself, he came to the conclusion that after thinking better about this matter he would give an answer either through one of his ministers or by sending for me. At length, after having said that I hoped the Almighty would enlighten him with regard to what he had to do, I prayed him to let me have his decision before the despatch of a courier received by him, to my knowledge, from Cardinal Pacheco. This his Majesty promised me to do, doffing his bonnet very graciously, and using courteous language, evincing extreme satisfaction at what I had said in honour of the magnifico Ambassador Vargas, and announcing his firm intention of sending him back to your Serenity.

Ghent, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

654. The SAME to the SAME.

In the afternoon his Majesty sent for me, as he said he would, and on my entering his presence expressed himself word for word as follows:—

"I have very well pondered all that you said to me this morning in the Signory's name and of your own accord, as you did very lovingly and with prudent judgment, and like that good ambassador such as I have always known you to be; wherefore I, with my council, have determined to refer all my disputes with the Pope to the Signory. Let her act in one of two ways, either write to her ambassador at Rome, or make choice of another ambassador, to hear in the presence of the Cardinals the disputes between the Pope and me, and he will know with whom the blame rests; or else, provided the Pope consent, let the Signory judge these disputes without Cardinals or anybody else, as I place such trust in the State by reason of its deeds and from the words repeatedly uttered by you to me about the goodwill your Republic bears me, and always has borne his Imperial Majesty, that I think the Signory will do what is just and fitting; and I will write all this to the Duke of Alva and to my ambassador at Venice, should he not have departed, in which case his secretary will tell the Signory the whole, and you will know by facts that the things I told you, and which you say (as I believe) you wrote to the Signory, about my being inclined towards the peace, and not wishing for what belongs to others, are true."

These words he uttered heartily (*con animo*), evincing much sincerity, and also with a cheerful countenance. After thanking his Majesty for the great trust which he said he had in your Serenity, and for the great esteem in which he held you, commending also his excellent intention of at any rate ending the disputes by means of an agreement with his Holiness, I added that this confirmed what I had written about him to your Serenity; and I then told his Majesty, as of myself (*come da me*), that I supposed the Duke of Alva in the meanwhile would not advance farther, but suspend hostilities, to give a true sign of knowing his King's wish to make peace with the Pope.

His Majesty answered me, "I really do not know what he will do, but I believe that he will do what shall be fitting, nor would I that this should render the Signory suspicious, and make them believe that I have given him some secret order, which is really not the case, but I will indeed tell you that it is not to the purpose (*non esser a proposito*) for me to desire the Duke to suspend hostilities, because the Pope, on hearing this, would never come to terms." I therefore, on taking leave, told the King that I departed with the firm intention of assuring your Serenity that his Majesty willingly and with great prudence would give all such orders to the Duke of Alva about this most important matter as were fair and necessary; whereupon the King, with a joyful countenance, and without farther rejoinder, dismissed me.

On leaving his Majesty I remained purposely to hold a long conversation with Don Ruy Gomez on the same subject, in order better to impress upon him the necessity for carrying into effect the com-

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mission for the Duke of Alva; and after telling him what the King had said to me, and commending his Majesty as seemed fit to me, he replied that facts would always prove what he had said to me about the King's love for peace in general, and desire to be always your Serenity's good friend; and, giving me his hand, he added that I was to rest assured that between his lordship and myself we would make our two princes (to use his own words) "love each other like brothers." As proof that he had at heart what I said to him heretofore, and his own promise always to expedite your Serenity's affairs speedily and favourably, he had suggested to the King, and thus was it determined, to insert amongst the first articles of the commission to be given by his Majesty to the Duke of Medina Celi, whom he yesterday appointed Viceroy of Sicily, that in affairs relating to your Serenity's subjects, the said Duke, without writing to his Majesty, is of himself to decide any doubtful matter in favour of your Serenity. After fully reciprocating all his lordship's courteous expressions, I mentioned to him the following particular, that it had been my intention to request his Majesty, before the said Viceroy's departure, to have his Excellency called when I was present, and to charge him to have at heart your Serenity's affairs, but that I must confess that his lordship had done more than it was lawful for me to ask, of which courteous office I said I would give notice to your Serenity, whom I inform that the courier, who is in haste to depart, prevents me from giving any other news, save that by a courier just come from Spain it is heard that the Emperor arrived there safe.

Ghent, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

655. The SAME to the SAME.

This morning a courier from the King of France came to his ambassador, who, being in bed with fever, did not go to the Court, but from his discourse he is understood to have had a much more stringent commission than the former ones, to protest to King Philip that should the Duke of Alva go to Rome the most Christian King will break the truce in every particular (*in ogni parte*); but the Spaniards make it appear that these threats prove that they will not break it, as they say the French are accustomed to be silent when they mean to do deeds of this sort, and to talk when they have a contrary intention.

King Philip had licensed a printer to print the very long letter written by the Duke of Alva to the Pope before the war broke out, and subsequently he sent him an express order not to print it.

Yesterday a courier arrived here with letters from the Queen of England to his Majesty, congratulating him on the progress made by the Duke of Alva, saying, besides, that as he can feel sure of his Excellency's proceedings he ought to return to England; it being supposed that the said courier was also despatched on account of the news received [in London] of the death of Lord Courtenay,*

* The Earl of Devonshire died at Padua on the 18th September 1556. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 255.)

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and in order yet more to encourage his Majesty, as by going now to that kingdom he with this opportunity (*in tal occasione*) might better arrange such things as are desired by him, and which as yet he has been unable to obtain; and since the coming of the said courier it has been reported that King Philip will have the stable department (*la stalla*) and the pages sent towards England, but few persons who are conversant with affairs here believe that this will take place so soon.

His Majesty has also written to the Duke of Savoy, at Brussels, that if the people of Brabant will change their obstinate opinion, and accede to the demand made by him heretofore for money, he will go to Antwerp to comply with their privileges in that particular, but that should they continue pertinacious he will come to Brussels to punish the refractory; and I understand that orders have been already given to send thither secretly some companies of infantry (in the same way as the Emperor did a year ago, when he sent Queen Maria to Antwerp) to secure himself against any stir which might arise should the King go there or have his intention carried into effect by the Duke of Savoy, who wrote to him yesterday that he found them almost as obstinate as at first.

The Grand Vice-Chancellor of the Empire came to me yesterday and said he was departing to-day on his return to Bavaria, his country, the Emperor having revoked the order given heretofore to send him, with the Prince of Orange, to the Electors of the Empire to let them know the cause of his going to Spain, and the powers left to his brother the King of the Romans, it having been determined to allow these powers to be printed, in order that all the "Estates" (*li Stati*) of the Empire and the world may know his intention. The Vice-Chancellor told me that as yet they had not allowed these commissions to be published here, having perhaps chosen them to be sent first of all to the Princes and Estates of the said Empire; and having had them translated into Latin, I send your Serenity a copy.*

King Philip has conferred the reward mentioned by me on the Count of Alcaudete, and to the warder of Oran he has given a perpetual pension of 300 crowns and a donative of 1,000.

Ghent, 10th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

656. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Imperial army remains quartered in various places as mentioned in my last. The dependents of this Court say that it has halted from scarcity of victuals, and because they have not yet decided on their next undertaking, as also because many Italian soldiers have deserted. The adherents of Spain, on the other hand, say they have halted merely to give the men and horses a little rest, and to wait for the troops on their march from the kingdom of Naples and elsewhere; that the Prince of Stigliano has already

* This repeal of the Vice-Chancellor's mission implies that on arriving in Spain the Emperor modified the contents of the last letter written by him to his brother from the Low Countries, dated Zutbourg, 12th September 1556, and which closes the Emperor's correspondence, and may be read in Lanz, t. iii. p. 710–712.

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arrived, nor can the Prince of Bisignano fail to follow him shortly. A friar who has returned hither from Tivoli, where he remained two days for his own private affairs, says they cannot prevent the troops there from doing injury, most especially to priests and friars, and that the horses are stabled in the churches.

Yesterday, the Duke of Paliano told me that the Prince of Stigliano narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade laid not far from Paliano by Giulio Orano, not for him, but for the purpose of making some plunder, adding, that he would have been a good prisoner, as he is extremely rich, so that he does nothing but buy, and may be said to have purchased half of the kingdom of Naples. Some particulars about this army, narrated by an eye-witness, may be read in the enclosed note.*

A trumpet, who returned from the camp last evening, says they had commenced paying the troops, and the Duke of Alva asked him whether they paid at Rome, and on being answered affirmatively, he added, "In that case we shall soon perform some fine feat," to which the trumpet replied that here they desired nothing else, and Ascanio della Cornia charged him, in his name, to kiss the Duke of Paliano's hand. The seizure of horses for the harquebusiers which was being made here is now modified, the Duke of Paliano having desired Matheo Stendardo by no means any longer to send the sheriff (*barisello*) to effect it, but to convoke the owners of the horses specified, and to ask for them civilly (*con amorevolezza*), having them valued immediately, promising payment to the masters from the commanders, exempting the Roman noblemen natives of Rome from this seizure, but not those who have obtained that grade by privilege.

The Romans continue requesting leave to treat with the Duke of Alva for permission to sow, and hope to obtain it, as they have softened Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, though it is true that the Pope still shows himself averse to it. The Florentine ambassador has had letters from his Duke expressing regret that the conference did not take place by reason of his wish for the peace, both for the benefit of all Christendom and for theservice of the Pope, whom he wished to see out of so much trouble, desiring the ambassador to tell him that he will always show himself his most affectionate servant, and that he chose the said ambassador to serve his Holiness as he would himself.

With this letter he had audience after me on Wednesday, and the Pope being quite soothed by it, and having said that the Duke had reason to wish for the peace, as it turned to his account, the ambassador rejoined that it was true that the peace turned to the Duke's account (*facea per il Duca*), because he had a State between his Holiness and the forces of the Emperor, that the Lord God, and no one else, had given it him, and that he sought to preserve it by all means in his power, but that as the Duke had commissioned him to serve his Holiness as he would his Excellency in person, he would do so; that he merely served the Duke by always

* Not found.

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telling him the truth, and that thus would he do by his Holiness, were he pleased to hear him.

The Pope replied that he was to say on, and the ambassador (from what he himself gave me to understand) added, "Holy Father, we must not hold in account what belongs to others; if my Duke (may God save him from it!) were to lose all his State, and your Holiness (which on many accounts I should not desire) to lose a particle (*particella*) of yours, which would grieve you most, the total loss of the Duke's state, or that of your own small portion?" He replied, "My own small portion" (*il mio poco*). "Then" (continued the ambassador), "let us attend to what is for your Holiness' advantage without thinking of the interests of others. I will now tell you a secret, that the war, besides the other inconveniences to which it subjects your beatitude, causes you not to be Pope (*fa che ella non è Papa*), and if you ask me how, I will tell it you; it is because your ministers do what they please without your knowing anything whatever about it;* and that it be true, I sent an express to the Duke, with an account of my conversation with your Holiness at my last audience, since when five days have elapsed, in the course of which I ought in reason to have received an answer; so as it does not make its appearance it may be supposed to be intercepted, and that there are persons who choose to know what you discuss with the ambassadors, that they may be enabled to thwart your good intention with regard to the peace. As they did this, thus do they act in other matters also; and this being the case, how does it seem to your Holiness with regard to being Pope (*et essendo così che par alla Santità vostra che sia Papa*")?

The Pope remained pensive, and said, "We thank you for having given us an idea, of which we will avail themselves." The ambassador added, "Holy Father, you must remedy another matter, and not exalt certain persons who through the war are great and esteemed, and in time of peace find themselves in low condition, as outlaws; and others, who here are "*Monsignori*" of this place and that, and when in France remain six months without seeing the King. Were your Holiness to close your ears to those folks (*costoro*) I know you to be of so good and holy a disposition that you would embrace the peace, and comprehend that the Imperialists are moved solely by their suspicion of your having made some agreement with the French, or that our wish for peace is not true. Your Holiness cannot deny having said so several times publicly, and the Pope's words are credited (as I told you heretofore), because the Duke wrote it to me. By relieving the Imperialists from this suspicion everything else will be adjusted according to your own wishes. I do not say that you should tear (*strazzi*) yourself from the French, to become an Imperialist, as it would not be well (*non staria bene*), but that your Holiness with all your family should by facts show yourself neutral; and if Cardinal

* By the contents of Navagero's despatch, dated 4th August 1556, it may be inferred that the persons here alluded to were the Florentine outlaws, Monsignor della Casa and Silvestro Aldobrandini, and the Neapolitan, Monsignor Bozzuto, as also the kinsfolk of Cardinal Caraffa.

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Caraffa, perchance owing to some promise given by him to the King, cannot consent to this, let your Holiness act alone, as his right reverend lordship can always say that he was unable to oppose your will."

The ambassador was listened to quietly, and thanked for this office, and he moreover says that if he could be alone with the Pope and dispose Cardinal Caraffa to listen to the proposals (*le cose*), dissembling them, however, the agreement might be set on foot, as they would not fail to give his right reverend lordship the archbishopric of Naples and something else, and to the Duke such things as would satisfy him and which he could be sure to retain, whereas they may rely on losing what they have at present, immediately on the accession of a new Pope; *saying that he knows what he says, because the King of Spain imparts to his Duke the orders given to the Duke of Alva, and perhaps something more; and adding, as a great secret, that the King sent his Duke the commission for the present movements* (delli presenti moti) *which he was giving to the Duke of Alva, with orders for his Excellency to adjust it as seemed fit to him, and that the Duke cancelled many things which were overmuch* (che erano troppo); *so if the Pope gave it to be understood that he wished for the peace, and would renounce the French intrigues* (le pratiche Francese), *it would soon be arranged.**

He said he had chosen to let me know this, as he saw your Serenity intermeddling with this good and holy work. It may chance for me occasionally to write in cipher, as I did the foregoing four times, from suspicion that the letters may be intercepted by one side or the other, which I mention lest at first sight, before reading them, the cipher startle your Serenity. Owing to the outrages perpetrated nightly by the Gascons an order has been issued for no soldier to quit his quarters without a written license from the commanders, and it is believed that this provision will be useful.

Having receiving last night the enclosed letters from the Magnifico Capella, I sent my secretary to the Duke of Paliano, who said he would despatch a trumpet accordingly (*a questo effetto*), although he might have availed himself of one who on that day went to the camp with the Signor Ferrante de' Sanguini, who has at length obeyed the Duke of Alva. The trumpet departed this morning before daybreak, and by the Duke of Paliano's order came to me to see whether I had any other commands.

There are letters from France written by Cardinal Caraffa's agent on the 31st ulto., and they were brought by a courier who came in eight days and a half, purporting (from what has been said by a Cardinal much in the confidence of the French, and of those in command here) that the most Christian King is determined to assist the Pope, and that M. de Selve,† who left on the 29th, and will remain here as ambassador (the present one‡ having been

* The italicised passage in contemporary decipher.

† Odet de Selve. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

‡ The predecessor of M. de Selve at the Court of Rome was M. Dabanson. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 264, date 8th October 1556, where Navagero's account is confirmed by Dr. Wotton.)

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made Vice-Chancellor of the kingdom, the old Lord Chancellor [Matthieu de Longuejou ?], although alive, not exercising the charge), bringing word of the despatch of 6,000 Switzers, 2,000 French, 2,000 Italians, 400 men-at-arms, and 400 light horse; and this Cardinal says that Cardinal Caraffa feels certain that this resolve will be carried into effect, although formed contrary to the advice of the Constable. It is not written who will be the commander-in-chief of this army, but it is expected to march under M. d'Aumale, with M. de Termes as lieutenant; and although the straight course will perhaps encounter difficulties, here Cardinal Caraffa tells the Cardinal who gave this account that he hopes to have this succour at the end of November, because he is informed that the Switzers are ready whenever the King's money arrives; so they expect them to cross before the Cardinal of Trent can be ready to prevent their passage. Of these preparations, and of the news brought by this courier, the French agents here have neither any advice nor letters.

Camillo Colonna, seeing that his papers have been found, has confessed everything, and said, "What did my wife mean to do with these papers which she kept in the house?"

Don Fabio of Gubbio, the reverend *Decano* of the *Rota*, has been to tell me that having been told in the Pope's name that I was to give him information about a certain case, he had chosen to come to me from his wish to do what was agreeable to your Serenity, as becoming the obligation under which his late father and he are to your Serenity, his father having lectured so much to his honour on medicine at the University of Padua, where he himself in early youth lectured on the same science alternately with Soncino. After thanking him suitably I said that it was a question about the right of preserving the "*prima instantia*," which had always been exercised by the Signory, and that therefore your Serenity held this case in account, and that Randonio would acquaint his Lordship with the particulars; to which he replied, "Let him come when he will, I shall not fail, sword in hand, to defend the authority of that most illustrious dominion."*

Rome, 10th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

Oct. 10.

657. Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Morone.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. pp. 180 recto & verso.

The last advices received of the invasion of the Papal territory, have distressed him greatly, as Morone may well imagine, nor does he see what else he can do than pray God as he does constantly to allay this commencement [of strife] as soon as possible.

Both with King Philip and his ministers in England Pole has always performed such offices as he deemed opportune, and wrote

* As stated in a note to a former despatch of Navagero's, dated 2nd October 1556, this suit concerned Daniele Barbaro. That churchman, before his appointment to the coadjutorship of Aquileia, had been ambassador in England; and the Court of Rome, suspecting him of Lutheran opinions, seem not to have favoured his claims against a certain priest, by name Antonio; but the grateful Don Fabio, having been in the Signory's pay as lecturer at Padua, came to the assistance of the patriarch-designate, and did what he could to obtain justice for him.

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lately to his Majesty with such earnestness as becomes his legatine commission, and as the importance of this case requires. Should matters proceed further without taking some good turn. Should the King not come to England as he promises to do shortly, Pole will determine, as required by the urgency of the matter, to cross the Channel, which he will be enabled to do with a better grace, on receiving some particulars from Rome, according to the wish written by him to Morone heretofore, that he may negotiate more securely. Really this rupture and incipient conflagration is such that not merely Morone and Pole by reason of their grades about the Pope and in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but all private individuals likewise who desire the honour of God and the welfare of Christendom, must be greatly grieved and should be moved most earnestly to pray the Divine mercy to remedy the many and great evils which might thence ensue, and to confirm his Holiness' affection for all Christendom, and especially for such and so great a Prince [as King Philip], and his Majesty's filial observance towards the Pope and the Apostolic See, so that the enemy of the human race may no longer have the satisfaction of fomenting discord between those on whose peace and union the quiet and welfare of Christendom chiefly depend.

Is certain that Morone and Muzzarelli have always performed and continue performing all such offices as they deem expedient for the service of God and the common weal, and that in like manner as from their charitable nature they on every account feel the deepest regret for this universal turmoil, so will they pray devoutly for its speedy and opportune remedy.

London, 10th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.

658. Cardinal Pole to King Philip.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. pp. 181 recto & verso.

The Regent Figueroa, when delivering the King's letter of the 7th instant in reply to his last, communicated to him the news from Italy, which cannot but distress all those who desire the quiet and common weal of Christendom. Although Pole would have been convinced that his Majesty's piety must make him regret that matters should have been brought to their present state and wish speedily to put an end to this discord and distrust, yet can he not omit beseeching him, above all other considerations, always to bear in mind, as becoming a Catholic Prince such as he is, the reverence and observance due to the Pope and the Apostolic See, in which God has chosen His Vicar to reside, and, as head of the Church there, to be respected and revered to the utmost by all its members, and how by doing so, sure hope of the Divine grace and favour is given to all men, whilst by failing in this respect great fear may be entertained of the contrary, of which the Church has many examples both ancient and modern. Whilst on the one hand Pole's great affection and respect for King Philip, besides other motives, cannot but cause him great anxiety, on the other, nevertheless, his opinion of his Majesty's pious and Catholic disposition comforts him with the hope that by remedying the turmoil already commenced he will prove clearly to the whole world that no

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accident whatever can affect or diminish his filial affection and observance towards the Church and its supreme head, as in its present debilitated state it ought to be greatly consolidated by the King's example, to the honour of God and edification of all Christendom, as Pole will constantly pray, beseeching the Almighty to favour and prosper his Majesty for the service of the Lord, and for the benefit of Christendom.

London, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7, B.

659. FEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I left Venice on Sunday at noon, and although I encountered many difficulties, owing to that blessed suspicion of plague, which delayed my journey for a day, in the territories of Ferrara and Ravenna, and finally at Urbino, through which district, however, the Duke gave me an escort, I nevertheless, very early on Thursday, arrived at Otricoli, distant five posts from Rome, where I was compelled to stop to obtain information about the journey and accommodation with regard to horses and guides for my conveyance to the camp, without coming to this city, as I must have done had I crossed the Tiber at the usual ferry, the abutments (*bande*) of the others having been removed.

On Friday morning before daybreak I set out, and having crossed several mountains arrived late in the evening at Palombara, a place belonging to the Savelli family, from whence the next morning I sent to the Duke of Alva for a trumpet, who took me to Tivoli, where his Excellency was, and wishing to have audience of him immediately, on that same evening I made the demand, and he sent me word that it would be more convenient the next morning, as I might be tired from the fatigue of the journey; and so being introduced to him, accompanied by some captains, who came to escort me in his Excellency's name, after presenting my credentials I stated my commission, which I found to be so precise that it seemed necessary to me merely to add a few words about your Serenity's love and esteem for his Excellency, both from respect for the most Serene King, whose person he represented in his Majesty's kingdoms and states in Italy, and for his Excellency, by reason of his lofty and noble descent, and worthy parts. He listened to me attentively, and reciprocated my first expressions in loving terms, declaring that your Serenity will always find in his Majesty the same goodwill, as witnessed by you in his most serene father, he having the same intention and the same desire to be your good friend.

His Excellency seemed much gratified by my coming to him, offering always to be your Serenity's very good friend, as he had been, and as shown by him on such occasions as presented themselves. With regard to the statement made by me to him in your Serenity's name, he said that by his reply I should learn who was inclined towards the agreement, and who was not; and that first of all he would tell me this, that he desired no better testimony of the Pope's will and mind (*volontà et animo*) than could be rendered by your

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Serenity, through the demands made of you by his aforesaid Holiness for union and a closer understanding. He then commenced telling me from the beginning the injuries received by his Majesty from the Pope, calling to mind the seizure of the galleys, the privation of Marc' Antonio Colonna, the arrest of his Majesty's friends, that of Don Garcilasso de la Vega, of the postmaster, and of the other prisoners, justifying their proceedings, all which things, he said, the King went tolerating (*andava tollerando*) from the wish always entertained by him for peace and quiet, hoping indeed that his Holiness would desist from them. At that identical time, his Excellency was preparing to betake himself into Lombardy, without the slightest thought of having to come to this extremity, but subsequently the privation of Ascanio della Cornia, and the writ of outlawry against him, the cause of which was assigned to his having gone over to the Pope's enemies, amongst whom the Emperor and the King were thus included, and the demand made in Consistory by the Fiscal Advocate* to deprive his Majesty of the kingdom of Naples, on which occasion and on others they did not fail to allude to their Majesties in terms which his Excellency would be ashamed to repeat, compelled the lord Duke to defend his Majesty's states (*le cose della Maestà sua*); so he mustered the army, not to attack his Holiness, but to deprive him of the means for attacking the kingdom of Naples, it being lawful for the son to disarm his father when the latter purposes striking him. It thus appears (he said) that his Excellency had been compelled to take up arms, solely in self-defence, whereas had it come to pass otherwise, and had not your Serenity urged him to lay them down, and moreover taken them up against his Excellency, you would have omitted to do what became you, but that he nevertheless did not expect the most Christian King to break the truce, as he had no reason to do so, but that he was at liberty to do what he pleased, as had been done by him on other occasions.

That his Majesty (King Philip) was not desirous of territory (*stato*) in Italy, as shown by the restitution of Piacenza, and that he would moreover prove this by depriving himself of other places when able to do so with honour and security, so great being his goodwill and wish for quiet. That from the Pope he wished for nothing, but that his Holiness should be pleased to consider him his son, as he does the other Christian Princes, and that he would favour and assist him to preserve the [Roman Catholic] religion in England and in Germany, and to increase it; nor from his Holiness would he ever wish for anything but what was more than fitting, and that this he promised him in his Majesty's name. That as for the affair of the peace, by reason of his desire for it he had betaken himself to Grottaferrata, and until nearly sunset he awaited there the Cardinals who were to have gone thither, but perceiving that they did not come, he returned to the camp, although 800 harquebusiers had been placed in ambush in that direction to capture him, but that his Excellency went well provided with an escort as required for his security, and on account of this journey he made the camp halt,

* See Navagero's despatch dated Rome, 27th July 1556; also Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 250.

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which in the meanwhile might have attacked Veletri. From these facts, the Duke deduced instability, evil counsel, and also a mind averse to peace ; concerning which his Excellency said he was of the same disposition as he had been heretofore, *but should there be any question of treating it, he knew that it could not be done through any better medium than that of your Serenity, as he should not trust others, knowing your authority, goodness, and comprehension of those matters;* it being his wish to make it in such a way as to give sure hope of its being durable, and not for three or four months. His Excellency added, that so long back as Friday or Saturday last they purposed again sending Friar Don Tomaso Manrique,* but as he has not come it may be supposed that the Papal Government (*questi signori*), having heard of my coming, chose to wait and see, and that therefore, when communicating this circumstance to your Serenity's ambassador here, it should be well pondered. He then said to me that he also desired this peace for his own personal sake, as he had need of rest, and of not always risking his capital (*il cavedal*), as thus to do so often as his Excellency had been compelled to do was perilous ; that he had obtained seven fortified towns which might have held out, and many other places; that deputations had been sent a distance of 30 and 40 miles to tender him obedience, their constituents wishing to be relieved from the many burdens to which they are subjected, and that his Excellency had granted them this, exonerating them from the duties and taxes ; that all these places will be restored to the College of Cardinals immediately on the Pope's death, without awaiting a fresh creation or any other order from his Majesty.

He told me, besides, how the Papal Government purposed giving the French admission into these parts by fortifying Cività Vecchia, and placing in the castle 30 (*sic*) soldiers of the most Christian King ; and fortifying another small place (*loghetto*) near at hand of which I forget the name, so as to connect it with Pitigliano, and Pitigliano with Mont' Alcino. In conclusion, he told me he was expecting hourly, with the galleys, 500 infantry, and that 300 horse would also be sent, and that two days hence he thought of moving in advance from Tivoli.

This conversation lasted for a good hour, and after repeating some words in praise of his wish for peace, and exhorting him to persevere in it, I took leave and rode hither, being accompanied a good way, amongst other persons by Ascanio della Cornia, who never spoke to me about anything but his own justification with regard to having been compelled to desert to the Imperialists.

Your Serenity's most humble servant, Febo Capella, secretary.

Rome, 12th October 1556.†

[*Italian, partly in cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

* The missions of this Friar are also alluded to in Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 253, 270.

† In the Foreign Calendar, "Mary," there is but one letter from the English ambassador at Rome, Sir Edward Carne, to the Queen, in the month of October 1556. It is dated the 10th of the month, and contains the following paragraph :—

"Yesterday a messenger went from the Senate of Venice to the Duke of Alva to protest that they will defend the lands of the Church."

1556. Oct. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B.

660. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, and Febo Capella, Venetian Secretary accredited to the Duke of Alva and to the Pope, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day at 1 p.m., the hour appointed us by the Pope, we had audience, and I, ambassador, told his Holiness that according to the commission given by your Serenity to this Magnifico, your secretary, he was come to give him account of what he had negotiated with the Duke of Alva, adding that he was the son of a great servant of his Holiness.

He replied that he would hear him willingly, and showed that he remembered his father, who had often visited him in company with the most noble Messer Agustin da Mula, and concerning his grandfather he said he knew that he had been Grand Chancellor,* and that as the secretary was of such good and honourable ancestry nothing but good could be expected from him. I, Secretary, kissed his foot and then in the identical most prudent words of my commission set forth your Serenity's wish for peace, the offices performed by you on every occasion with their most serene Majesties the Emperor and the King of Spain and with the Duke of Alva for the quiet of Christendom, and what your Serenity had done through my medium with the said Duke, together with his reply, which was in substance a justification of the rupture (*la rottura*) made by him and a demonstration of goodwill towards the peace, on such terms as to make sure of its stability, adding a few words of most earnest exhortation, praying his Holiness to accept the agreement on fair terms and confer on Christendom so precious a gift as a good peace.

I did not tell the Pope what the Duke said to me, "that having to treat peace he did not see how it could be made through a better mediator than your Serenity, as he should not trust others," we before going to audience having determined not to mention it, thinking that the Pope also might assent to this mediation, it not seeming fit to us to utter a word which might bind your Serenity to what you would perhaps not approve, but rather secure ourselves by writing it to your Serenity, from whose will we shall not depart. But this our scruple about the Pope's assent was vain, as you will perceive by his Holiness' reply and that of Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano.

The Pope answered, "Lord Secretary, the office performed by you in his Sublimity's name with the Duke of Alva pleases me, and we thank you for it, nor do we listen to any Prince more willingly than to him; nor to any one will we give fuller account of our actions than to him, both by reason of the singular love we bear him, as also on account of the great interest he has in Italy, and because on every occasion the Signory has evinced readiness to assist this See, for which they have often suffered because their allies failed them in many matters, for they were once masters of the coasts as far as Constantinople; and lost much in order to adjust

* Febo Capella was Grand Chancellor of Venice from 1480 to 1482, and it was probably in 1527, when Gio. Pietro Caraffa was at Venice, that he knew his son. The title of "Magnifico" was given to the secretary in right of his grandfather.

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their affairs as they best might. You know about the affairs of Prevesa and Castelnuovo [in 1538], the victuals (*vittuarie*) from Sicily, and other matters; and to give you, Secretary, the means for making a profitable statement to those lords of mine we must commence by narrating to you the Emperor's qualities, as by knowing his nature a better estimate may be formed of his mind."

The Pope then commenced repeating what he had so often said to me, Ambassador, and as I wrote at the time, how he had been in Spain by commission from Leo X., how he departed* (together with M. Marcello, who had been in the service of Ferdinando the Catholic) because he could not bear the tyranny of Charles of Spain, although the future Emperor was then young, and to see that all his proceedings and those of his councillors tended towards the ruin of the world and of the faith of Christ; how he fomented the heresies of Luther because they made him master of Rome; alluding to the sack of this city and to his expedition against Tunis, and the miraculous victory obtained by him there, for which instead of returning thanks to God and dedicating it to Christ, the King appointed by him was a Moor who put out his father's eyes; how he returned in triumph by way of Sicily and Naples and came to Rome to remain there, "and already had his attendants provided victuals for a long stay, but the prudence of Paul III. prevented this by arming secretly and making the King of France descend into Piedmont, whereupon the tyrant challenged the most Christian King.

"The barons in the neighbourhood of this city have always been favoured by him that he may have them ready to favour his designs for occupying the Papal States, and thus give him opportunity to keep the Pope always under his feet, of which the instances are recent, for being unable to speak of Marcello, who only reigned for a few days, let us take Julius III., whom the Emperor's ambassador did not deign to command in person, but sent him an under-secretary (*un secretarietto*) to say, do so and so (*fà così et così*). If their satellites by night under pretence of going on pleasure excursions with their harlots (*mostrando di andar a spasso con le loro puttane*) committed murders and plundered from 7,000 to 8,000 crowns at a time, under the Pope's eyes, it was tolerated; and if another individual compelled a great lady to marry her daughter to his son, although they were kinsfolk, then her son-in-law murdered her, with so many dagger-thrusts.† If any one, on being summoned to Rome, plundered or burned the houses of those who had cited him, nothing was said about it,‡ and if a complaint was made to the Pope, he replied, *What would you have me do? What are you to do, poor miserable creature?* (che far poveraccio?) Was it for this you were made Pope? (*è questo l'esser Papa?*) Is this the care you ought to have of the flock committed to you? We, then,

* In the years 1518, 1519. (*See* Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 164–165.)

† Camillo Colonna was accused of being implicated in the murder of a lady called Signora Livia, slain in her bed on Shrove Tuesday, 1555, by the son of Colonna, who had married her daughter and heir. (*See* Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 184.")

‡ See before, account of Ascanio Colonna's treatment of his creditors, date 7th October 1556.

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on being raised to this charge by the will of God,—although we did everything to avoid it, and of this testimony can be given by all the Cardinals, towards whom at all the consistories and congregations we never showed any respect (*mai havessimo alcun rispetto*), in order to make them lose the wish to elect us,—we did not think fit to put up with these indignities, but to repress them, using however great mercy. When the Imperialists (*costoro*) saw they could not be our masters, they, from the very first day of our Pontificate, commenced plotting against us, and hence the poisonings, hence the murderers, hence all the acts of assassination against us and our kinsfolk which can possibly be imagined. (*Et qui li veneni, qui li sicarij, qui tutti li assassinamenti che si possono imaginar contra di noi, et contra li nostri.*)

"These outrages were always dissembled by us for the respect which we so often mentioned to you, Ambassador, nor can any person, however malignant, say that we commenced the war. Had this not been the case we should perhaps not be in the state in which we are at present, and the war would be in their territory (*in casa loro*). We even put up with the synagogue (*sinagoga*) held by them in the house of that Cardinal, which was an act of high treason;* and although the qualities of the Colonna family were known to us by many proofs, and by what is written in the sixth book of Decretals, chap. "*De scismaticis,*" (as shown by us heretofore to you, Magnifico Ambassador,) we tolerated Marc' Antonio Colonna, and honoured him even to the extent of making him worthy to sit at our dinner table with Cardinals. He asked leave of us to quit Rome; we conceded it to him, and he went to stir-up the people against us and to urge the Emperor's ministers in the kingdom at Naples and at Milan to wage war on us, which was the cause of his privation. The Imperialists, unable to tolerate our being masters of our own territory and maintaining that dignity which Christ has conferred on us, and it seeming to them the fitting moment to do what they had purposed since so many years, namely, to occupy this State in order subsequently to deal with the rest of Italy, moved and advanced so far as is known to you, without any cause, for we at the beginning of our pontificate commenced preparing the reform and wished to assemble councils (*convocar consilij*) to do something worthy of the grade held by us, which is quite contrary to war, and the first troops raised by us were for the service of the Imperialists (*a servitio loro*), to the discontent of the French, because the levy was made on account of the passage of the Turkish fleet; and the Marquis de Sarria, the Emperor's ambassador here, thanked us for it several times; the French, on the other hand, complaining of it, as they wished us to trust to them who had been the cause of the coming of the said fleet; but we, regardless of this, chose to arm (though on a small scale) (*mediocremente però*) but sufficiently to guard these coasts, in order that the populace of Rome might not take flight as it did under Paul III. when Barbarossa passed.

* The meeting of the Emperor's adherents at Rome in the residence of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, in August 1555, and his imprisonment, have been alluded to at p. 195 in vol. 6, Venetian Calendar, and in Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 183–184.

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"These accursed of God (*questi maledetti da Dio*) [the Imperialists] who were seeking an opportunity, armed at the confines, and increased their forces constantly, with the intention of doing what they have done, which is but too much, and to your detriment. It is manifest to everybody, who willed the war and who commenced it. They now talk of peace, to put to sleep those who are interested in the matter, and in the meanwhile to play their own game (*far il fatto loro*), as they also did when this renegade Morisco (*Marano*) [the Duke of Alva] moved war, whilst Pirro dell' Offredo was negotiating the agreement. We have made this discourse to you, in order that knowing their tyranny, and the constant wish they have to make themselves masters of Italy, you may be able to tell those lords to open their eyes to their own welfare, and to rest assured that after us the ruin of their State will follow, and they will be compelled to do in self defence what might be done by them now *to their very great honour and profit, as if they understood the matter as they ought, they and we should be capable of ridding ourselves of this plague; and the Signory would have the glory of having made a King of Naples and a Duke of Milan, and of bringing back Italy to her former harmony; whereas should she wait to see, she will let us be ruined and ruin herself likewise, to her eternal infamy.*"

I the Ambassador then said, "Holy Father, the ruin of these two States will not ensue, because your Holiness on fair terms will concede to the world and especially to Italy this precious boon of peace; an operation truly worthy of a vicar of Christ, and bequeathed as an heirloom to all those who had to succeed Him."

The Pope said, "Although we are so ready to make peace that we might consider it an affront for any one to exhort us thus to do, yet will we always listen patiently to everybody, and above all to you, and if you have any condition to offer us, tell it, as there is no more fitting medium for this than the most illustrious Signory; but you must know that those Imperialists (*costoro*) are astute, and perceive that you and the King of France and the others will be compelled to rouse themselves for their own good (we now omit the point of religion, which ought, however, to be held in great account by Christian Princes), and therefore the Imperialists by talking of peace are cajoling you that they may do as much mischief as they can, so long as you permit them. We have but little strength remaining; we will not do anything unbecoming our dignity; if able to escape alive out of their hands, we will embark on board ship, and go and exercise our office where we can, because we are the same in every place; and you, when the flood (*la piena*) pours in upon you will remember this poor old man (*questo povero vecchio*), and regret not having made provision in time, when you had a Pope from whom you might have hoped for more than from any former one."

I the Ambassador replied that I would not anticipate so much evil, and hoped that God would effect the peace without detriment to his Holiness' dignity. He replied, "Our dignity would have required us to declare them accursed, excommunicated, deprived of fiefs, kingdoms, and empires, as we are bound to do, and as we

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shall do, (for we have already appointed Cardinals to examine this sentence,) and release their subjects from their oath of homage, conceding also their states and kingdoms to whomsoever shall gain them; and should they then come as suppliants to ask mercy of us, and we were to ponder whether we should concede it them after receiving compensation for all damages and losses, this would be for our dignity. Imagine whether they will do it. At least, as for the reason assigned by us heretofore to you, Magnifico Ambassador, we delayed effecting this privation, let them cease hostilities and leave us alone; but to choose to give law to us, and to prevent us from chastising our own vassals, will never be considered fair by any one, be he who he may. They wish to make us by force reinstate our rebels, those very ones whose reception by them has subjected them to the 'censures,' and they deserve the '*privation*,' as also on account of their heresy, which is sufficient to '*deprive*' a Pope, not merely Kings and Emperors. A fine enterprise to be the first one undertaken by the King of Spain, *qui nondum attigit limen regnorum suorum*, and goes to war with a poor Pope. We lament our own misfortune, and see that of others, and are not credited; but, by God! they will believe us when they find themselves in the midst of it. Secretary! tell those Lords to remember when the Imperialists [in 1509] deprived them of their territory on the main-land, and the sieges of Padua, Treviso, and Brescia, and to prepare to do what is for their advantage, without having so many respects, suspicions, spites, and delays (*tanti rispetti, suspetti, dispetti, et aspetti*), as these are what ruin the world. Let them do at once, what they will be compelled to do very shortly, at their very great cost and peril, for if they permit the Imperialists to occupy this state, by God! they will be unable to defend their own. We choose to have told and protested this to you. God knows that what I let them know is what they ought to do for their benefit and honour." I the Ambassador told him that the Secretary before his departure would return to kiss his Holiness' foot, and that we would now go to his most illustrious nephews; and he having said that he was glad of it, although the Cardinal had been ill, we took leave.

Rome, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

Oct. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives. No. 7 B. 2nd Letter.

661. The SAME to the SAME.

On entering Cardinal Caraffa's chamber we found him risen from his bed, and I, Ambassador, after congratulations on his recovery said that this Magnifico Secretary, who by your Serenity's order had been to the Duke of Alva, would tell him what he negotiated, and I, Secretary, stated my proposal and the Duke's reply, as already done by me to the Pope, requesting his most illustrious lordship to aid the agreement with his Holiness. The Cardinal replied, that in like manner as he had done hitherto, he would not fail to urge the peace, provided it could be made with dignity to the Pope, saying, "You, Lord Secretary, if they told you the terms, may judge whether they are fair;" and he then commented on the articles proposed, as he did

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to me, Ambassador, last week. He said much in justification of his Holiness' cause, and especially that he went to the most Christian King solely for the universal peace, being content to stipulate it and die the next day, and not for any other purpose or other understanding, although at the Emperor's Court much had been said on that subject.

He apologised for not having gone to the Conference for the reasons in like manner assigned to me, Ambassador, and which I wrote to your Serenity, adding that he was known to be a gentleman, and had served the Emperor for 17 years, receiving from him such remuneration that to save his life he was compelled to enter the service of the King of France, having often told both of them that he would never cease serving them, save in case the Signory of Venice were in need, when he would leave anyone, to serve your Serenity, and that now in his present grade he is ready to serve you, by so much the more as owing to the demonstration made by you towards him and his whole family, accepting them as sons and servants,* he was bound to do so. In the next place, concerning the agreement, he said that should the Imperialists propose suitable terms, neither the Pope nor his dependents would fail to accept them, and that there was no better net, nor one more suited to land this fish (*et che nessuna rete era meglior nè più a proposito per tirar questo pesce a riva*), that it may be enjoyed (*acciò si possi galder*), than your Serenity, who, by mediating and following up the conclusion, might warrant hopes of its durability, because respect for your Serenity would cause the Imperialists to attend to what they promised, but that the Duke of Alva, under semblance of demanding peace, was now doing what he did at the beginning, when he sent that agent of his (*quel suo homo*) to the Princes, to pray them to mediate for the agreement with his Holiness, and simultaneously commenced war. He complained of the irregularities (*disordini*) which had occurred hitherto, and said that he was making such provision that the Imperialists would perhaps not make the progress they had imagined, and might become more accommodating (*più piacevoli*); saying in conclusion, that although the Pope's forces might go to Naples, and hope to take it, he would not fail to recommend peace, provided it was to the dignity of the Pope and of this Holy See, for which he would risk his life, as he held the grade of Cardinal.

He then said, "I will not omit to tell you one of the fine proceedings of those Imperialists (*una delle belle operation di costoro*), besides the oath of allegiance to the College and the future Pope imposed by them on the inhabitants of the captured towns. Ferrante dell' Offredo, who is in the Abruzzi preparing to invade the March of Ancona, wrote a letter to Ascoli summoning it to surrender, because King Philip would treat it well, take off the taxes, and then restore it to the future Pope, because the present one was not elected canonically; so they are not making war on the Pope, but on the Cardinal of Chieti; and this letter I will show

* Allusion to the Caraffas having been inscribed on the Golden Book. (*See before*, Navagero despatch, 8th February 1556.)

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you when I get the original, for which I have sent. Think of what quality they are, and what wish they have for peace."

To this I, the Ambassador, replied that as the peace was evidently advantageous for both sides, and desired by all Italy, I hoped that through his mediation and authority it would be effected, to the glory of God and to the satisfaction of the whole world.

I, the Secretary, performed the same office with his Excellency as with the Pope, and Cardinal Caraffa replied in the words so often uttered by him to me, Ambassador, justifying the Pope's cause and demonstrating his wish for peace, because he knew very well that it suited his Holiness, was advantageous for the world and for Italy, and most advantageous for his own family, adding, "What need is there for words? Do thus; let the Duke of Alva refer this cause to the most serene Signory of Venice, for I am certain that the Pope would consent to it and abide by the Signory's decree. You will see that they will reject it, because in words they wish for peace and by their deeds for war, but it is possible that God may assist us, although hitherto, on account of some of our sins, He has chosen to punish us. They will not get all the share they expect; but at any rate I shall never perform any other office than that of counselling the agreement." We commended this so pious a determination, and then took leave.

Rome, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

662. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Went to the court to-day. The Constable *asked me whether your Serenity was making any preparation in aid of the Pope, and when I said that I had no advice of any, he replied, "When one's neighbour's house is on fire, it is necessary to assist it, as otherwise one's own likewise is endangered."* As I made no rejoinder to this, he then took me to the King, who, in answer to my inquiry whether he had any news, replied, with his usual graciousness, that he would say nothing to me about the state of the Pope's affairs, as he believed I was aware of the capture by the forces of the King of Spain of certain places, but that they were merely open places, and that they had abstained (*astenuti*) from such as were fortified, although had Anagni been provided with ammunition it might have held out, but that the Pope's affairs had been mismanaged, as the Duke of Paliano was a good gentleman, but had not much experience in military matters; nor did the Romans much commend Camillo Orsini; and this maladministration encouraged the Duke of Alva to advance with upwards of 10,000 infantry, with a certain amount of cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery; which troops the Pope would have no cause to fear were his affairs well managed, as the King hoped would now be the case, his Holiness having 28,000 paid troops (28 *mille paghe*), including 4,000 Gascon and German infantry sent from Montalcino, and 1,200 cavalry; but that he was in hourly expectation of fresh advices, to hear the result of the conference that was to be held.

I also asked his Majesty what hope he had of an agreement, to

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which he replied, "Assuredly I know not; the words of the King of Spain sound well, but they are contradicted by his deeds; we shall see what will take place. They had also said that Don Ruy Gomez would come hither. I very well know that I never believed it, and now the discourse has cooled; though at all times, whether he or others come, I shall see them willingly; but, in the meanwhile, I will not abandon the Pope, both as my friend, and as universal Father; and I believe all Italy will do the like, including also the Signory." I replied that it was understood his Majesty had sent to raise Switzers and other troops, to give assistance to his Holiness. "Yes," said the King, "it is true the Switzers will pass into Piedmont, and if necessary, fresh troops from Germany; I have them so near at hand that I can soon get them; nor in like manner shall we fail to make such other provision as necessary." I asked his Majesty, if the King of Spain also was arming. He said, "I do not hear for certain that he is raising other troops than those with the Duke of Alva, and those Germans for whom he demanded passage of the Signory, but as yet I have no advice of their having crossed;" and he asked me whether I had any news of them. When I told him I had not, he added that the Emperor had arrived in Spain with 22 ships, and that for many days he had no advices about England, nor yet of the King of Bohemia, who was gone to the King his father, as dissatisfied as possible with the King of Spain.

The provision for the war continues, and of late (*questi giorni*) his Majesty in person has chosen to remain always in the Council Chamber, consulting about the affairs of Piedmont, *and from a certain good quarter I hear that these troops will cross the Alps, not only to divert the forces which are acting against the Pope, but also to give support to some important understanding which his most Christian Majesty has in a certain fortress* (piazza) *belonging to the King of England;* and besides the captains mentioned in my letters of the 8th and 9th, M. d'Andelot, General of the French infantry, has also been despatched to inspect the frontiers of Champagne and Picardy, for which parts, in like manner, 30 captains have been appointed, and it is said they will soon depart. *The King will wage the war briskly, rather than allow the Pope to make an agreement alienating him from the good understanding which he has with his Majesty. With regard to the affairs of Ferrara, I have had confirmation of what I wrote to your Serenity about the King's determination to comply with all the Duke's wishes, so that he may declare himself his Majesty's lieutenant, and march to succour the Pope, as it is evident that from no other quarter could the King give his Holiness more sure nor more speedy assistance.*

I hear that both his Majesty and all these other personages are anxiously expecting the decision from Flanders about this negotiation for peace. Since my last, no advice whatever has arrived, but the Abbot of San Saluto, who keeps this business alive, is expecting news of it from day to day.

The Constable, seeing that his son the Duke of Montmorency, besides the first error committed by him, adds also a second by

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remaining constant, and choosing to have for wife that "Demoiselle," with whom not having consummated the marriage, it might have been dissolved, she referring herself to his will, had him lately kept under custody, and subsequently caused the King to order him to go to Rome and obey his Majesty's ministers there, from which place he is not to depart without the King's express order, and he has already set out, more firm than ever in his opinion; and the intense sorrow caused the Constable by this trouble is very clearly depicted on his countenance.

Paris, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

663. The SAME to the SAME.

The most Christian King remains the whole day with his "Council of Affairs," forming resolves about the war, as written in my last of the 12th, and he has now determined to send the Duke de Guise into Piedmont as his General. The great importance of this measure, by reason of the personal valour of the individual, as also on account of his noble descent, and of the great love borne him by the King, in addition to his being the son-in law of the Duke of Ferrara, will, I am certain, have been pondered by your Serenity, so that it is unnecessary for me to allude farther to it. The cause of his going is the determination of his most Christian Majesty to send an army into Italy to succour the Pope, the forces hitherto destined for the purpose being the 6,000 *Switzers, who by this time must be already on the march; and the captains who have been sent to raise Frenchmen at the rate of* 300 *for each company, forming another* 6,000*; and the order has been given that after the muster of the men-at-arms, which will be made on the 20th instant,* 500 *spears are to march towards Piedmont; besides which,* 600 *light horse will be sent from this kingdom; so that the army will consist of* 12,000 *infantry,* 500 *spears, and* 600 *light horse, and* 25 *pieces of artillery, which they will remove from Piedmont.*

On the other hand, through the Ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara, who went to his Excellency, his most Christian Majesty has requested him to raise 6,000 *infantry and* 400 *light horse, instructing him to take the Venetian money* (il denaro di Venetia) [*the deposit?*]*; and they will all unite. After the junction, the Duke of Ferrara may possibly be the General, but it is believed he will leave the charge to the Duke de Guise, and retire into his own territory. Moreover, the Marshal de Brissac will go with his Excellency to support his passage, and he will have with him* 4,000 *infantry, which it was lately determined to raise, one half Frenchmen and the other half Italians, and* 250 *spears, together with some* 600 *light horse, which are in Piedmont; and when the Duke is in safer quarters* (in loco più sicuro) *the Marshal will return with his forces to Piedmont* (la ne (*sic*) ritornerà in Piamonte), *where he will not fail to display his usual activity.*

I am assured that they have not settled the route to be taken

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by this army, nor will it be decided here; but they will give the General liberty to march in whatever direction he may deem most to the purpose, because by its remaining thus undecided until the moment of the passage, the King of England will have cause for apprehension in several quarters, and to garrison many places, by which means, by dividing his forces, the main body of his army is more weakened, and the French will have additional advantage.

I hear in like manner that after the passage, the point of attack remains undecided, because although they consider it certain that the Duke of Alva will be immediately drawn off from Rome, and that they may march towards the kingdom of Naples, I nevertheless hear that the Pope exhorts his most Christian Majesty to make the expedition to Florence, to which the Duke of Ferrara will consent (condescenderà) *more willingly than to any other, by reason of the enmity he bears that Duke. Some persons, on surer grounds, say that the expedition will be against the Milanese itself, without advancing farther, as the army would thus be less inconvenienced, and the King be more benefited; their argument being, that should the Spanish forces take the field, and determine to fight a pitched battle, and the French gain the day, they will be masters of that State, and not finding an army to oppose them, may do whatever else they please; but nothing is known hitherto on this subject except from discourse, save that the Queen* [*Catherine de' Medici*] *has spoken to the Florentine merchants here, and has despatched Captain Nicolò Alemani to the outlaws* (forusciti) *at Lyons to urge them to offer pecuniary subsidy to his Majesty for that expedition, as they did before the truce.*

The chief officials of these forces have been already appointed, thus: the Duke de Guise will be commander-in-chief of his own army, and lead the main body; his brother, the Duke d'Aumale, will command the vanguard; M. de Sipierre, as he is general of the light cavalry, will be lieutenant of that corps; and the rear-guard will be led by M. de Termes, to whom it is believed that they will also give the charge of the men-at-arms. The Duke de Nemours will be general of the French company; and the Marquis d'Elbœuf of the company of Switzers; whilst of the Marshal's troops his Excellency himself will be general. So long as these forces remain together the Duke de Guise will have the command; and during the absence of the Duke d'Aumale, the Constable's son, M. de Damville, will be general of the cavalry, and M. de Bonnivet general of the infantry.

All these arrangements have been determined on, but are not yet carried into effect, with the exception of despatching the Switzers, and the order for the men-at-arms to march; the rest being deferred until the arrival of a fresh courier from Rome with news of the conference which was to be held, no advices having been received since the letters of the 24th ulto.; and they remain in suspense owing to the resolve formed by the Pope, although in the said letters he assured the King that he would not make any agreement, writing the following precise words, that "he remained with the firm hope that his most Christian Majesty would not fail to perform the promises he had given him; and that should their execution

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be tardy, he (the Pope), would determine on selling Ravenna and Cervia to your Serenity, and then Bologna to the Duke of Ferrara, to enable him for a long while to continue the war; and when he can do no more, that rather than make an agreement, he will abandon Rome and come to Avignon."

I hear for certain that should the Pope not have made an agreement down to yesterday, his most Christian Majesty is well nigh sure that he will not make one at all; because the moment he received the aforesaid letters of the 24th, the King despatched a courier in great haste to his Holiness, (and who ought to have arrived in Rome yesterday,) exhorting him to reject any agreement (ad escludere ogni accordo), *acquainting him with the provision which is still being made. They are also expecting with great anxiety the definitive reply of the Duke of Ferrara, and although the Prince his son [Alfonso of Este, Prince of Ferrara] performed every office to convince the King that it will be such as he wishes, yet before being convinced of this, his Majesty chooses to witness the ratification by the Duke; and the aforesaid Prince will accompany the Duke de Guise his brother-in-law.* It is also borne in mind, that the season is far advanced towards winter, though it does not seem that on this account his most Christian Majesty will delay executing his resolve, hoping that the valour of the commanders and the vigour* (virtù) *of the soldiers, and most especially of the veterans in Piedmont, will overcome every difficulty; the which veterans will be removed from the garrisons where they now are, to serve in the army, the recruits now being raised replacing them.*

M. d'Andelot departed, as written by me, to inspect the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne; 12 of the 13 captains destined for those parts have been despatched thither, and the others will be sent in like manner as soon as these resolves from Rome and Ferrara arrive.

Pecuniary supply is being prepared by all means, and the King himself chose personally to inspect the account of the obligations imposed by him on the revenues (il conto delle obbligationi che ha fatto sopra le intrade), *and from what I hear they are in a better state than was anticipated by him; and there are several merchants who make him large offers of money at the time of the Lyons fairs, at the rate of 16 per cent., but although some bargains have been stipulated, the most important ones are delayed until the arrival of the aforesaid advices.*

Paris, 14th October 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

664. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

One Captain Julian, a Spaniard, who was prisoner in France, arrived here postwise last evening, announcing that he was come to provide for the payment of his ransom, but from what I hear he

* The consort of the Duke de Guise was Anne of Este. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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went immediately to the King, and in the name of his ambassador resident at the French Court told him that what he was unable or knew not how to explain by letter he now imparts to his Majesty orally, namely, that he must consider it certain that the most Christian King is determined to break the truce, not only from the words uttered by him to the ambassador, and confirmed by the Constable, but also from the orders already sent to the captains of several frontier towns; and that the ambassador told him he thought he should only have a few sets of letters (*se non poche mani di lettere*) to write for the future, as he expected shortly to be either dismissed or arrested.

Then, this morning, the French ambassador went to his Majesty to let him know, in the name of the most Christian King, that it seeming to him at present that the proceedings of the Duke of Alva tended towards another end than that of the defence of the kingdom of Naples, he had determined, should the Pope wish, by means of his confederates, to make war on his Majesty, in order to draw off the said Duke's army to other parts of Italy, or beyond it, and to give him all possible assistance in every way, without intending that the truce be broken on this account. King Philip replied that in this war with the Pope he had only two objects in view; the one, to secure the kingdom of Naples, the other, to be considered by his Holiness as the most obedient son of the See Apostolic, and to be treated by him as such. His Majesty then said that the most Christian King was at liberty to give assistance to the Pope, but that in doing so he must also bear in mind that it be done in a way to preserve the truce, which on his part would always be maintained, provided he had not necessary cause to act contrarywise. The ambassador rejoined that he was also commissioned to tell his Majesty that should he intend to come to fair terms of agreement the King would give especial charge to Lansac and Montluc to assist at the conferences with the cardinals who have been appointed to negotiate the peace, that they may perform every possible office with his Holiness to cause it to take place; the said ambassador remarking to his Majesty, as of himself, that it would be well to give an express order to the Duke to make some agreement, as little or no profit could result from this war. The reply purported that his Majesty would speak about this with his councillors, and send for him in the afternoon, as he did, but it is not yet known what his Majesty's resolve was.

The Spaniards go saying (*vanno dicendo*) that this French ambassador thus made a formal declaration of war, speaking simultaneously of peace, in such language that, let happen what may, he will have given satisfaction both to the Pope and to King Philip, to the one by demonstrating to him and to the world that he has not failed him in his extreme need, and to the other that he has not only not broken the truce, but performed an office in favour of the peace.

The ambassador from Florence has been to see me, and somewhat anxiously asked me to tell him what commission I had received from your Serenity and announced to King Philip about past and future affairs in Italy between him and the Pope, as he had heard

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conflicting accounts from the chief ministers here, one telling him that he understood your Serenity was beyond measure irritated (*oltramodo alterato*), and the other that in my discourse I had so blended the things uttered in your Serenity's name with what I said in my own that he did not well know what your Serenity intended to do, and that in a matter of such importance he was compelled to write to the Duke his master, he being but too greatly concerned in it should the war in Italy continue, and your Serenity being the chief power there, both for might and wisdom. Without entering into any details, I told him lovingly that your Serenity was most anxious for peace; and, from what he told my secretary, he went to the King to hear the particulars, that he might write them all to his lord, and he said he had heard the whole from his Majesty, who, however, told him not to mention a word about it to any one.

A person of quality tells me that a brother of Count Mansfeldt* departed hence privily, and in anger, from inability to obtain what his brother asked about his ransom, saying in abusive language that he and his whole family would soon show what they were capable of doing; and as he has gone to France, these words of his cause some anxiety to the chief ministers here.

The Duke of Savoy writes to the King from Brussels that he has imprisoned three of the individuals who opposed the money grant, and that some of the chief deputies had taken time to go back to their towns in Brabant, and to think about finding means to satisfy his Majesty in some part; it being also said that on their becoming less obstinate he will consent to the demands being diminished or changed.

Ghent, 14th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

665. The SAME to the SAME.

On receipt this morning of the Signory's letters of the 3rd I went immediately to the King, and informed him as ordered that your Serenity, having greatly at heart the suppression of the present stir in Italy, by means of some fair agreement, charged me to repeat the office performed by me some days ago, because by the Pope's mission to you of the Bishop Commendone you understood that his Holiness was much inclined towards peace; wherefore your Serenity, from your extreme wish for it really to take place, had despatched one of your secretaries express to the Duke of Alva in order better and more promptly to dispose him to a fair agreement, and that you prayed his Majesty, although he had previously written strongly to his Excellency as he told me, to be pleased again to charge him to make such proposals as might produce so very desirable a result as peace, and so necessary, not merely for Italy, but for the whole of Christendom, and which if effected would obtain for his Majesty, together with much glory, many of those advantages and benefits which he of his great prudence might easily comprehend.

The King, after telling me how much pleased he was that your

* Albert, Count of Mansfeldt. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Index.)

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Serenity had been gratified by those marks of goodwill towards you evinced by him to me, added that he was very glad to hear that your Serenity had sent one of your secretaries to the Duke of Alva for the purpose narrated by me, and that having already sent him such orders for the conclusion of the agreement that he knew not what to say, he was of opinion that to attain this good result there was greater need to incline the heart of his Holiness rather than that of his Majesty, and that your Serenity will hereafter know by facts that he will never fail, as his Majesty wishes you to be convinced of his desire for the peace, and to be always your good friend. Being aware, as told me first of all by Don Ruy Gomez, that the positive intention (*la fermissima intentione*) of King Philip was that your Serenity should be judge-arbiter, or one of your ministers a witness, I merely repeated in conclusion that I considered it certain that his Majesty would prove to the world by facts the goodwill demonstrated by him towards peace, assuring him also that by reason of this Christian purpose, and his other truly regal qualities, you would never swerve from that love and reverence which you have always borne him.

According to your Serenity's orders, I addressed Don Ruy Gomez in the same tone, and he evinced great satisfaction at being exhorted by you to be an instrument with his Majesty for effecting so holy and glorious a work, telling me in short that his wish in this matter could not be greater than it is, and that so many and such various things had been imagined about it that it was impossible to do more, and that they had written to the Duke of Alva to devise something of his own, and amongst other projects, one of the chief, which he thought the Pope might approve of, would be for the Count of Montorio to be satisfied with receiving the Principality of Salerno with 12,000 crowns revenue, his son marrying one of the daughters of Marc' Antonio Colonna, by which arrangement he might hope for greater quiet and profit than by remaining Duke of Paliano; adding that his King, in short, merely wished to be assured that his kingdom of Naples should no longer continue disturbed.

His lordship and Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who came in unexpectedly, both evinced great satisfaction at your Serenity's having sent the secretary to the Duke of Alva, saying that now more than ever they hoped the agreement would take place owing to this mediation on the part of your Serenity, who is sincere and of such great prudence and authority as you really are, both one and the other of them coming to the conclusion that they could think of nothing more serviceable for their King than this, and to keep him as closely knit in friendship with your Serenity as they can.

I reciprocated in such loving terms as seemed to me adapted to the nature (*qualità*) of the present times, preserving your Serenity's dignity, and giving them indication of your constant goodwill towards his Majesty.

Ghent, 17th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556. Oct. 17. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives, No. 7 B.

666. Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The troops which went out of Rome with the Duke of Somma* to go with the French galleys to Nettuno to burn the ammunition, provisions, and bridge of boats of the Imperialists (as told me by Cardinal Caraffa), have returned without being able to do anything at all. They lay the blame of this failure to a storm which arose after they had presented themselves under the castle of that place, and as there was shoal water (*e per esser spiaggia*) they had to sheer off. It is said that the galleys bore the Pope's flag, lest the French be accused of having been the first to break the truce with the Imperialists.

Part of the Imperial army has approached yet nearer this city, some companies (*bandere*) of foot and a good number of horse being in Frascati, Marino, and the neighbouring places, not more than 10 or 12 miles hence, but so far as can be known the Duke of Alva, with the main body, has not left Tivoli.

M. de Montluc, who went out with some cavalry to reconnoitre near Marino, was charged so furiously by an ambuscade that with difficulty could he make his escape into this city, with the loss of four horses. The enemy treat the places occupied by them well, but from persons conveying victuals into Rome they take both cattle and provisions. It is not known what expedition this Imperial army purposes undertaking, and so ill-informed is the Roman government that they are scarcely aware how it is distributed, and this, in addition to so many other disorders, causes apprehension of some great disturbance, because the Imperialists, on the contrary, are acquainted with all that is done and said here, and verily on true and assiduous advices (principally in military matters) great part of felicitous events depend. The reason why during so many days the enemy's army has delayed doing so many things it might have done is said by some to be because it is expecting fresh German forces and other troops; others say that the Duke of Alva has not chosen to proceed farther without a fresh order from the King of Spain, from whom he is expecting advice from day to day. Some horsemen have arrived with 14,000 crowns raised in Venice, and 6,000 in Ferrara, for the French, as told me by the son of the host at Chioggia, who was one of those who brought it, and is an outlaw at Ravenna. Of this supply there was great need, as from want of it many orders for necessary provisions remained unexecuted, and the supply obtained lately is a compromise with the Jews, who are to pay 10,000 crowns for having transgressed some of their statutes (*capitoli*), one half of the sum being payable at the end of this month and the other at the end of November next; and the governor of Perugia has been written to detain the 3,000 crowns assigned for payment of the salaries of the doctors of that university. It is also said that a similar compromise is being treated with the Jews at Bologna, and which is expected to yield nearly 14,000 crowns, and that on

* The Duke of Soma, being a Papalist, had been outlawed from Naples by the Imperialists. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 262.)

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account of the inheritance of the Lord Balduino [del Monte?] they have demanded 30,000 crowns, with a promise not to interfere with it, and 15,000 have already been offered them.

An express from France has arrived with letters dated the 8th instant, and when a person in the confidence of Marshal Strozzi asked him about their contents, he said, "They promise great things, referring themselves, however, to what will be brought by M. de St. Fermo, who is the secretary Bucchie; but the Duke of Paliano has given it to be understood that the King has ordered the levy of Switzers and the march of the men-at-arms, and every other necessary provision for the war, and that it will be waged sooner than is generally supposed, without awaiting the orders of the King of Spain to the Duke of Alva. I, most serene Prince, continue not choosing to ask about these advices from France either of the Pope's ministers or of those of the King, in order not to give them an opportunity for making fresh demands, but I nevertheless endeavour to hear what I can through various channels, being sure that my omissions will be supplied by your ambassador in France; but I will not fail telling what I have heard, although it did not reach me from an authentic quarter, namely, that the French ministers here have sounded (*tentato*) the Pope whether, his Holiness being old, and their King having to undertake so important and costly an expedition, and one so perilous, it would be well in some way to secure his Majesty, and that the way would be to place the four towns of Ancona, Civitavecchia, Spoleto, and Veletri in his hands.

With all this news Congregation assembled to-day in the house of Cardinal S. Giacomo, with the Cardinals appointed for the peace, with the exception of Cardinal Caraffa, and Friar Manrique was with them, the particulars of this congregation being as follows:— Two days ago Monsignor Fantuzi, auditor di Rota, went to Cardinal Carpi, in the name of the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], exhorting him, as a leading Cardinal, to find some means for this peace, by calling to his presence the Cardinals already appointed for it, and urging them to effect it. Cardinal Carpi replied that he no longer knew what to do, and that he would not assume this office, which appertained rather to Cardinal Caraffa, who had so much authority and represented the Pope in person. Then yesterday Fantuzi returned to Cardinal Carpi, telling him that the Pope's nephews and the Pope himself would wish the peace to be again discussed, and thus was it settled to hold the Congregation in the house of Cardinal S. Giacomo, when, after saying that the peace was necessary, it was determined again to send Friar Manrique to renew the negotiation for peace; so as it has been said distinctly that the Pope will never do anything on condition of reinstating Marc' Antonio Colonna, it being affirmed, on the other hand, that without this condition the Duke of Alva knows that he can do nothing whatever, the Cardinal of Carpi awaits from the Pope's ministers the tenour of the letter with which to despatch the Friar Manrique. God knows what the result may be, and for what end perhaps these things are attempted, nor can any man vouch for it, it being seen at this Court that even its decrees are not executed.

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The ambassador from Florence likewise does not cease taking part in this agreement, having received letters from his Duke telling him that his Excellency has heard of the Pope's conversation with him touching the goodwill of his Holiness about the peace, but that as no foundation can be formed on general expressions he charges his ambassador to endeavour to elicit something precise (*qualche particolar*), as his Excellency will be ready to mediate, assuring the Pope that no one could treat his cause more lovingly and faithfully than he would. With regard to the suspicion entertained here about the said Duke, the ambassador says that he has made no military movement, and that on the contrary he has disbanded two companies that were in Florence, so that in that city no soldier could be found at any price.

A few days ago Camillo Orsini was on the point of demanding his discharge, having heard that he bears the blame of all the disorders which have taken place hitherto, and also because one night he found himself by chance in a place where certain Gascons were stripping a poor man, whom he rescued at some personal risk indeed, for the whole company attacked him, but subsequently the Papal ministers here (*questi signori*) caressed him greatly, and he received many marks of respect from the Gascon commanders, so it is supposed that he will go on temporising (*che anderà scorrendo*) but not very well satisfied. As part of the Imperial army has approached so near Rome, the paid soldiery, besides mounting guard in the city, keep watch by night at the Campidoglio, the aldermen (*caporioni*) (a certain number each time) going thither with their battalions for this purpose. Marshal Strozzi departed this morning to go and see in what state Civitavecchia is, by reason of the importance of its harbour; and it is also said that M. de Montluc is gone to Montalcino accompanied by the son of the French ambassador, who chooses to be a soldier. Here they have taken off the insupportable mill-stone tax (*angaria della masena*) amounting to two crowns per "*rubbio*," seeing that it was tolerated painfully; and a proclamation has been made in the Pope's name allowing the people to go out of Rome to sow; which two proceedings have given great satisfaction to the city.

The Duke of Paliano's quartan ague has become a double one, and the physicians say that to free him from it it would be necessary to remove his mental troubles and suffering.

To-day the Signor Matheo Stendardo made a muster of his mounted harquebusiers, forming four ensigns (4 *stendardi*), part in armour (*armati*), having a spear besides the harquebuse, and part with only a harquebuse without armour (*disarmati*). They are in fact about 200, though it was always said that they would be many more, and for such they will perhaps be paid.

The Archbishop Sauli, late treasurer, was this evening imprisoned in the Castle, he having given bail not to quit Rome, as written by me.

Rome, 17th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

667. Federico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the Doge and Senate.

By a second courier from Laredo it is heard that the Emperor had already set out for Valladolid with the Queens, with the intention of remaining there a few days to see his daughter [Doña Juana] and his grandson [Don Carlos], and then proceed to the monastery of Yuste, near Plasencia. Certain Spaniards, however, say that to benefit the affairs of his son his Imperial Majesty will be compelled to stay a longer while than he intended, on various accounts, and for this one in particular, that he may send for some of the grandees of Aragon (*alcuni principali di Arragon*), or despatch some one thither, to send them, together with delegates from Valentia and Catalonia, to take the oath to the King, they not having chosen to do so hitherto to avoid derogating from their privileges, which compel his Majesty to go to them in person. According to letters from M. de la Chaux, his Imperial Majesty is in better health than he has seen him for the last 10 years.

By several advices received from Brussels it is understood that to quiet the people of Brabant, the Duke of Savoy, with the chief members of the Council there, had determined to appoint two of each trade, they to be persons the best acquainted with his Majesty's demand, and to give them authority to decide about it. His Excellency also writes to the King that it has been suggested to him as a necessary measure on account of the religion, which is in a bad way (*che va a male*), to found three bishoprics, one for Brussels, another for Antwerp, and a third for this city, and that he has found an easy way for providing them with revenues.

A gentleman of these provinces who came yesterday from Cologne says that the election there of the Prince Bishop was being delayed (*si andava differendo*), and it was supposed that almost as a matter of necessity one of the canons of the most noble blood amongst them, but of Lutheran opinions, would be elected, because the other Catholics had not sufficient interest to succeed like their competitors, who were favoured by the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Cleves, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and other Princes of the "Circle" of Saxony.

King Philip has sent an order to Upper Burgundy to have a demand made of the people there for 50,000 crowns, which they are accustomed to pay every three years.

The Duke of Florence has again sent his ambassador several complaints made by the Siennese against the Cardinal of Burgos [Francisco Mendoza y Bovadilla], reminding his Majesty that should his right reverend lordship remain Governor there, the King might run risk of losing his popularity at Sienna, whilst on the other hand the ambassador of that Republic at this Court bestows great praise on the Cardinal, saying the "Signori della Balia" had written to him that since he has been Governor there he has spent about 50,000 crowns of his own on several good works; so it is inferred that between the said Cardinal and the Duke of Florence there must be a bad understanding, and consequently his right reverend lordship evinces a wish for removal in like manner as his Excellency does not wish him to remain, and for this reason it is said that in a few

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days the King will send thither Don Alvaro de Sande,* who was heretofore appointed by his Majesty warder (*castellano*) and colonel of the Spanish infantry.

Some days ago Don Ruy Gomez requested the ambassador from the Duke of Mantua to write to his Excellency and exhort him to take for wife the eldest daughter of the Duchess of Lorraine, his Majesty's cousin, and the Duke replied that he did not intend to marry, as at present he is not of strong constitution (*per non trovarsi di complessione al presente ben disposta*), showing that on this account he had renounced the contract (*partito*) with a daughter of the Duke of Ferrara. The Duke also desired the ambassador, should anything more be said on the subject, adroitly to silence it, and I understand that this decision, and much more the one formed by his Excellency to make terms with the King of France about Montferrat with regard to his enjoying its revenues, has caused the privy council here no longer to evince their former trust in him.

Ghent, 18th October 1556.

Postscript.—It is said by Don Bernardino de Mendoza that the Governor of Caino (*sic*) has placed under arrest 100 soldiers and their captain for having announced their intention to the French of giving them one of the gates of that place, and for this purpose, at Montreuil, four leagues from Hesdin, there are some 6,000 troops including horse and foot.

I have also heard that an express has been sent to Don Juan de Ayala† at Genoa, desiring him to proceed instantly to your Serenity to reside with you until the return of the Ambassador Vargas.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

668. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

By the return of Francesco Piamontese and of another courier who was sent after him with the news of the Emperor's landing in the port of Laredo on the 28th ult., the Queen was again assured that the King was making his arrangements to come back, having already given orders for the stable, the pages, and part of the household to proceed on their way; so the Queen is marvellously comforted, these advices having redoubled her hope, though, with the exception of her Majesty, there is nevertheless no one, either in the palace or out of it, who, knowing the difficulty and inevitable impediments, and not seeing greater signs, anticipates anything but delay and dilatoriness, although the ships have been already sent to the Calais passage (*al passo di Cales*).

Peter Carew has come out of the Tower, and is released entirely, after having compounded (*dopo haver accordato*) for 2,000 marks, and paid a part of his debt to the crown. The governess of the Lady Elizabeth has also been set at liberty, but deprived not only of her office as governess, but forbidden ever again to go to her

* *See* name in Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, p. 323.

† Query, brother of the historian Don Luis de Avila, the name being written indifferently, Avila or Ayala.

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ladyship; the knight [Sir Thomas Pope], who was placed as keeper in her residence, being also removed; and it is said that she will soon come to London, and perhaps to the Court.

A debt from the Queen, to the amount of 40,000*l.*, having fallen due in Flanders last month, the merchants adventurers of London had to pay it, and relieve her (*pagarle et liberarla*).

The last advices of the 4th instant, received by Cardinal Pole from the Abbot [Parpaglia] in France, confirm the hope of peace, should the affairs of Italy with his Holiness come to an adjustment, as sought, he says, by the French, and that notwithstanding all the provisions making for war, it had been determined to hold another conference, the most Christian King on his part having already made choice of his commissioners.

London, 19th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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